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THE WORKS

UNITARIAN
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BOSTON, MASS

OF WILLIAM E. CHANNING, D.D.

With an Introduction.

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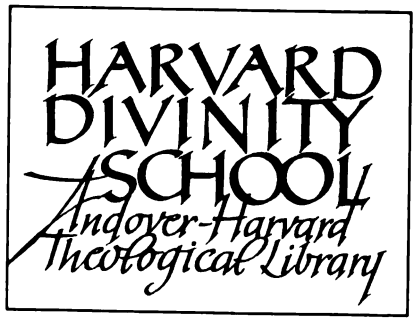
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THE WORKS OF

WILLIAM E. CHANNING, D. D.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

THE following tracts, having passed through various editions at home and abroad, are now collected to meet the wishes of those who may incline to possess them in a durable form. In common with all writings which have obtained a good degree of notice, they have been criticised freely: but as they have been published not to dictate opinions, but to excite thought and inquiry, they have not failed of their end, even when they have provoked doubt or reply. They have, I think, the merit of being earnest expressions of the writer's mind, and of giving the results of quiet, long-continued thought.

Some topics will be found to recur often, perhaps the reader may think too often: but it is in this way that a writer manifests his individuality, and he can in no other do justice to his own mind. Men are distinguished from one another, not merely by difference of thoughts, but often more by the different degrees of relief or prominence which they give to the same thoughts. In nature, what an immense dissimilarity do we observe in organized bodies, which consist of the same parts or elements, but in which these are found in great diversity of proportions! So, to learn what a man is, it is not enough to dissect his mind, and see separately the thoughts and feelings which successively possess him. The question is, what thoughts and feelings predominate, stand out most distinctly, and give a hue and impulse to the common actions of his mind? What are his great ideas? These form the man, and by their truth and dignity he is very much to be judged.

The following writings will be found to be distinguished by nothing more than by the high estimate which they express of human nature. A respect for the human soul breathes through them. The time may come for unfolding my views more fully on this and many connected topics. As yet, I have given but fragments; and, on this account, I have been sometimes misapprehended. The truth is, that a man, who looks through the present disguises and humbling circumstances of human nature, and speaks with earnestness of what it was made for and what it may become, is commonly set down by men of the world as a romancer, and, what is far worse, by the religious as a minister to human pride, perhaps as exalting man against God. A few remarks on this point seem, therefore, a proper introduction to these volumes.

It is not, however, my purpose in this place to enter far into the consideration of the greatness of human nature, and of its signs and expressions in the inward and outward experience of men. It will be sufficient here to observe, that the greatness of the soul is especially seen in the intellectual energy which discerns absolute, universal truth, in the idea of God, in freedom of will and moral power, in disinterestedness and self-sacrifice, in the boundlessness of love, in aspirations after perfection, in desires and affections, which time and space cannot confine, and the world cannot fill. The soul, viewed in these lights, should fill us with awe. It is an immortal germ, which may be said to contain now within itself what endless ages are to unfold. It is truly an image of the infinity of God,

and no words can do justice to its grandeur. There is, however, another and very different aspect of our nature. When we look merely at what it now is, at its present development, at what falls under present consciousness, we see in it much of weakness and limitation, and still more, we see it narrowed and degraded by error and sin. This is the aspect under which it appears to most men; and so strong is the common feeling of human infirmity, that a writer, holding higher views, must state them with caution, if he would be listened to without prejudice. My language, I trust, will be sufficiently measured, as my object at present is not to set forth the greatness of human nature, but to remove difficulties in relation to it, in the minds of religious people.

From the direction which theology has taken, it has been thought that to ascribe any thing to man was to detract so much from God. The disposition has been, to establish striking contrasts between man and God, and not to see and rejoice in the likeness between them. It has been thought that to darken the creation was the way to bring out more clearly the splendor of the Creator. The human being has been subjected to a stern criticism. It has been forgotten that he is as yet an infant, new to existence, unconscious of his powers; and he has been expected to see clearly, walk firmly, and act perfectly. Especially in estimating his transgressions, the chief regard has been had, not to his finite nature and present stage of development, but to the infinity of the Being against whom he had sinned; so that God's greatness, instead of being made a ground of hope, has been used to plunge man into despair.

I have here touched on a great spring of error in religion, and of error among the most devout. I refer to the tendency of fervent minds to fix their thoughts exclusively or unduly on God's infinity. It is said, in devotional writings, that exalted and absorbing views of God enter into the very essence of piety; that our grand labor should be, to turn the mind from the creature to the Creator; that the creature cannot sink too low in our estimation, or God fill too high a sphere. God, we are told, must not be limited; nor are his rights to be restrained by any rights in his creatures. These are made to minister to their Maker's glory, not to glorify themselves. They wholly depend on him, and have no power which they can call their own. His sovereignty, awful and omnipotent, is not to be kept in check, or turned from its purposes, by any claims of his subjects. Man's place is the dust. The entire prostration of his faculties is the true homage he is to offer God. He is not to exalt his reason or his sense of right against the decrees of the Almighty. He has but one lesson to learn, that he is nothing, that God is All in All. Such is the common language of theology.

These views are exceedingly natural. That the steady, earnest contemplation of the Infinite One should so dazzle the mind as to obscure or annihilate all things else, ought not to surprise us By looking at the sun, we lose the power of seeing other objects. It was, I conceive, one design of God in hiding himself so far from us, in throwing around himself the veil of his works, to prevent this very evil. He intended that our faculties should be left at liberty to act on other things besides himself, that the will should not be crushed by his overpowering greatness, that we should be free agents, that we should recognize rights in ourselves and in others as well as in the Creator, and thus be introduced into a wide and ever-enlarging sphere of action and duty. Still the idea of the Infinite is of vast power, and the mind, in surrendering itself to it, is in danger of becoming unjust to itself and other beings, of losing that sentiment of self-respect which should be inseparable from a moral nature, of degrading the intellect by the forced belief of contradictions which God is supposed to sanction, and of losing that distinct consciousness of moral freedom, of power over itself, without which the interest of life and the sense of duty are gone.

Let it not be imagined from these remarks, that I would turn the mind from God's Infinity. This is the grand truth; but it must not stand alone in the mind. The finite is something real as well as the infinite. We must reconcile the two in our theology. It is as dangerous to exclude the former as the latter. God surpasses all human thought: yet human thought, mysterious, unbounded, "wandering through eternity," is not to be contemned. God's sovereignty is limitless; still man has rights God's power is ir-

resistible; still man is free. On God we entirely depend; yet we can and do act from ourselves, and determine our own characters. These antagonist ideas, if so they may be called, are equally true, and neither can be spared. It will not do for an impassioned or an abject piety to wink one class of them out of sight. In a healthy mind they live together; and the worst error in religion has arisen from throwing a part of them into obscurity.

In most religious systems, the tendency has been to seize exclusively on the idea of the Infinite, and to sacrifice to this the finite, the created, the human. This I have said is very natural. To the eye of sense, man is such a mote in the creation, his imperfections and sins are so prominent in his history, the changes of his life are so sudden, so awful, he vanishes into such darkness, the mystery of the tomb is so fearful, all his outward possessions are so fleeting, the earth which he treads on so insecure, and all surrounding nature subject to such fearful revolutions, that the reflective and sensitive mind is prone to see nothingness inscribed on the human being and on all things that are made, and to rise to God as the only reality. Another more influential feeling contributes to the same end. The mind of man, in its present infancy and blindness is apt to grow servile through fear, and seeks to propitiate the Divine Being by flattery and self-depreciation. Thus deep are the springs of religious error. To admit all the elements of truth into our system, at once to adore the infinity of God and to give due importance to our own free moral nature, is no very easy work. But it must be done. Man's free activity is as important to religion as God's infinity. In the kingdom of Heaven, the moral power of the subject is as essential as the omnipotence of the sovereign. The rights of both have the same sacredness. To rob man of his dignity is as truly to subvert religion as to strip God of his perfection. We must believe in man's agency as truly as in the Divine, in his freedom as truly as in his dependence, in his individual being as truly as in the great doctrine of his living in God. Just as far as the desire of exalting the Divinity obscures these conceptions, our religion is sublimated into mysticism or degraded into servility.

In the Oriental world, the human mind has tended strongly to fix on the idea of the Infinite, the Vast, the Incomprehensible. In its speculations it has started from God. Swallowed up in his greatness, it has annihilated the creature. Perfection has been thought to lie in self-oblivion, in losing one's self in the Divinity, in establishing exclusive communion with God. The mystic worshipper fled from society to wildernesses, where not even nature's beauty might divert the soul from the Unseen. Living on roots, sleeping on the rocky floor of his cave, he hoped to absorb himself in the One and the Infinite. The more the consciousness of the individual was lost, and the more the will and the intellect became passive or yielded to the universal soul, the more perfect seemed the piety.

From such views naturally sprung Pantheism. No being was at last recognized but God. He was pronounced the only reality. The universe seemed a succession of shows, shadows, evanescent manifestations of the One Ineffable Essence. The human spirit was but an emanation, soon to be reabsorbed in its source. God, it was said, bloomed in the flower, breathed in the wind, flowed in the stream, and thought in the human soul. All our powers were but movements of one infinite force. Under the deceptive spectacle of multiplied individuals intent on various ends, there was but one agent. Life, with its endless changes, was but the heaving of one and the same eternal ocean.

This mode of thought naturally gave birth or strength to that submission to despotic power which has characterized the Eastern world. The sovereign, in whom the whole power of the state was centred, became an emblem of the One Infinite Power, and was worshipped as its representative. An unresisting quietism naturally grew out of the contemplation of God as the all-absorbing and irresistible energy. Man, a bubble, arising out of the ocean of the universal soul, and fated soon to vanish in it again, had plainly no destiny to accomplish which could fill him with hope or rouse him to effort. In the East the individual was counted nothing. In Greece and Rome he was counted much, and he did much. In the Greek and the Roman the consciousness of power was indeed too little chastened by religious rever-

ence. Their gods were men. Their philosophy, though in a measure borrowed from or tinctured with the Eastern, still spoke of man as his own master, as having an independent happiness in the energy of his own will. As far as they thus severed themselves from God, they did themselves great harm; but in their recognition, however imperfect, of the grandeur of the soul, lay the secret of their vast influence on human affairs.

In all ages of the church, the tendency of the religious mind to the exclusive thought of God, to the denial or forgetfulness of all other existence and power, has come forth in various forms. The Catholic church, notwithstanding its boasted unity, has teemed with mystics, who have sought to lose themselves in God. It would seem as if the human mind, cut off by this church from free, healthful inquiry, had sought liberty in this vague contemplation of the Infinite. In the class just referred to were found many noble spirits, especially Fénélon, whose quietism, with all its amiableness, we must look on as a disease.

In Protestantism, the same tendency to exalt God and annihilate the creature has manifested itself, though in less pronounced forms. We see it in Quakerism and Calvinism, the former striving to reduce the soul to silence, to suspend its action, that in its stillness God alone may be heard; and the latter making God the only power in the universe, and annihilating the free will, that one will alone may be done in heaven and on earth.

Calvinism will complain of being spoken of as an approach to Pantheism. It will say that it recognizes distinct minds from the Divine. But what avails this, if it robs these minds of self-determining force, of original activity; if it makes them passive recipients of the Universal Force; if it sees in human action only the necessary issues of foreign impulse. The doctrine that God is the only Substance, which is Pantheism, differs little from the doctrine that God is the only active power of the universe. For what is substance without power? It is a striking fact that the philosophy which teaches that matter is an inert substance, and that God is the force which pervades it, has led men to question whether any such thing as matter exists; whether the powers of attraction and repulsion, which are regarded as the indwelling Deity, be not its whole essence. Take away force, and substance is a shadow, and might as well vanish from the universe. Without a free power in man, he is nothing. The divine agent within him is every thing. Man acts only in show. He is a phenomenal existence, under which the One Infinite Power is manifested; and is this much better than Pantheism?

One of the greatest of all errors is the attempt to exalt God, by making him the sole cause, the sole agent in the universe, by denying to the creature freedom of will and moral power, by making man a mere recipient and transmitter of a foreign impulse. This, if followed out consistently, destroys all moral connection between God and his creatures. In aiming to strengthen the physical, it ruptures the moral bond which holds them together. To extinguish the free will is to strike the conscience with death, for both have but one and the same life. It destroys responsibility. It puts out the light of the universe; it makes the universe a machine. It freezes the fountain of our moral feelings, of all generous affection and lofty aspirations. Pantheism, if it leave man a free agent, is a comparatively harmless speculation; as we see in the case of Milton. The denial of moral freedom, could it really be believed, would prove the most fatal of errors. If Edwards's work on the Will could really answer its end; if it could thoroughly persuade men that they were bound by an irresistible necessity, that their actions were fixed links in the chain of destiny, that there was but one agent, God, in the universe; it would be one of the most pernicious books ever issued from our press. Happily it is a demonstration which no man believes, which the whole consciousness contradicts.

It is a fact worthy of serious thought and full of solemn instruction, that many of the worst errors have grown out of the religious tendencies of the mind. So necessary is it to keep watch over our whole nature, to subject the highest sentiments to the calm, conscientious reason. Men starting from the idea of God, have been so dazzled by it as to forget or misinterpret the universe. They have come to see in him the only force

in creation, and in other beings only signs, shadows, echoes of this. Absolute dependence is the only relation to God which they have left to human beings. Our infinitely nobler relations, those which spring from the power of free obedience to a moral law, their theory dissolves. The moral nature, of which freedom is the foundation and essence, which confers rights and imposes duties, which is the ground of praise and blame, which lies at the foundation of self-respect, of friendship between man and man, of spiritual connection between man and his Maker, which is the spring of holy enthusiasm and heavenly aspiration, which gives to life its interest, to creation its glory; — this is annihilated by the mistaken piety, which, to exalt God, to make him All in All, immolates to him the powers of the universe.

This tendency, as we have seen, gave birth in former ages to asceticism, drove some of the noblest men into cloisters or caverns, infected them with the fatal notion that there was an hostility between their relations to God and their relations to his creatures, and of course persuaded them to make a sacrifice of the latter. To this we owe systems of theology degrading human nature, denying its power and grandeur, breaking it into subjection to the priest through whom alone God is supposed to approach the abject multitude, and placing human virtue in exaggerated humiliations. The idea of God, the grandest of all, and which ought above all to elevate the soul, has too often depressed it and led good minds very far astray, —a consideration singularly fitted to teach us tolerant views of error, and to enjoin caution and sobriety in religious speculation.

I hope that I shall not be thought wanting in a just tolerance in the strictures now offered on those systems of theology and philosophy which make God the only power in the universe and rob man of his dignity. Among the authors of these may be found some of the greatest and best men. To this class belonged Hartley, whose work on Man carries indeed the taint of materialism and necessity, but still deserves to be reckoned among the richest contributions ever made to the science of mind, whilst it breathes the profoundest piety. Our own Edwards was as eminent for religious as for intellectual power. The consistency of great error with great virtue is one of the lessons of universal history. But error is not made harmless by such associations. The false theories of which I have spoken, though not thoroughly believed, have wrought much evil. They have done much, I think, to perpetuate those abject views of human nature which keep it where it is, which check men's aspirations, and reconcile them to their present poor modes of thought and action as the fixed unalterable laws of their being.

Many religious people fall into the error, which I have wished to expose, through the belief that they thus glorify the Creator. "The glory of God," they say, "is our chief end;" and this is accomplished as they suppose by taking all power from man and transferring all to his Maker. We have here an example of the injury done by imperfect apprehension and a vague, misty use of Scripture language. The "glory of God" is undoubtedly to be our end; but what does this consist in? It means the shining forth of his perfection in his creation, especially in his spiritual offspring; and it is best promoted by awakening in these their highest faculties, by bringing out in ourselves and others the image of God in which all are made. An enlightened, disinterested human being, morally strong, and exerting a wide influence by the power of virtue, is the clearest reflection of the divine splender on earth; and we glorify God in proportion as we form ourselves and others after this model. The glory of the Maker lies in his work. We do not honor him by breaking down the human soul, by connecting it with him only by a tie of slavish dependence. By making him the author of a mechanical universe, we ascribe to him a low kind of agency. It is his glory that he creates beings like himself, free beings, not slaves: that he forms them to obedience, not by physical agency, but by moral influences; that he confers on them the reality, not the show of power; and opens to their faith and devout strivings a futurity of progress and glory without end. It is not by darkening and dishonoring the creature, that we honor the Creator. Those men glorify God

most, who look with keen eye and loving heart on his works, who catch in all some glimpses of beauty and power, who have a spiritual sense for good in its dimmest manifestations, and who can so interpret the world, that it becomes a bright witness to the Divinity.

To such remarks as these it is commonly objected, that we thus obscure, if we do not deny, the doctrine of entire dependence on God, — a doctrine which is believed to be eminently the foundation of religion. But not so. On the contrary, the greater the creature, the more extensive is his dependence; the more he has to give thanks for, the more he owes to the free gift of his Creator. No matter what grandeur or freedom we ascribe to our powers, if we maintain, as we ought, that they are bestowed, inspired, sustained by God; that he is their life; that to him we owe all the occasions and spheres of their action and all the helps and incitements by which they are perfected. On account of their grandeur and freedom they are not less his gifts; and in as far as they are divine, their natural tendency is not towards idolatrous self-reliance, but towards the grateful, joyful recognition of their adorable source. The doctrine of dependence is in no degree impaired by the highest views of the human soul.

Let me further observe, that the doctrine of entire dependence is not, as is often taught, the fundamental doctrine of religion, so that to secure this all other ideas must be renounced. And this needs to be taught, because nothing has been more common with theologians than to magnify our dependence at the expense of every thing elevated in our nature. Man has been stripped of freedom, and spoken of as utterly impotent, lest he should trench on God's sole, supreme power. To eradicate this error, it should be understood that our dependence is not our chief relation to God, and that it is not the ground of religion, if by religion we understand the sentiment of faith, reverence, and love towards the Divinity. That piety may exist, it is not enough to know that God alone and constantly sustains all beings. This is not a foundation for moral feelings towards him. The great question on which religion rests is, *What kind* of a universe does he create and sustain? Were a being of vast power to give birth to a system of unmeasured, unmitigated evil, dependence on him would be any thing but a ground of reverence. We should hate it, and long to flee from it into non-existence. The great question, I repeat it, is, What is the nature, the end, the purpose of the creation which God upholds? On this, and on the relations growing out of this, religion wholly rests. True, we depend on the Creator; and so does the animal: so does the clod; and were this the only relation, we should be no more bound to worship than they. We sustain a grander relation, that of rational, moral, free beings to a Spiritual Father. We are not mere material substances, subjected to an irresistible physical law, or mere animals subjected to resistless instincts; but are souls, on which a moral law is written, in which a divine oracle is heard. Take away the moral relation of the created spirit to the universal spirit, and that of entire dependence would remain as it is now but no ground and no capacity of religion would remain: and the splendor of the universe would fade away.

We must start in religion from our own souls. In these is the fountain of all divine truth. An outward revelation is only possible and intelligible on the ground of conceptions and principles previously furnished by the soul. Here is our primitive teacher and light. Let us not disparage it. There are, indeed, philosophical schools of the present day, which tell us that we are to start in all our speculations from the Absolute, the Infinite. But we rise to these conceptions from the contemplation of our own nature; and even if it were not so, of what avail would be the notion of an Absolute, Infinite existence, an Uncaused Unity, if stripped of all those intellectual and moral attributes which we learn only from our own souls? What but a vague shadow, a sounding name, is the metaphysical Deity, the substance without modes, the being without properties, the naked unity, which performs such a part in some of our philosophical systems? The only God whom our thoughts can rest on, and our hearts can cling to, and our consciences can recognize, is the God whose image dwells in our own souls. The grand ideas of Power, Reason, Wisdom, Love, Rectitude, Holiness,

Blessedness, that is, of all God's attributes, come from within, from the action of our own spiritual nature. Many indeed think that they learn God from marks of design and skill in the outward world; but our ideas of design and skill, of a determining cause, of an end or purpose, are derived from consciousness, from our own souls. Thus the soul is the spring of our knowledge of God.

These remarks might easily be extended, but these will suffice to show, that in insisting on the claims of our nature to reverence, I have not given myself to a subject of barren speculation. It has intimate connections with religion; and deep injury to religion has been the consequence of its neglect. I have also felt and continually insisted, that a new reverence for man was essential to the cause of social reform. As long as men regard one another as they now do, that is as little better than the brutes, they will continue to treat one another brutally. Each will strive, by craft or skill, to make others his tools. There can be no spirit of brotherhood, no true peace, any farther than men come to understand their affinity with and relation to God and the infinite purpose for which he gave them life. As yet these ideas are treated as a kind of spiritual romance; and the teacher who really expects men to see in themselves and one another the children of God, is smiled at as a visionary. The reception of this plainest truth of Christianity would revolutionize society, and create relations among men not dreamed of at the present day. A union would spring up, compared with which our present friendships would seem estrangements. Men would know the import of the word Brother, as yet nothing but a word to multitudes. None of us can conceive the change of manners, the new courtesy and sweetness, the mutual kindness, deference, and sympathy, the life and energy of efforts for social melioration, which are to spring up, in proportion as man shall penetrate beneath the body to the spirit, and shall learn what the lowest human being is. Then insults, wrongs, and oppressions, now hardly thought of, will give a deeper shock than we receive from crimes, which the laws punish with death. Then man will be sacred in man's sight; and to injure him will be regarded as open hostility towards God. It has been under a deep feeling of the intimate connection of better and juster views of human nature with all social and religious progress, that I have insisted on it so much in the following tracts, and I hope that the reader will not think that I have given it disproportionate importance.

I proceed to another sentiment, which is expressed so habitually in these writings as to constitute one of their characteristics, and which is intimately connected with the preceding topic. It is reverence for liberty, for human rights, — a sentiment which has grown with my growth, which is striking deeper root in my age, which seems to me a chief element of true love for mankind, and which alone fits a man for intercourse with his fellow-creatures. I have lost no occasion for expressing my deep attachment to liberty in all its forms, civil, political, religious, to liberty of thought, speech, and the press, and of giving utterance to my abhorrence of all the forms of oppression. This love of freedom I have not borrowed from Greece or Rome. It is not the classical enthusiasm of youth, which, by some singular good fortune, has escaped the blighting influences of intercourse with the world. Greece and Rome are names of little weight to a Christian. They are warnings rather than inspirers and guides. My reverence for human liberty and rights has grown up in a different school, under milder and holier discipline. Christianity has taught me to respect my race, and to reprobate its oppressors. It is because I have learned to regard man under the light of this religion, that I cannot bear to see him treated as a brute, insulted, wronged, enslaved, made to wear a yoke, to tremble before his brother, to serve him as a tool, to hold property and life at his will, to surrender intellect and conscience to the priest, or to seal his lips or belie his thoughts through dread of the civil power. It is because I have learned the essential equality of men before the common Father, that I cannot endure to see one man establishing his arbitrary will over another by fraud, or force, or wealth, or rank, or superstitious claims. It is because the human being has moral powers, because he carries a law in his own breast, and was made to govern himself, that I cannot endure to see him

taken out of his own hands and fashioned into a tool by another's avarice or pride. It is because I see in him a great nature, the divine image, and vast capacities, that I demand for him means of self-development, spheres for free action; that I call society not to fetter, but to aid his growth. Without intending to disparage the outward, temporal advantages of liberty, I have habitually regarded it in a higher light, — as the birthright of the soul, as the element in which men are to put themselves forth, to become conscious of what they are, and to fulfil the end of their being.

Christianity has joined with all history in inspiring me with a peculiar dread and abhorrence of the passion for power, for dominion over men. There is nothing in the view of our divine teacher so hostile to his divine spirit, as the lust of domination. This we are accustomed to regard as eminently the sin of the arch-fiend. "By this sin fell the angels." It is the most Satanic of all human passions, and it has inflicted more terrible evils on the human family than all others. It has made the names of king and priest the most appalling in history. There is no crime which has not been perpetrated for the strange pleasure of treading men under foot, of fastening chains on the body or mind. The strongest ties of nature have been rent asunder, her holiest feelings smothered, parents, children, brothers murdered, to secure dominion over man. The people have now been robbed of the necessaries of life, and now driven to the field of slaughter like flocks of sheep, to make one man the master of millions. Through this passion, government, ordained by God to defend the weak against the strong, to exalt right above might, has up to this time been the great wrong-doer. Its crimes throw those of private men into the shade. Its murders reduce to insignificance those of the bandits, pirates, highwaymen, assassins, against whom it undertakes to protect society. How harmless at this moment are all the criminals of Europe, compared with the Russian power in Poland. This passion for power, which in a thousand forms, with a thousand weapons, is warring against human liberty, and which Christianity condemns as its worst foe, I have never ceased to reprobate with whatever strength of utterance God has given me. Power trampling on right, whether in the person of king or priest, or in the shape of democracies, majorities, and republican slaveholders, is the saddest sight to him who honors human nature and desires its enlargement and happiness.

So fearful is the principle of which I have spoken, that I have thought it right to recommend restrictions on power, and a simplicity in government, beyond what most approve. Power, I apprehend should not be suffered to run into great masses. No more of it should be confided to rulers than is absolutely necessary to repress crime and preserve public order. A purer age may warrant larger trusts; but the less of government now the better, if society be kept in peace. There should exist, if possible, no office to madden ambition. There should be no public prize tempting enough to convulse a nation. One of the tremendous evils of the world is the monstrous accumulation of power in a few hands. Half a dozen men may, at this moment, light the fires of war through the world, may convulse all civilized nations, sweep earth and sea with armed hosts, spread desolation through the fields and bankruptcy through cities, and make themselves felt by some form of suffering through every household in Christendom. Has not one politician recently caused a large part of Europe to bristle with bayonets? And ought this tremendous power to be lodged in the hands of any human being? Is any man pure enough to be trusted with it? Ought such a prize as this to be held out to ambition? Can we wonder at the shameless profligacy, intrigue, and the base sacrifices of public interests, by which it is sought, and, when gained, held fast? Undoubtedly great social changes are required to heal this evil, to diminish this accumulation of power. National spirit, which is virtual hostility to all countries but our own, must yield to a growing humanity, to a new knowledge of the spirit of Christ. Another important step is, a better comprehension by communities that government is at best a rude machinery, which can accomplish but very limited good, and which, when strained to accomplish what individuals should do for themselves, is sure to be perverted by selfishness to narrow purposes, or to defeat through ignorance its own ends. Man is too ignorant to govern much, to

form vast plans for states and empires. Human policy has almost always been in conflict with the great laws of social well-being; and the less we rely on it the better. The less of power, given to man over man, the better. I speak, of course, of physical, political force. There is a power which cannot be accumulated to excess, — I mean moral power, that of truth and virtue, the royalty of wisdom and love, of magnanimity and true religion. This is the guardian of all right. It makes those whom it acts on free. It is mightiest when most gentle. In the progress of society this is more and more to supersede the coarse workings of government. Force is to fall before it.

It must not be inferred from these remarks, that I am an enemy to all restraint. Restraint in some form or other is an essential law of our nature, a necessary discipline, running through life, and not to be escaped by any art or violence. Where can we go, and not meet it? The powers of nature are, all of them, limits to human power. A never-ceasing force of gravity chains us to the earth. Mountains, rocks, precipices, and seas forbid our advances. If we come to society, restraints multiply on us. Our neighbor's rights limit our own. His property is forbidden ground. Usage restricts our free action, fixes our manners, and the language we must speak, and the modes of pursuing our ends. Business is a restraint, setting us wearisome tasks, and driving us through the same mechanical routine day after day. Duty is a restraint, imposing curbs on passion, enjoining one course and forbidding another, with stern voice, with uncompromising authority. Study is a restraint, compelling us, if we would learn any thing, to concentrate the forces of thought, and to bridle the caprices of fancy. All law, divine or human, is, as the name imports, restraint. No one feels more than I do the need of this element of human life. He who would fly from it must live in perpetual conflict with nature, society, and himself.

But all this does not prove that liberty, free action, is not an infinite good, and that we should seek and guard it with sleepless jealousy. For if we look at the various restraints of which I have spoken, we shall see that liberty is the end and purpose of all. Nature's powers around us hem us in, only to rouse a free power within us. It acts that we should react. Burdens press on us, that the soul's elastic force should come forth. Bounds are set, that we should clear them. The weight, which gravitation fastens to our limbs, incites us to borrow speed from winds and steam, and we fly where we seemed doomed to creep. The sea, which first stopped us, becomes the path to a new hemisphere. The sharp necessities of life, cold, hunger, pain, which chain man to toil, wake up his faculties, and fit him for wider action. Duty restrains the passions, only that the nobler faculties and affections may have freer play, may ascend to God, and embrace all his works. Parents impose restraint, that the child may learn to go alone, may outgrow authority. Government is ordained, that the rights and freedom of each and all may be inviolate. In study thought is confined, that it may penetrate the depths of truth, may seize on the great laws of nature, and take a bolder range. Thus freedom, ever-expanding action, is the end of all just restraint. Restraint, without this end, is a slavish yoke. How often has it broken the young spirit, tamed the heart and the intellect, and made social life a standing pool. We were made for free action. This alone is life, and enters into all that is good and great. Virtue is free choice of the right; love, the free embrace of the heart; grace, the free motion of the limbs; genius, the free, bold flight of thought; eloquence, its free and fervent utterance. Let me add, that social order is better preserved by liberty than by restraint. The latter, unless most wisely and justly employed, frets, exasperates, and provokes secret resistance; and still more, it is rendered needful very much by that unhappy constitution of society which denies to multitudes the opportunities of free activity. A community, which should open a great variety of spheres to its members, so that all might find free scope for their powers, would need little array of force for restraint. Liberty would prove the best peace-officer. The social order of New England, without a soldier and almost without a police, bears loud witness to this truth. These views may suffice to ex-

plain the frequent recurrence of this topic in the following tracts.

I will advert to one topic more, and do it briefly, that I may not extend these remarks beyond reasonable bounds. I have written once and again on war, —a hackneyed subject, as it is called, yet, one would think, too terrible ever to become a commonplace. Is this insanity never to cease? At this moment, whilst I write, two of the freest and most enlightened nations, having one origin, bound together above all others by mutual dependence, by the interweaving of interests, are thought by some to be on the brink of war. False notions of national honor, as false and unholy as those of the duellist, do most towards fanning this fire. Great nations, like great boys, place their honor in resisting insult and in fighting well. One would think the time had gone by in which nations needed to rush to arms to prove that they were not cowards. If there is one truth, which history has taught, it is, that communities in all stages of society, from the most barbarous to the most civilized, have sufficient courage. No people can charge upon its conscience that it has not shed blood enough in proof of its valor. Almost any man, under the usual stimulants of the camp, can stand fire. The poor wretch, enlisted from a dram-shop and turned into the ranks, soon fights like a "hero." Must France, and England, and America, after so many hard-fought fields, go to war to disprove the charge of wanting spirit? Is it not time that the point of honor should undergo some change, that some glimpses at least of the true glory of a nation should be caught by rulers and people? "It is the honor of a man to pass over a transgression," and so it is of states. To be wronged is no disgrace. To bear wrong generously, till every means of conciliation is exhausted; to recoil with manly dread from the slaughter of our fellow-creaures; to put confidence in the justice which other nations will do to our motives: to have that consciousness of courage which will make us scorn the reproach of cowardice; to feel that there is something grander than the virtue of savages; to desire peace for the world as well as ourselves, and to shrink from kindling a flame which may involve the world; these are the principles and feelings which do honor to a people. Has not the time come when a nation professing these may cast itself on the candor of mankind? Must fresh blood flow for ever, to keep clean the escutcheon of a nation's glory? For one, I look on war with a horror which no words can express. I have long wanted patience to read of battles. Were the world of my mind, no man would fight for glory; for the name of a commander, who has no other claim to respect, seldom passes my lips, and the want of sympathy drives him from my mind. The thought of man, God's immortal child, butchered by his brother; the thought of sea and land stained with human blood by human hands, of women and children buried under the ruins of besieged cities, of the resources of empires and the mighty powers of nature all turned by man's malignity into engines of torture and destruction; this thought gives to earth the semblance of hell. I shudder as among demons. I cannot now, as I once did, talk lightly, thoughtlessly of fighting with this or that nation. That nation is no longer an abstraction to me. It is no longer a vague mass. It spreads out before me into individuals, in a thousand interesting forms and relations. It consists of husbands and wives, parents and children, who love one another as I love my own home. It consists of affectionate women and sweet children. It consists of Christians, united with me to the common Saviour, and in whose spirit I reverence the likeness of his divine virtue. It consists of a vast multitude of laborers at the plough and in the workshop, whose toils I sympathize with, whose burden I should rejoice to lighten, and for whose elevation I have pleaded. It consists of men of science, taste, genius, whose writings have beguiled my solitary hours, and given life to my intellect and best affections. Here is the nation which I am called to fight with, into whose families I must send mourning, whose fall or humiliation I must seek through blood. I cannot do it, without a clear commission from God. I love this nation. Its men and women are my brothers and sisters. I could not, without unutterable pain,

thrust a sword into their hearts. If, indeed, my country were invaded by hostile armies, threatening without disguise its rights, liberties, and dearest interests, I should strive to repel them, just as I should repel a criminal who should enter my house to slay what I hold most dear, and what is intrusted to my care. But I cannot confound with such a case the common instances of war. In general, war is the work of ambitious men, whose principles have gained no strength from the experience of public life, whose policy is colored if not swayed by personal views or party interests, who do not seek peace with a single heart, who, to secure doubtful rights, perplex the foreign relations of the state, spread jealousies at home and abroad, enlist popular passions on the side of strife, commit themselves too far for retreat, and are then forced to leave to the arbitration of the sword what an impartial umpire could easily have arranged. The question of peace and war is too often settled for a country by men in whom a Christian, a lover of his race, can put little or no trust; and, at the bidding of such men, is he to steep his hands in human blood? But this insanity is passing away. This savageness cannot endure, however hardened to it men are by long use. The hope of waking up some from their lethargy has induced me to recur to this topic so often in my writings.

I might name other topics, which occupy a large space in the following tracts, but enough has been said here. I will only add, that I submit these volumes to the public with a deep feeling of their imperfections. Indeed, on such subjects as God, and Christ, and duty, and immortality, and perfection, how faint must all human utterance be! In another life, we shall look back on our present words as we do on the lispings of our childhood. Still these lispings conduct the child to higher speech. Still, amidst our weakness, we may learn something, and make progress, and quicken one another by free communication. We indeed know and teach comparatively little; but the known is not the less true or precious, because there is an infinite unknown. Nor ought our ignorance to discourage us, as if we were left to hopeless scepticism. There are great truths, which every honest heart may be assured of. There *is* such a thing as a serene, immovable conviction. Faith is a deep want of the soul. We have faculties for the spiritual as truly as for the outward world. God, the foundation of all existence, may become to the mind the most real of all beings. We can and do see in virtue an everlasting beauty. The distinctions of right and wrong, the obligations of goodness and justice, the divinity of conscience, the moral connection of the present and future life, the greatness of the character of Christ, the ultimate triumphs of truth and love, are to multitudes not probable deductions, but intuitions accompanied with the consciousness of certainty. They shine with the clear, constant brightness of the lights of heaven. The believer feels himself resting on an everlasting foundation. It is to this power of moral or spiritual perception that the following writings are chiefly addressed. I have had testimony that they have not been wholly ineffectual in leading some minds to a more living and unfaltering persuasion of great moral truths. Without this, I should be little desirous to send them out in this new form. I trust that they will meet some wants. Books which are to pass away, may yet render much service by their fitness to the intellectual struggles and moral aspirations of the times in which they are written. If in this or in any way I can serve the cause of truth, humanity, and religion, I shall regard my labors as having earned the best recompense which God bestows on his creatures.

W. E. C.

BOSTON, *April 18th*, 1841.

P. S.—I intended to say, that some of the following tracts savor of the periods in which they were written, and give opinions which time has disproved. In the article on Napoleon Bonaparte, fears are expressed which have in a good measure passed away. In the same Review, the conqueror of Waterloo is spoken of as having only the merit of a great soldier. No one then believed that his opponents were soon to acknowledge his eminence in civil as in military affairs. The article is left as it was, from the difficulty of remodelling it, and because it may be useful as a record of past impressions.

SELF-CULTURE:

An Address Introductory to the Franklin Lectures, delivered at Boston, Sept. 1838.

[THIS Address was intended to make two lectures; but the author was led to abridge it and deliver it as one, partly by the apprehension that some passages were too abstract for a popular address, partly to secure the advantages of presenting the whole subject at once and in close connection, and for other reasons which need not be named. Most of the passages which were omitted are now published. The author respectfully submits the discourse to those for whom it was particularly intended, and to the public, in the hope that it will at least bring a great subject before the minds of some who may not as yet have given to it the attention it deserves.]

MY RESPECTED FRIENDS,—By the invitation of the committee of arrangements for the Franklin Lectures, I now appear before you to offer some remarks introductory to this course. My principal inducement for doing so is my deep interest in those of my fellow-citizens for whom these lectures are principally designed. I understood that they were to be attended chiefly by those who are occupied by manual labor; and, hearing this, I did not feel myself at liberty to decline the service to which I had been invited. I wished by compliance to express my sympathy with this large portion of my race. I wished to express my sense of obligation to those from whose industry and skill I derive almost all the comforts of life. I wished still more to express my joy in the efforts they are making for their own improvement, and my firm faith in their success. These motives will give a particular character and bearing to some of my remarks. I shall speak occasionally as among those who live by the labor of their hands. But I shall not speak as one separated from them. I belong rightfully to the great fraternity of working men. Happily in this community we all are bred and born to work; and this honorable mark, set on us all, should bind together the various portions of the community.

I have expressed my strong interest in the mass of the people; and this is founded, not on their usefulness to the community, so much as on what they are in themselves. Their condition is indeed obscure; but their importance is not on this account a whit the less. The multitude of men cannot, from the nature of the case, be distinguished: for the very idea of distinction is, that a man stands out from the multitude. They make little noise and draw little notice in their narrow spheres of action: but still they have their full proportion of personal worth and even of greatness. Indeed every man, in every condition, is great. It is only our own diseased sight which makes him little. A man is great as a man, be he where or what he may. The grandeur of his nature turns to insignificance all outward distinctions. His powers of intellect, of conscience, of love, of knowing God, of perceiving the beautiful, of acting on his own mind, on outward nature, and on his fellow-creatures, — these are glorious prerogatives. Through the vulgar error of undervaluing what is common, we are apt indeed to pass these by as of little worth. But as in the outward creation, so in the soul, the common is the most precious. Science and art may invent splendid modes of illuminating the apartments of the opulent; but these are all poor and worthless compared with the common light which the sun sends into all our windows, which he pours freely, impar-

tially over hill and valley, which kindles daily the eastern and western sky; and so the common lights of reason, and conscience, and love, are of more worth and dignity than the rare endowments which give celebrity to a few. Let us not disparage that nature which is common to all men; for no thought can measure its grandeur. It is the image of God, the image even of his infinity, for no limits can be set to its unfolding. He who possesses the divine powers of the soul is a great being, be his place what it may. You may clothe him with rags, may immure him in a dungeon, may chain him to slavish tasks. But he is still great. You may shut him out of your houses: but God opens to him heavenly mansions. He makes no show indeed in the streets of a splendid city; but a clear thought, a pure affection, a resolute act of a virtuous will, have a dignity of quite another kind, and far higher than accumulations of brick and granite and plaster and stucco, however cunningly put together, or though stretching far beyond our sight. Nor is this all. If we pass over this grandeur of our common nature, and turn our thoughts to that comparative greatness, which draws chief attention, and which consists in the decided superiority of the individual to the general standard of power and character, we shall find this as free and frequent a growth among the obscure and unnoticed as in more conspicuous walks of life. The truly great are to be found everywhere, nor is it easy to say in what condition they spring up most plentifully. Real greatness has nothing to do with a man's sphere. It does not lie in the magnitude of his outward agency, in the extent of the effects which he produces. The greatest men may do comparatively little abroad. Perhaps the greatest in our city at this moment are buried in obscurity. Grandeur of character lies wholly in force of soul, that is, in the force of thought, moral principle, and love, and this may be found in the humblest condition of life. A man brought up to an obscure trade, and hemmed in by the wants of a growing family, may, in his narrow sphere, perceive more clearly, discriminate more keenly, weigh evidence more wisely, seize on the right means more decisively, and have more presence of mind in difficulty, than another who has accumulated vast stores of knowledge by laborious study; and he has more of intellectual greatness. Many a man, who has gone but a few miles from home, understands human nature better, detects motives and weighs character more sagaciously, than another who has travelled over the known world, and made a name by his reports of different countries. It is force of thought which measures intellectual, and so it is force of principle which measures moral greatness, that highest of human endowments, that brightest manifestation of the Divinity. The greatest man is he who chooses the right with invincible resolution, who resists the sorest temptations from within and without, who bears the heaviest burdens cheerfully, who is calmest in storms, and most fearless under menace and frowns, whose reliance on truth, on virtue, on God, is most unfaltering; and is this a greatness which is apt to make a show, or which is most likely to abound in conspicuous station? The solemn conflicts of reason with passion; the victories of moral and religious principle over urgent and almost irresistible solicitations to self-indulgence; the hardest sacrifices of duty, those of deep-seated affection and of the heart's fondest hopes; the consolations, hopes, joys, and peace of disappointed, persecuted, scorned, deserted virtue: — these are of course unseen: so that the true greatness of human life is almost wholly out of sight. Perhaps in our presence, the most heroic deed on earth is done in some silent spirit, the loftiest purpose cherished the most generous sacrifice made and we do not suspect it. I believe this greatness to be most common among the multitude, whose names are never heard. Among common people will be found more of hardship borne manfully, more of unvarnished truth, more of religious trust, more of that generosity which gives what the giver needs himself, and more of a wise estimate of life and death, than among the more prosperous. — And even in regard to influence over other beings, which is thought the peculiar prerogative of distinguished station, I believe that the difference between the conspicuous and the obscure does not amount to much. Influence is to be measured, not by the extent of surface it covers, but by its *kind*. A man may

spread his mind, his feelings, and opinions, through a great extent; but if his mind be a low one, he manifests no greatness. A wretched artist may fill a city with daubs, and by a false, showy style achieve a reputation; but the man of genius, who leaves behind him one grand picture, in which immortal beauty is embodied, and which is silently to spread a true taste in his art, exerts an incomparably higher influence. Now the noblest influence on earth is that exerted on character; and he who puts forth this does a great work, no matter how narrow or obscure his sphere. The father and mother of an unnoticed family, who, in their seclusion, awaken the mind of one child to the idea and love of perfect goodness, who awaken in him a strength of will to repel all temptation, and who send him out prepared to profit by the conflicts of life, surpass in influence a Napoleon breaking the world to his sway. And not only is their work higher in kind; who knows but that they are doing a greater work even as to extent of surface than the conqueror? Who knows but that the being whom they inspire with holy and disinterested principles may communicate himself to others; and that, by a spreading agency, of which they were the silent origin, improvements may spread through a nation, through the world? In these remarks you will see why I feel and express a deep interest in the obscure, in the mass of men. The distinctions of society vanish before the light of these truths. I attach myself to the multitude, not because they are voters and have political power; but because they are men, and have within their reach the most glorious prizes of humanity.

In this country the mass of the people are distinguished by possessing means of improvement, of self-culture, possessed nowhere else. To incite them to the use of these is to render them the best service they can receive. Accordingly, I have chosen for the subject of this lecture Self-culture, or the care which every man owes to himself, to the unfolding and perfecting of his nature. I consider this topic as particularly appropriate to the introduction of a course of lectures, in consequence of a common disposition to regard these and other like means of instruction as able of themselves to carry forward the hearer. Lectures have their use. They stir up many who, but for such outward appeals, might have slumbered to the end of life. But let it be remembered that little is to be gained simply by coming to this place once a week, and giving up the mind for an hour to be wrought upon by a teacher. Unless we are roused to act upon ourselves, unless we engage in the work of self-improvement, unless we purpose strenuously to form and elevate our own minds, unless what we hear is made a part of ourselves by conscientious reflection, very little permanent good is received.

Self-culture, I am aware, is a topic too extensive for a single discourse, and I shall be able to present but a few views which seem to me most important. My aim will be, to give first the idea of self-culture, next its means, and then to consider some objections to the leading views which I am now to lay before you.

Before entering on the discussion, let me offer one remark. Self-culture is something possible. It is not a dream. It has foundations in our nature. Without this conviction, the speaker will but declaim, and the hearer listen without profit. There are two powers of the human soul which make self-culture possible, — the self-searching and the self-forming power. We have first the faculty of turning the mind on itself; of recalling its past, and watching its present operations; of learning its various capacities and susceptibilities, what it can do and bear, what it can enjoy and suffer; and of thus learning in general what our nature is, and what it was made for. It is worthy of observation, that we are able to discern not only what we already are, but what we may become, to see in ourselves germs and promises of a growth to which no bounds can be set, to dart beyond what we have actually gained to the idea of perfection as the end of our being. It is by this self comprehending power that we are distinguished from the brutes, which give no signs of looking into themselves. Without this there would be no self-culture, for we should not know the work to be done: and one reason why self-culture is so little proposed is, that so few penetrate into their own nature. To most men, their own spirits are shadowy, unreal, compared with what is outward. When they happen to cast a glance inward, they see

there only a dark, vague chaos. They distinguish, perhaps, some violent passion, which has driven them to injurious excess; but their highest powers hardly attract a thought; and thus multitudes live and die as truly strangers to themselves as to countries of which they have heard the name, but which human foot has never trodden.

But self-culture is possible, not only because we can enter into and search ourselves. We have a still nobler power, that of acting on, determining, and forming ourselves. This is a fearful as well as glorious endowment, for it is the ground of human responsibility. We have the power not only of tracing our powers, but of guiding and impelling them; not only of watching our passions, but of controlling them; not only of seeing our faculties grow, but of applying to them means and influences to aid their growth. We can stay or change the current of thought. We can concentrate the intellect on objects which we wish to comprehend. We can fix our eyes on perfection, and make almost every thing speed towards it. This is, indeed, a noble prerogative of our nature. Possessing this, it matters little what or where we are now, for we can conquer a better lot, and even be happier for starting from the lowest point. Of all the discoveries which men need to make, the most important, at the present moment, is that of the self-forming power treasured up in themselves. They little suspect its extent, as little as the savage apprehends the energy which the mind is created to exert on the material world. It transcends in importance all our power over outward nature. There is more of divinity in it than in the force which impels the outward universe; and yet how little we comprehend it! How it slumbers in most men unsuspected, unused! This makes self-culture possible, and binds it on us as a solemn duty.

I. I am first to unfold the idea of self-culture; and this, in its most general form, may easily be seized. To cultivate any thing, be it a plant, an animal, a mind, is to make grow. Growth, expansion, is the end. Nothing admits culture but that which has a principle of life, capable of being expanded. He, therefore, who does what he can to unfold all his powers and capacities, especially his nobler ones, so as to become a well-proportioned, vigorous, excellent, happy being, practices self-culture.

This culture, of course, has various branches corresponding to the different capacities of human nature; but, though various, they are intimately united, and make progress together. The soul, which our philosophy divides into various capacities, is still one essence, one life; and it exerts at the same moment, and blends in the same act, its various energies of thought, feeling, and volition. Accordingly, in a wise self-culture, all the principles of our nature grow at once by joint, harmonious action, just as all parts of the plant are unfolded together. When, therefore, you hear of different branches of self-improvement, you will not think of them as distinct processes going on independently of each other, and requiring each its own separate means. Still a distinct consideration of these is needed to a full comprehension of the subject, and these I shall proceed to unfold.

First, self-culture is moral, a branch of singular importance. When a man looks into himself, he discovers two distinct orders or kinds of principles, which it behoves him especially to comprehend. He discovers desires, appetites, passions, which terminate in himself, which crave and seek his own interest, gratification, distinction; and he discovers another principle, an antagonist to these, which is impartial, disinterested, universal, enjoining on him a regard to the rights and happiness of other beings, and laying on him obligations which *must* be discharged, cost what they may, or however they may clash with his particular pleasure or gain. No man, however narrowed to his own interest, however hardened by selfishness, can deny that there springs up within him a great idea in opposition to interest, the idea of duty, that an inward voice calls him, more or less distinctly, to revere and exercise impartial justice and universal good-will. This disinterested principle in human nature we call sometimes reason, sometimes conscience, sometimes the moral sense or faculty. But, be its name what it may, it is a real principle in each of us and it is the supreme power within us, to be cultivated above all others, for on its culture the right development of all

others depends. The passions indeed may be stronger than the conscience, may lift up a louder voice; but their clamor differs wholly from the tone of command in which the conscience speaks. They are not clothed with its authority, its binding power. In their very triumphs they are rebuked by the moral principle, and often cower before its still, deep, menacing voice. No part of self-knowledge is more important than to discern clearly these two great principles, the self-seeking and the disinterested; and the most important part of self-culture is to depress the former, and to exalt the latter, or to enthrone the sense of duty within us. There are no limits to the growth of this moral force in man, if he will cherish it faithfully. There have been men, whom no power in the universe could turn from the right, by whom death in its most dreadful forms has been less dreaded than transgression of the inward law of universal justice and love.

In the next place, self-culture is religious. When we look into ourselves, we discover powers which link us with this outward, visible, finite, ever-changing world. We have sight and other senses to discern, and limbs and various faculties to secure and appropriate the material creation. And we have, too, a power which cannot stop at what we see and handle, at what exists within the bounds of space and time, which seeks for the Infinite, Uncreated Cause, which cannot rest till it ascend to the Eternal, All-comprehending Mind. This we call the religious principle, and its grandeur cannot be exaggerated by human language; for it marks out a being destined for higher communion than with the visible universe. To develop this is eminently to educate ourselves. The true idea of God, unfolded clearly and livingly within us, and moving us to adore and obey him, and to aspire after likeness to him, is the noblest growth in human, and, I may add, in celestial natures. The religious principle and the moral are intimately connected, and grow together. The former is indeed the perfection and highest manifestation of the latter. They are both disinterested. It is the essence of true religion to recognize and adore in God the attributes of Impartial Justice and Universal Love, and to hear him commanding us in the conscience to become what we adore.

Again. Self-culture is intellectual. We cannot look into ourselves without discovering the intellectual principle, the power which thinks, reasons, and judges, the power of seeking and acquiring truth. This, indeed, we are in no danger of overlooking. The intellect being the great instrument by which men compass their wishes, it draws more attention than any of our other powers. When we speak to men of improving themselves, the first thought which occurs to them is, that they must cultivate their understanding, and get knowledge and skill. By education, men mean almost exclusively intellectual training. For this, schools and colleges are instituted, and to this the moral and religious discipline of the young is sacrificed. Now I reverence, as much as any man, the intellect; but let us never exalt it above the moral principle. With this it is most intimately connected. In this its culture is founded, and to exalt this is its highest aim. Whoever desires that his intellect may grow up to soundness, to healthy vigor, must begin with moral discipline. Reading and study are not enough to perfect the power of thought. One thing above all is needful, and that is, the disinterestedness which is the very soul of virtue. To gain truth, which is the great object of the understanding, I must seek it disinterestedly. Here is the first and grand condition of intellectual progress. I must choose to receive the truth, no matter how it bears on myself. I must follow it, no matter where it leads, what interests it opposes, to what persecution or loss it lays me open, from what party it severs me, or to what party it allies. Without this fairness of mind, which is only another phrase for disinterested love of truth, great native powers of understanding are perverted and led astray; genius runs wild; "the light within us becomes darkness." The subtilest reasoners, for want of this, cheat themselves as well as others, and become entangled in the web of their own sophistry. It is a fact well known in the history of science and philosophy, that men, gifted by nature with singular intelligence, have broached the grossest errors, and even sought to undermine the grand primitive truths on which human virtue, dignity, and hope

depend. And, on the other hand, I have known instances of men of naturally moderate powers of mind who, by a disinterested love of truth and their fellow-creatures, have gradually risen to no small force and enlargement of thought. Some of the most useful teachers in the pulpit and in schools have owed their power of enlightening others, not so much to any natural superiority as to the simplicity, impartiality, and disinterestedness of their minds, to their readiness to live and die for the truth. A man who rises above himself looks from an eminence on nature and providence, on society and life. Thought expands, as by a natural elasticity, when the pressure of selfishness is removed. The moral and religious principles of the soul, generously cultivated, fertilize the intellect. Duty, faithfully performed, opens the mind to truth, both being of one family, alike immutable, universal, and everlasting.

I have enlarged on this subject, because the connection between moral and intellectual culture is often overlooked, and because the former is often sacrificed to the latter. The exaltation of talent, as it is called, above virtue and religion, is the curse of the age. Education is now chiefly a stimulus to learning, and thus men acquire power without the principles which alone make it a good. Talent is worshipped; but, if divorced from rectitude, it will prove more of a demon than a god.

Intellectual culture consists, not chiefly, as many are apt to think, in accumulating information, though this is important, but in building up a force of thought which may be turned at will on any subjects on which we are called to pass judgment. This force is manifested in the concentration of the attention, in accurate, penetrating observation, in reducing complex subjects to their elements, in diving beneath the effect to the cause, in detecting the more subtile differences and resemblances of things, in reading the future in the present, and especially in rising from particular facts to general laws or universal truths. This last exertion of the intellect, its rising to broad views and great principles, constitutes what is called the philosophical mind, and is especially worthy of culture. What it means, your own observation must have taught you. You must have taken note of two classes of men, the one always employed on details, on particular facts, and the other using these facts as foundations of higher, wider truths. The latter are philosophers. For example, men had for ages seen pieces of wood, stones, metals falling to the ground. Newton seized on these particular facts, and rose to the idea that all matter tends, or is attracted, towards all matter, and then defined the law according to which this attraction or force acts at different distances, thus giving us a grand principle, which, we have reason to think, extends to and controls the whole outward creation. One man reads a history, and can tell you all its events, and there stops. Another combines these events, brings them under one view, and learns the great causes which are at work on this or another nation, and what are its great tendencies, whether to freedom or despotism, to one or another form of civilization. So, one man talks continually about the particular actions of this or another neighbor; whilst another looks beyond the acts to the inward principle from which they spring, and gathers from them larger views of human nature. In a word, one man sees all things apart and in fragments, whilst another strives to discover the harmony, connection, unity of all. One of the great evils of society is, that men, occupied perpetually with petty details, want general truths, want broad and fixed principles. Hence many, not wicked, are unstable, habitually inconsistent, as if they were overgrown children rather than men. To build up that strength of mind which apprehends and cleaves to great universal truths, is the highest intellectual self-culture; and here I wish you to observe how entirely this culture agrees with that of the moral and the religious principles of our nature of which I have previously spoken. In each of these, the improvement of the soul consists in raising it above what is narrow, particular, individual, selfish, to the universal and unconfined. To improve a man is to liberalize, enlarge him in thought, feeling, and purpose. Narrowness of intellect and heart, this is the degradation from which all culture aims to rescue the human being.

Again. Self-culture is social, or one of its great offices is to unfold and purify the affections which spring up instinc-

tively in the human breast, which bind together husband and wife, parent and child, brother and sister; which bind a man to friends and neighbors, to his country, and to the suffering who fall under his eye, wherever they belong. The culture of these is an important part of our work, and it consists in converting them from instincts into principles, from natural into spiritual attachments, in giving them a rational, moral, and holy character. For example, our affection for our children is at first instinctive; and if it continue such, it rises little above the brute's attachment to its young. But when a parent infuses into his natural love for his offspring moral and religious principle; when he comes to regard his child as an intelligent, spiritual, immortal being, and honors him as such, and desires first of all to make him disinterested, noble, a worthy child of God and the friend of his race, then the instinct rises into a generous and holy sentiment. It resembles God's paternal love for his spiritual family. A like purity and dignity we must aim to give to all our affections.

Again. Self-culture is practical, or it proposes, as one of its chief ends, to fit us for action, to make us efficient in whatever we undertake, to train us to firmness of purpose and to fruitfulness of resource in common life, and especially in emergencies, in times of difficulty, danger, and trial. But passing over this and other topics for which I have no time, I shall confine myself to two branches of self-culture which have been almost wholly overlooked in the education of the people, and which ought not to be so slighted.

In looking at our nature, we discover, among its admirable endowments, the sense or perception of beauty. We see the germ of this in every human being, and there is no power which admits greater cultivation; and why should it not be cherished in all? It deserves remark, that the provision for this principle is infinite in the universe. There is but a very minute portion of the creation which we can turn into food and clothes, or gratification for the body; but the whole creation may be used to minister to the sense of beauty. Beauty is an all-pervading presence. It unfolds in the numberless flowers of the spring. It waves in the branches of the trees and the green blades of grass. It haunts the depths of the earth and sea, and gleams out in the hues of the shell and the precious stone. And not only these minute objects, but the ocean, the mountains, the clouds, the heavens, the stars, the rising and setting sun, all overflow with beauty. The universe is its temple; and those men who are alive to it cannot lift their eyes without feeling themselves encompassed with it on every side. Now this beauty is so precious, the enjoyments it gives are so refined and pure, so congenial with our tenderest and noble feelings, and so akin to worship, that it is painful to think of the multitude of men as living in the midst of it, and living almost as blind to it as if, instead of this fair earth and glorious sky, they were tenants of a dungeon. An infinite joy is lost to the world by the want of culture of this spiritual endowment. Suppose that I were to visit a cottage, and to see its walls lined with the choicest pictures of Raphael, and every spare nook filled with statues of the most exquisite workmanship, and that I were to learn that neither man, woman, nor child ever cast an eye at these miracles of art, how should I feel their privation! — how should I want to open their eyes, and to help them to comprehend and feel the loveliness and grandeur which in vain courted their notice! But every husbandman is living in sight of the works of a diviner Artist; and how much would his existence be elevated could he see the glory which shines forth in their forms, hues, proportions, and moral expression! I have spoken only of the beauty of nature; but how much of this mysterious charm is found in the elegant arts, and especially in literature! The best books have most beauty. The greatest truths are wronged if not linked with beauty, and they win their way most surely and deeply into the soul when arrayed in this their natural and fit attire. Now no man receives the true culture of a man in whom the sensibility to the beautiful is not cherished; and I know of no condition in life from which it should be excluded. Of all luxuries, this is the cheapest and most at hand; and it seems to me to be most important to those conditions where coarse labor tends to give a grossness to the mind. From the diffusion of the sense of beauty in ancient

Greece, and of the taste for music in modern Germany, we learn that the people at large may partake of refined gratifications, which have hitherto been thought to be necessarily restricted to a few.

What beauty is, is a question which the most penetrating minds have not satisfactorily answered; nor, were I able, is this the place for discussing it. But one thing I would say; the beauty of the outward creation is intimately related to the lovely, grand, interesting attributes of the soul. It is the emblem or expression of these. Matter becomes beautiful to us when it seems to lose its material aspect, its inertness, finiteness, and grossness, and by the ethereal lightness of its forms and motions seems to approach spirit; when it images to us pure and gentle affections; when it spreads out into a vastness which is a shadow of the Infinite; or when in more awful shapes and movements it speaks of the Omnipotent. Thus outward beauty is akin to something deeper and unseen, is the reflection of spiritual attributes: and of consequence the way to see and feel it more and more keenly is to cultivate those moral, religious, intellectual, and social principles of which I have already spoken, and which are the glory of the spiritual nature; and I name this that you may see, what I am anxious to show, the harmony which subsists among all branches of human culture, or how each forwards and is aided by all.

There is another power, which each man should cultivate according to his ability, but which is very much neglected in the mass of the people, and that is, the power of utterance. A man was not made to shut up his mind in itself; but to give it voice and to exchange it for other minds. Speech is one of our grand distinctions from the brute. Our power over others lies not so much in the amount of thought within us as in the power of bringing it out. A man of more than ordinary intellectual vigor may, for want of expression, be a cipher, without significance, in society. And not only does a man influence others, but he greatly aids his own intellect by giving distinct and forcible utterance to his thoughts. We understand ourselves better, our conceptions grow clearer, by the very effort to make them clear to another. Our social rank, too, depends a good deal on our power of utterance. The principal distinction between what are called gentlemen and the vulgar lies in this, that the latter are awkward in manners, and are especially wanting in propriety, clearness, grace, and force of utterance. A man who cannot open his lips without breaking a rule of grammar, without showing in his dialect or brogue or uncouth tones his want of cultivation, or without darkening his meaning by a confused, unskilful mode of communication, cannot take the place to which, perhaps, his native good sense entitles him. To have intercourse with respectable people, we must speak their language. On this account, I am glad that grammar and a correct pronunciation are taught in the common schools of this city. These are not trifles; nor are they superfluous to any class of people. They give a man access to social advantages, on which his improvement very much depends. The power of utterance should be included by all in their plans of self-culture.

I have now given a few views of the culture, the improvement, which every man should propose to himself. I have all along gone on the principle that a man has within him capacities of growth which deserve and will reward intense, unrelaxing toil. I do not look on a human being as a machine, made to be kept in action by a foreign force, to accomplish an unvarying succession of motions, to do a fixed amount of work, and then to fall to pieces at death, but as a being of free spiritual powers; and I place little value on any culture but that which aims to bring out these, and to give them perpetual impulse and expansion. I am aware that this view is far from being universal. The common notion has been, that the mass of the people need no other culture than is necessary to fit them for their various trades; and, though this error is passing away, it is far from being exploded. But the ground of a man's culture lies in his nature, not in his calling. His powers are to be unfolded on account of their inherent dignity, not their outward direction. He is to be educated, because he is a man, not because he is to make shoes, nails, or pins. A trade is plainly not the great end of his being, for his mind cannot be shut up in it; his force

of thought cannot be exhausted on it. He has faculties to which it gives no action, and deep wants it cannot answer. Poems, and systems of theology and philosophy, which have made some noise in the world, have been wrought at the work-bench and amidst the toils of the field. How often, when the arms are mechanically plying a trade, does the mind, lost in reverie or day-dreams, escape to the ends of the earth! How often does the pious heart of woman mingle the greatest of all thoughts, that of God, with household drudgery! Undoubtedly a man is to perfect himself in his trade, for by it he is to earn his bread and to serve the community. But bread or subsistence is not his highest good: for, if it were, his lot would be harder than that of the inferior animals, for whom nature spreads a table and weaves a wardrobe, without a care of their own. Nor was he made chiefly to minister to the wants of the community. A rational, moral being cannot, without infinite wrong, be converted into a mere instrument of others' gratification. He is necessarily an end, not a means. A mind, in which are sown the seeds of wisdom, disinterestedness, firmness of purpose, and piety, is worth more than all the outward material interests of a world. It exists for itself, for its own perfection, and must not be enslaved to its own or others' animal wants. You tell me that a liberal culture is needed for men who are to fill high stations, but not for such as are doomed to vulgar labor. I answer, that man is a greater name than president or king. Truth and goodness are equally precious, in whatever sphere they are found. Besides, men of all conditions sustain equally the relations which give birth to the highest virtues and demand the highest powers. The laborer is not a mere laborer. He has close, tender, responsible connections with God and his fellow-creatures. He is a son, husband, father, friend, and Christian. He belongs to a home, a country, a church, a race; and is such a man to be cultivated only for a trade? Was he not sent into the world for a great work? To educate a child perfectly requires profounder thought, greater wisdom, than to govern a state; and for this plain reason, that the interests and wants of the latter are more superficial, coarser, and more obvious than the spiritual capacities, the growth of thought and feeling, and the subtile laws of the mind, which must all be studied and comprehended before the work of education can be thoroughly performed; and yet to all conditions this greatest work on earth is equally committed by God. What plainer proof do we need that a higher culture than has yet been dreamed of is needed by our whole race?

II. I now proceed to inquire into the means by which the self-culture just described may be promoted; and here I know not where to begin. The subject is so extensive, as well as important, that I feel myself unable to do any justice to it, especially in the limits to which I am confined. I beg you to consider me as presenting but hints, and such as have offered themselves with very little research to my own mind.

And, first, the great means of self-culture, that which includes all the rest, is to fasten on this culture as our great end, to determine deliberately and solemnly that we will make the most and the best of the powers which God has given us. Without this resolute purpose, the best means are worth little, and with it the poorest become mighty. You may see thousands, with every opportunity of improvement which wealth can gather, with teachers, libraries, and apparatus, bringing nothing to pass, and others, with few helps, doing wonders; and simply because the latter are in earnest, and the former not. A man in earnest finds means, or, if he cannot find, creates them. A vigorous purpose makes much out of little, breathes power into weak instruments, disarms difficulties, and even turns them into assistances. Every condition has means of progress, if we have spirit enough to use them. Some volumes have recently been published, giving examples or histories of "knowledge acquired under difficulties;" and it is most animating to see in these what a resolute man can do for himself. A great idea, like this of self-culture, if seized on clearly and vigorously, burns like a living coal in the soul. He who deliberately adopts a great end, has, by this act, half accomplished it, has scaled the chief barrier to success.

One thing is essential to the strong

purpose of self-culture now insisted on; namely, faith in the practicableness of this culture. A great object, to awaken resolute choice, must be seen to be within our reach. The truth, that progress is the very end of our being, must not be received as a tradition, but comprehended and felt as a reality. Our minds are apt to pine and starve, by being imprisoned within what we have already attained. A true faith, looking up to something better, catching glimpses of a distant perfection, prophesying to ourselves improvements proportioned to our conscientious labors, gives energy of purpose, gives wings to the soul; and this faith will continually grow, by acquainting ourselves with our own nature, and with the promises of Divine help and immortal life which abound in Revelation.

Some are discouraged from proposing to themselves improvement, by the false notion that the study of books, which their situation denies them, is the all-important and only sufficient means. Let such consider that the grand volumes, of which all our books are transcripts, — I mean nature, revelation, the human soul, and human life, — are freely unfolded to every eye. The great sources of wisdom are experience and observation: and these are denied to none. To open and fix our eyes upon what passes without and within us is the most fruitful study. Books are chiefly useful as they help us to interpret what we see and experience. When they absorb men, as they sometimes do, and turn them from observation of nature and life, they generate a learned folly, for which the plain sense of the laborer could not be exchanged but at great loss. It deserves attention that the greatest men have been formed without the studies which at present are thought by many most needful to improvement. Homer, Plato, Demosthenes, never heard the name of chemistry, and knew less of the solar system than a boy in our common schools. Not that these sciences are unimportant: but the lesson is, that human improvement never wants the means, where the purpose of it is deep and earnest in the soul.

The purpose of self-culture, this is the life and strength of all the methods we use for our own elevation. I reiterate this principle on account of its great importance; and I would add a remark to prevent its misapprehension. When I speak of the purpose of self-culture, I mean that it should be sincere. In other words, we must make self-culture really and truly our end, or choose it for its own sake, and not merely as a means or instrument of something else. And here I touch a common and very pernicious error. Not a few persons desire to improve themselves only to get property and to rise in the world; but such do not properly choose improvement, but something outward and foreign to themselves; and so low an impulse can produce only a stinted, partial, uncertain growth. A man, as I have said, is to cultivate himself because he is a man. He is to start with the conviction that there is something greater within him than in the whole material creation, than in all the worlds which press on the eye and ear: and that inward improvements have a worth and dignity in themselves quite distinct from the power they give over outward things. Undoubtedly a man is to labor to better his condition, but first to better himself. If he knows no higher use of his mind than to invent and drudge for his body, his case is desperate as far as culture is concerned.

In these remarks, I do not mean to recommend to the laborer indifference to his outward lot. I hold it important that every man in every class should possess the means of comfort, of health, of neatness in food and apparel, and of occasional retirement and leisure. These are good in themselves, to be sought for their own sakes; and, still more, they are important means of the self-culture for which I am pleading. A clean, comfortable dwelling, with wholesome meals, is no small aid to intellectual and moral progress. A man living in a damp cellar or a garret open to rain and snow, breathing the foul air of a filthy room, and striving without success to appease hunger on scanty or unsavory food, is in danger of abandoning himself to a desperate, selfish recklessness. Improve, then, your lot. Multiply comforts, and, still more, get wealth if you can by honorable means, and if it do not cost too much. A true cultivation of the mind is fitted to forward you in your worldly

concerns, and you ought to use it for this end. Only, beware lest this end master you; lest your motives sink as your condition improves; lest you fall victims to the miserable passion of vying with those around you in show, luxury, and expense. Cherish a true respect for yourselves. Feel that your nature is worth more than every thing which is foreign to you. He who has not caught a glimpse of his own rational and spiritual being, of something within himself superior to the world and allied to the Divinity, wants the true spring of that purpose of self-culture on which I have insisted as the first of all the means of improvement.

I proceed to another important means of self-culture; and this is the control of the animal appetites. To raise the moral and intellectual nature, we must put down the animal. Sensuality is the abyss in which very many souls are plunged and lost. Among the most prosperous classes, what a vast amount of intellectual life is drowned in luxurious excesses! It is one great curse of wealth, that it is used to pamper the senses; and among the poorer classes, though luxury is wanting, yet a gross feeding often prevails, under which the spirit is whelmed. It is a sad sight to walk through our streets, and to see how many countenances bear marks of a lethargy and a brutal coarseness, induced by unrestrained indulgence. Whoever would cultivate the soul must restrain the appetites. I am not an advocate for the doctrine that animal food was not meant for man: but that this is used among us to excess, that as a people we should gain much in cheerfulness, activity, and buoyancy of mind, by less gross and stimulating food, I am strongly inclined to believe. Above all, let me urge on those who would bring out and elevate their higher nature, to abstain from the use of spirituous liquors. This bad habit is distinguished from all others by the ravages it makes on the reason, the intellect; and this effect is produced to a mournful extent, even when drunkenness is escaped. Not a few men, called temperate, and who have thought themselves such, have learned, on abstaining from the use of ardent spirits, that for years their minds had been clouded, impaired by moderate drinking, without their suspecting the injury. Multitudes in this city are bereft of half their intellectual energy, by a degree of indulgence which passes for innocent. Of all the foes of the working class, this is the deadliest. Nothing has done more to keep down this class, to destroy their self-respect, to rob them of their just influence in the community, to render profitless the means of improvement within their reach, than the use of ardent spirits as a drink. They are called on to withstand this practice, as they regard their honor, and would take their just place in society. They are under solemn obligations to give their sanction to every effort for its suppression. They ought to regard as their worst enemies (though unintentionally such), as the enemies of their rights, dignity, and influence, the men who desire to flood city and country with distilled poison. I lately visited a flourishing village, and on expressing to one of the respected inhabitants the pleasure I felt in witnessing so many signs of progress, he replied that one of the causes of the prosperity I witnessed was the disuse of ardent spirits by the people. And this reformation we may be assured wrought something higher than outward prosperity. In almost every family so improved, we cannot doubt that the capacities of the parent for intellectual and moral improvement were enlarged, and the means of education made more effectual to the child. I call on working men to take hold of the cause of temperance as peculiarly *their* cause. These remarks are the more needed, in consequence of the efforts made far and wide to annul at the present moment a recent law for the suppression of the sale of ardent spirits in such quantities as favor intemperance. I know that there are intelligent and good men who believe that, in enacting this law, government transcended its limits, left its true path, and established a precedent for legislative interference with all our pursuits and pleasures. No one here looks more jealously on government than myself. But I maintain that this is a case which stands by itself, which can be confounded with no other, and on which government, from its very nature and end, is peculiarly bound to act. Let it never be forgotten that the great end

of government, its highest function, is, not to make roads, grant charters, originate improvements, but to prevent or repress crimes against individual rights and social order. For this end it ordains a penal code, erects prisons, and inflicts fearful punishments. Now, if it be true that a vast proportion of the crimes which government is instituted to prevent and repress have their origin in the use of ardent spirits; if our poor-houses, work-houses, jails, and penitentiaries, are tenanted in a great degree by those whose first and chief impulse to crime came from the distillery and dram-shop; if murder and theft, the most fearful outrages on property and life, are most frequently the issues and consummation of intemperance, is not government bound to restrain by legislation the vending of the stimulus to these terrible social wrongs? Is government never to act as a parent, never to remove the causes or occasions of wrong-doing? Has it but one instrument for repressing crime; namely, public, infamous punishment, — an evil only inferior to crime? Is government a usurper, does it wander beyond its sphere, by imposing restraints on an article which does no imaginable good, which can plead no benefit conferred on body or mind, which unfits the citizen for the discharge of his duty to his country, and which, above all, stirs up men to the perpetration of most of the crimes from which it is the highest and most solemn office of government to protect society?

I come now to another important measure of self-culture, and this is, intercourse with superior minds. I have insisted on our own activity as essential to our progress: but we were not made to live or advance alone. Society is as needful to us as air or food. A child doomed to utter loneliness, growing up without sight or sound of human beings, would not put forth equal power with many brutes; and a man, never brought into contact with minds superior to his own, will probably run one and the same dull round of thought and action to the end of life.

It is chiefly through books that we enjoy intercourse with superior minds, and these invaluable means of communication are in the reach of all. In the best books great men talk to us, give us their most precious thoughts, and pour their souls into ours. God be thanked for books. They are the voices of the distant and the dead, and make us heirs of the spiritual life of past ages. Books are the true levellers. They give to all who will faithfully use them the society, the spiritual presence, of the best and greatest of our race. No matter how poor I am. No matter though the prosperous of my own time will not enter my obscure dwelling. If the Sacred Writers will enter and take up their abode under my roof; if Milton will cross my threshold to sing to me of Paradise, and Shakspeare to open to me the worlds of imagination and the workings of the human heart, and Franklin to enrich me with his practical wisdom, I shall not pine for want of intellectual companionship, and I may become a cultivated man though excluded from what is called the best society in the place where I live.

To make this means of culture effectual, a man must select good books, such as have been written by right-minded and strong-minded men, real thinkers, who, instead of diluting by repetition what others say, have something to say for themselves, and write to give relief to full, earnest souls; and these works must not be skimmed over for amusement, but read with fixed attention and a reverential love of truth. In selecting books, we may be aided much by those who have studied more than ourselves. But, after all, it is best to be determined in this particular a good deal by our own tastes. The best books for a man are not always those which the wise recommend, but oftener those which meet the peculiar wants the natural thirst of his mind, and therefore awaken interest and rivet thought. And here it may be well to observe, not only in regard to books but in other respects, that self-culture must vary with the individual. All means do not equally suit us all. A man must unfold himself freely, and should respect the peculiar gifts or biases by which nature has distinguished him from others. Self-culture does not demand the sacrifice of individuality. It does not regularly apply an established machinery, for the sake of torturing every man into one rigid shape, called perfection. As the

human countenance, with the same features in us all, is diversified without end in the race, and is never the same in any two individuals, so the human soul, with the same grand powers and laws, expands into an infinite variety of forms, and would be wofully stinted by modes of culture requiring all men to learn the same lesson or to bend to the same rules.

I know how hard it is to some men, especially to those who spend much time in manual labor, to fix attention on books. Let them strive to overcome the difficulty by choosing subjects of deep interest, or by reading in company with those whom they love. Nothing can supply the place of books. They are cheering or soothing companions in solitude, illness, affliction. The wealth of both continents would not compensate for the good they impart. Let every man, if possible, gather some good books under his roof, and obtain access for himself and family to some social library. Almost any luxury should be sacrificed to this.

One of the very interesting features of our times is the multiplication of books, and their distribution through all conditions of society. At a small expense, a man can now possess himself of the most precious treasures of English literature. Books, once confined to a few by their costliness, are now accessible to the multitude; and in this way a change of habits is going on in society, highly favorable to the culture of the people. Instead of depending on casual rumor and loose conversation for most of their knowledge and objects of thought; instead of forming their judgments in crowds, and receiving their chief excitement from the voice of neighbors, men are now learning to study and reflect alone, to follow out subjects continuously, to determine for themselves what shall engage their minds, and to call to their aid the knowledge, original views, and reasonings of men of all countries and ages; and the results must be, a deliberateness and independence of judgment, and a thoroughness and extent of information, unknown in former times. The diffusion of these silent teachers, books, through the whole community, is to work greater effects than artillery, machinery, and legislation. Its peaceful agency is to supersede stormy revolutions. The culture which it is to spread, whilst an unspeakable good to the individual, is also to become the stability of nations.

Another important means of self-culture is to free ourselves from the power of human opinion and example, except as far as this is sanctioned by our own deliberate judgment. We are all prone to keep the level of those we live with, to repeat their words, and dress our minds as well as bodies after their fashion; and hence the spiritless tameness of our characters and lives. Our greatest danger is not from the grossly wicked around us, but from the worldly, unreflecting multitude, who are borne along as a stream by foreign impulse, and bear us along with them. Even the influence of superior minds may harm us, by bowing us to servile acquiescence and damping our spiritual activity. The great use of intercourse with other minds is to stir up our own, to whet our appetite for truth, to carry our thoughts beyond their old tracks. We need connections with great thinkers to make us thinkers too. One of the chief arts of self-culture is to unite the child-like teachableness, which gratefully welcomes light from every human being who can give it, with manly resistance of opinions however current, of influences however generally revered, which do not approve themselves to our deliberate judgment. You ought, indeed, patiently and conscientiously to strengthen your reason by other men's intelligence, but you must not prostrate it before them. Especially if there springs up within you any view of God's word or universe, any sentiment or aspiration which seems to you of a higher order than what you meet abroad, give reverent heed to it; inquire into it earnestly, solemnly. Do not trust it blindly, for it may be an illusion; but it may be the Divinity moving within you, a new revelation, not supernatural, but still most precious, of truth or duty; and if, after inquiry, it so appear, then let no clamor, or scorn, or desertion turn you from it. Be true to your own highest convictions. Intimations from our own souls of something more perfect than others teach, if faithfully followed, give us a consciousness of spiritual force and progress, never experienced by the vulgar of high life or low life, who march, as they are drilled, to the step of their times.

Some, I know, will wonder that I should think the mass of the people capable of such intimations and glimpses of truth as I have just supposed. These are commonly thought to be the prerogative of men of genius, who seem to be born to give law to the minds of the multitude. Undoubtedly nature has her nobility, and sends forth a few to be eminently "lights of the world." But it is also true that a portion of the same divine fire is given to all; for the many could not receive with a loving reverence the quickening influences of the few, were there not essentially the same spiritual life in both. The minds of the multitude are not masses of passive matter, created to receive impressions unresistingly from abroad. They are not wholly shaped by foreign instruction; but have a native force, a spring of thought in themselves. Even the child's mind outruns its lessons, and overflows in questionings which bring the wisest to a stand. Even the child starts the great problems, which philosophy has labored to solve for ages. But on this subject I cannot now enlarge. Let me only say that the power of original thought is particularly manifested in those who thirst for progress, who are bent on unfolding their whole nature. A man who wakes up to the consciousness of having been created for progress and perfection, looks with new eyes on himself and on the world in which he lives. This great truth stirs the soul from its depths, breaks up old associations of ideas, and establishes new ones, just as a mighty agent of chemistry, brought into contact with natural substances, dissolves the old affinities which had bound their particles together, and arranges them anew. This truth particularly aids us to penetrate the mysteries of human life. By revealing to us the end of our being, it helps us to comprehend more and more the wonderful, the infinite system, to which we belong. A man in the common walks of life, who has faith in perfection, in the unfolding of the human spirit, as the great purpose of God, possesses more the secret of the universe, perceives more the harmonies or mutual adaptations of the world without and the world within him, is a wiser interpreter of Providence, and reads nobler lessons of duty in the events which pass before him, than the profoundest philosopher who wants this grand central truth. Thus illuminations, inward suggestions, are not confined to a favored few, but visit all who devote themselves to a generous self-culture.

Another means of self-culture may be found by every man in his condition or occupation, be it what it may. Had I time, I might go through all conditions of life, from the most conspicuous to the most obscure, and might show how each furnishes continual aids to improvement. But I will take one example, and that is, of a man living by manual labor. This may be made the means of self-culture. For instance, in almost all labor, a man exchanges his strength for an equivalent in the form of wages, purchase-money, or some other product. In other words, labor is a system of contracts, bargains, imposing mutual obligations. Now the man who, in working, no matter in what way, strives perpetually to fulfil his obligations thoroughly, to do his whole work faithfully, to be honest, not because honesty is the best policy but for the sake of justice, and that he may render to every man his due, such a laborer is continually building up in himself one of the greatest principles of morality and religion. Every blow on the anvil, on the earth, or whatever material he works upon, contributes something to the perfection of his nature.

Nor is this all. Labor is a school of benevolence as well as justice. A man, to support himself, must serve others. He must do or produce something for their comfort or gratification. This is one of the beautiful ordinations of Providence, that, to get a living, a man must be useful. Now this usefulness ought to be an end in his labor as truly as to earn his living. He ought to think of the benefit of those he works for, as well as of his own; and in so doing, in desiring amidst his sweat and toil to serve others as well as himself, he is exercising and growing in benevolence, as truly as if he were distributing bounty with a large hand to the poor. Such a motive hallows and dignifies the commonest pursuit. It is strange that laboring men do not think more of the vast usefulness of their toils, and take a benevolent pleasure in them on this account. This beautiful city, with its houses, furniture, markets, public walks, and num-

berless accommodations, has grown up under the hands of artisans and other laborers; and ought they not to take a disinterested joy in their work? One would think that a carpenter or mason, on passing a house which he had reared, would say to himself, "This work of mine is giving comfort and enjoyment every day and hour to a family, and will continue to be a kindly shelter, a domestic gathering-place, an abode of affection, for a century or more after I sleep in the dust;" and ought not a generous satisfaction to spring up at the thought? It is by thus interweaving goodness with common labors that we give it strength, and make it a habit of the soul.

Again. Labor may be so performed as to be a high impulse to the mind. Be a man's vocation what it may, his rule should be to do its duties perfectly, to do the best he can, and thus to make perpetual progress in his art. In other words, perfection should be proposed; and this I urge not only for its usefulness to society, nor for the sincere pleasure which a man takes in seeing a work well done. This is an important means of self-culture. In this way the idea of perfection takes root in the mind, and spreads far beyond the man's trade. He gets a tendency towards completeness in whatever he undertakes. Slack, slovenly performance in any department of life is more apt to offend him. His standard of action rises, and every thing is better done for his thoroughness in his common vocation.

There is one circumstance attending all conditions of life which may and ought to be turned to the use of self-culture. Every condition, be it what it may, has hardships, hazards, pains. We try to escape them; we pine for a sheltered lot, for a smooth path, for cheering friends, and unbroken success. But Providence ordains storms, disasters, hostilities, sufferings; and the great question, whether we shall live to any purpose or not, whether we shall grow strong in mind and heart, or be weak and pitiable, depends on nothing so much as on our use of these adverse circumstances. Outward evils are designed to school our passions, and to rouse our faculties and virtues into intenser action. Sometimes they seem to create new powers. Difficulty is the element, and resistance the true work of a man. Self-culture never goes on so fast as when embarrassed circumstances, the opposition of men or the elements, unexpected changes of the times, or other forms of suffering, instead of disheartening, throw us on our inward resources, turn us for strength to God, clear up to us the great purpose of life, and inspire calm resolution. No greatness or goodness is worth much unless tried in these fires. Hardships are not on this account to be sought for. They come fast enough of themselves, and we are in more danger of sinking under than of needing them. But when God sends them, they are noble means of self-culture, and as such let us meet and bear them cheerfully. Thus all parts of our condition may be pressed into the service of self-improvement.

I have time to consider but one more means of self-culture. We find it in our free government, in our political relations and duties. It is a great benefit of free institutions, that they do much to awaken and keep in action a nation's mind. We are told that the education of the multitude is necessary to the support of a republic; but it is equally true, that a republic is a powerful means of educating the multitude. It is the people's university. In a free state, solemn responsibilities are imposed on every citizen; great subjects are to be discussed; great interests to be decided. The individual is called to determine measures affecting the well-being of millions and the destinies of posterity. He must consider not only the internal relations of his native land, but its connection with foreign states, and judge of a policy which touches the whole civilized world. He is called, by his participation in the national sovereignty, to cherish public spirit, a regard to the general weal. A man who purposes to discharge faithfully these obligations, is carrying on a generous self-culture. The great public questions which divide opinion around him and provoke earnest discussion, of necessity invigorate his intellect, and accustom him to look beyond himself. He grows up to a robustness, force, enlargement of mind, unknown under despotic rule.

It may be said that I am describing what free institutions ought to do for the character of the individual, not their actual effects; and the objection, I must

own, is too true. Our institutions do not cultivate us, as they might and should; and the chief cause of the failure is plain. It is the strength of party-spirit; and so blighting is its influence, so fatal to self-culture, that I feel myself bound to warn every man against it, who has any desire of improvement. I do not tell you it will destroy your country. It wages a worse war against yourselves. Truth, justice, candor, fair dealing, sound judgment, self-control, and kind affections, are its natural and perpetual prey.

I do not say that you must take no side in politics. The parties which prevail around you differ in character, principles, and spirit, though far less than the exaggeration of passion affirms; and, as far as conscience allows, a man should support that which he thinks best. In one respect, however, all parties agree. They all foster that pestilent spirit which I now condemn. In all of them party-spirit rages. Associate men together for a common cause, be it good or bad, and array against them a body resolutely pledged to an opposite interest, and a new passion, quite distinct from the original sentiment which brought them together, a fierce, fiery zeal, consisting chiefly of aversion to those who differ from them, is roused within them into fearful activity. Human nature seems incapable of a stronger, more unrelenting passion. It is hard enough for an individual, when contending all alone for an interest or an opinion, to keep down his pride, wilfulness, love of victory, anger, and other personal feelings. But let him join a multitude in the same warfare, and, without singular self-control, he receives into his single breast the vehemence, obstinacy, and vindictiveness of all. The triumph of his party becomes immeasurably dearer to him than the principle, true or false, which was the original ground of division. The conflict becomes a struggle, not for principle but for power, for victory; and the desperateness, the wickedness of such struggles, is the great burden of history. In truth, it matters little what men divide about, whether it be a foot of land or precedence in a procession. Let them but begin to fight for it, and self-will, ill-will, the rage for victory, the dread of mortification and defeat, make the trifle as weighty as a matter of life and death. The Greek or Eastern empire was shaken to its foundation by parties which differed only about the merits of charioteers at the amphitheatre. Party-spirit is singularly hostile to moral independence. A man, in proportion as he drinks into it, sees, hears, judges by the senses and understandings of his party. He surrenders the freedom of a man, the right of using and speaking his own mind, and echoes the applauses or maledictions with which the leaders or passionate partisans see fit that the country should ring. On all points, parties are to be distrusted: but on no one so much as on the character of opponents. These, if you may trust what you hear, are always men without principle and truth, devoured by selfishness, and thirsting for their own elevation, though on their country's ruin. When I was young, I was accustomed to hear pronounced with abhorrence, almost with execration, the names of men who are now hailed by their former foes as the champions of grand principles, and as worthy of the highest public trusts. This lesson of early experience, which later years have corroborated, will never be forgotten.

Of our present political divisions I have of course nothing to say. But, among the current topics of party, there are certain accusations and recriminations, grounded on differences of social condition, which seem to me so unfriendly to the improvement of individuals and the community, that I ask the privilege of giving them a moment's notice. On one side we are told, that the rich are disposed to trample on the poor; and, on the other, that the poor look with evil eye and hostile purpose on the possessions of the rich. These outcries seem to me alike devoid of truth and alike demoralizing. As for the rich, who constitute but a handful of our population, who possess not one peculiar privilege, and, what is more, who possess comparatively little of the property of the country, it is wonderful that they should be objects of alarm. The vast and ever-growing property of this country, where is it? Locked up in a few hands? hoarded in a few strong boxes? It is diffused like the atmosphere, and almost as variable, changing hands with the seasons, shifting from

rich to poor, not by the violence but by the industry and skill of the latter class. The wealth of the rich is as a drop in the ocean; and it is a well-known fact, that those men among us who are noted for their opulence exert hardly any political power on the community. That the rich do their whole duty; that they adopt, as they should, the great object of the social state, which is the elevation of the people in intelligence, character, and condition, cannot be pretended; but that they feel for the physical sufferings of their brethren, that they stretch out liberal hands for the succor of the poor, and for the support of useful public institutions, cannot be denied. Among them are admirable specimens of humanity. There is no warrant for holding them up to suspicion as the people's foes.

Nor do I regard as less calumnious the outcry against the working classes, as if they were aiming at the subversion of property. When we think of the general condition and character of this part of our population; when we recollect that they were born and have lived amidst schools and churches, that they have been brought up to profitable industry, that they enjoy many of the accommodations of life, that most of them hold a measure of property and are hoping for more, that they possess unprecedented means of bettering their lot, that they are bound to comfortable homes by strong domestic affections, that they are able to give their children an education which places within their reach the prizes of the social state, that they are trained to the habits and familiarized to the advantages of a high civilization: when we recollect these things, can we imagine that they are so insanely blind to their interests, so deaf to the claims of justice and religion, so profligately thoughtless of the peace and safety of their families, as to be prepared to make a wreck of social order, for the sake of dividing among themselves the spoils of the rich, which would not support the community for a month? Undoubtedly there is insecurity in all stages of society, and so there must be until communities shall be regenerated by a higher culture, reaching and quickening all classes of the people; but there is not, I believe, a spot on earth where property is safer than here, because nowhere else is it so equally and righteously diffused. In aristocracies, where wealth exists in enormous masses, which have been entailed for ages by a partial legislation on a favored few, and where the multitude, after the sleep of ages, are waking up to intelligence, to self-respect, and to a knowledge of their rights, property is exposed to shocks which are not to be dreaded among ourselves. Here, indeed, as elsewhere, among the less prosperous members of the community, there are disappointed, desperate men, ripe for tumult and civil strife; but it is also true, that the most striking and honorable distinction of this country is to be found in the intelligence, character, and condition of the great working class. To me it seems that the great danger to property here is not from the laborer, but from those who are making haste to be rich. For example, in this Commonwealth, no act has been thought by the alarmists or the conservatives so subversive of the rights of property as a recent law authorizing a company to construct a free bridge in the immediate neighborhood of another which had been chartered by a former legislature, and which had been erected in the expectation of an exclusive right. And with whom did this alleged assault on property originate? With levellers? with needy laborers? with men bent on the prostration of the rich? No; but with men of business, who are anxious to push a more lucrative trade. Again, what occurrence among us has been so suited to destroy confidence, and to stir up the people against the moneyed class, as the late criminal mismanagement of some of our banking institutions? And whence came this? from the rich, or the poor? From the agrarian, or the man of business? Who, let me ask, carry on the work of spoliation most extensively in society? Is not more property wrested from its owners by rash or dishonest failures than by professed highwaymen and thieves? Have not a few unprincipled speculators sometimes inflicted wider wrongs and sufferings than all the tenants of a state prison? Thus property is in more danger from those who are aspiring after wealth than from those who live by the sweat of their brow. I do not believe, however, that the institution is in serious

danger from either. All the advances of society in industry, useful arts, commerce, knowledge, jurisprudence, fraternal union, and practical Christianity, are so many hedges around honestly acquired wealth, so many barriers against revolutionary violence and rapacity. Let us not torture ourselves with idle alarms, and, still more, let us not inflame ourselves against one another by mutual calumnies. Let not class array itself against class, where all have a common interest. One way of provoking men to crime is to suspect them of criminal designs. We do not secure our property against the poor by accusing them of schemes of universal robbery; nor render the rich better friends of the community by fixing on them the brand of hostility to the people. Of all parties, those founded on different social conditions are the most pernicious; and in no country on earth are they so groundless as in our own.

Among the best people, especially among the more religious, there are some who, through disgust with the violence and frauds of parties, withdraw themselves from all political action. Such, I conceive, do wrong. God has placed them in the relations, and imposed on them the duties, of citizens; and they are no more authorized to shrink from these duties than from those of sons, husbands, or fathers. They owe a great debt to their country, and must discharge it by giving support to what they deem the best men and the best measures. Nor let them say that they can do nothing. Every good man, if faithful to his convictions, benefits his country. All parties are kept in check by the spirit of the better portion of people whom they contain. Leaders are always compelled to ask what their party will bear, and to modify their measures, so as not to shock the men of principle within their ranks. A good man, not tamely subservient to the body with which he acts, but judging it impartially, criticising it freely, bearing testimony against its evils, and withholding his support from wrong, does good to those around him, and is cultivating generously his own mind.

I respectfully counsel those whom I address to take part in the politics of their country. These are the true discipline of a people, and do much for their education. I counsel you to labor for a clear understanding of the subjects which agitate the community, to make them your study, instead of wasting your leisure in vague, passionate talk about them. The time thrown away by the mass of the people on the rumors of the day might, if better spent, give them a good acquaintance with the constitution, laws, history, and interests of their country, and thus establish them in those great principles by which particular measures are to be determined. In proportion as the people thus improve themselves, they will cease to be the tools of designing politicians. Their intelligence, not their passions and jealousies, will be addressed by those who seek their votes. They will exert, not a nominal, but a real influence on the government and the destinies of the country, and at the same time will forward their own growth in truth and virtue.

I ought not to quit this subject of politics, considered as a means of self-culture, without speaking of newspapers; because these form the chief reading of the bulk of the people. They are the literature of multitudes. Unhappily, their importance is not understood; their bearing on the intellectual and moral cultivation of the community little thought of. A newspaper ought to be conducted by one of our most gifted men, and its income should be such as to enable him to secure the contributions of men as gifted as himself. But we must take newspapers as they are; and a man, anxious for self-culture, may turn them to account, if he will select the best within his reach. He should exclude from his house such as are venomous or scurrilous, as he would a pestilence. He should be swayed in his choice, not merely by the ability with which a paper is conducted, but still more by its spirit, by its justice, fairness, and steady adherence to great principles. Especially, if he would know the truth, let him hear both sides. Let him read the defence as well as the attack. Let him not give his ear to one party exclusively. We condemn ourselves, when we listen to reproaches thrown on an individual and turn away from his exculpation: and is it just to read continual, unsparing invective against large masses of men, and refuse

them the opportunity of justifying themselves?

A new class of daily papers has sprung up in our country, sometimes called cent papers, and designed for circulation among those who cannot afford costlier publications. My interest in the working class induced me some time ago to take one of these, and I was gratified to find it not wanting in useful matter. Two things, however, gave me pain. The advertising columns were devoted very much to patent medicines; and when I considered that a laboring man's whole fortune is his health, I could not but lament that so much was done to seduce him to the use of articles more fitted, I fear, to undermine than to restore his constitution. I was also shocked by accounts of trials in the police court. These were written in a style adapted to the most uncultivated minds, and intended to turn into matters of sport the most painful and humiliating events of life. Were the newspapers of the rich to attempt to extract amusement from the vices and miseries of the poor, a cry would be raised against them, and very justly. But is it not something worse, that the poorer classes themselves should seek occasions of laughter and merriment in the degradation, the crimes, the woes, the punishments of their brethren, of those who are doomed to bear like themselves the heaviest burdens of life, and who have sunk under the temptations of poverty? Better go to the hospital, and laugh over the wounds and writhings of the sick or the ravings of the insane, than amuse ourselves with brutal excesses and infernal passions, which not only expose the criminal to the crushing penalties of human laws, but incur the displeasure of Heaven, and, if not repented of, will be followed by the fearful retribution of the life to come.

One important topic remains. That great means of self-improvement, Christianity, is yet untouched, and its greatness forbids me now to approach it. I will only say, that if you study Christianity in its original records, and not in human creeds; if you consider its clear revelations of God, its life-giving promises of pardon and spiritual strength, its correspondence to man's reason, conscience, and best affections, and its adaptation to his wants, sorrows, anxieties, and fears: if you consider the strength of its proofs, the purity of its precepts, the divine greatness of the character of its author, and the immortality which it opens before us, you will feel yourselves bound to welcome it joyfully, gratefully, as affording aids and incitements to self-culture which would vainly be sought in all other means.

I have thus presented a few of the means of self-culture. The topics now discussed will, I hope, suggest others to those who have honored me with their attention, and create an interest which will extend beyond the present hour. I owe it, however, to truth to make one remark. I wish to raise no unreasonable hopes. I must say, then, that the means now recommended to you, though they will richly reward every man of every age who will faithfully use them, will yet not produce their full and happiest effect, except in cases where early education has prepared the mind for future improvement. They whose childhood has been neglected, though they may make progress in future life, can hardly repair the loss of their first years; and I say this, that we may all be excited to save our children from this loss, that we may prepare them, to the extent of our power, for an effectual use of all the means of self-culture which adult age may bring with it. With these views, I ask you to look with favor on the recent exertions of our legislature and of private citizens in behalf of our public schools, the chief hope of our country. The legislature has of late appointed a board of education, with a secretary, who is to devote his whole time to the improvement of public schools. An individual more fitted to this responsible office than the gentleman who now fills it* cannot, I believe, be found in our community; and if his labors shall be crowned with success, he will earn a title to the gratitude of the good people of this State unsurpassed by that of any other living citizen. Let me also recall to your minds a munificent individual,† who, by a generous donation, has encouraged the legislature to resolve on the establishment of one or more institutions called Normal Schools

* Horace Mann, Esq.
† Edmund Dwight, Esq.

the object of which is to prepare accomplished teachers of youth, — a work on which the progress of education depends more than on any other measure. The efficient friends of education are the true benefactors of their country, and their names deserve to be handed down to that posterity for whose highest wants they are generously providing.

There is another mode of advancing education in our whole country, to which I ask your particular attention. You are aware of the vast extent and value of the public lands of the Union. By annual sales of these, large amounts of money are brought into the national treasury, which are applied to the current expenses of the government. For this application there is no need. In truth, the country has received detriment from the excess of its revenues. Now, I ask, why shall not the public lands be consecrated (in whole or in part, as the case may require) to the education of the people? This measure would secure at once what the country most needs; that is, able, accomplished, quickening teachers of the whole rising generation. The present poor remuneration of instructors is a dark omen, and the only real obstacle which the cause of education has to contend with. We need for our schools gifted men and women, worthy, by their intelligence and their moral power, to be intrusted with a nation's youth; and, to gain these, we must pay them liberally, as well as afford other proofs of the consideration in which we hold them. In the present state of the country, when so many paths of wealth and promotion are opened, superior men cannot be won to an office so responsible and laborious as that of teaching, without stronger inducements than are now offered, except in some of our large cities. The office of instructor ought to rank and be recompensed as one of the most honorable in society; and I see not how this is to be done, at least in our day, without appropriating to it the public domain. This is the people's property, and the only part of their property which is likely to be soon devoted to the support of a high order of institutions for public education. This object, interesting to all classes of society, has peculiar claims on those whose means of improvement are restricted by narrow circumstances. The mass of the people should devote themselves to it as one man, should toil for it with one soul. Mechanics, farmers, laborers! let the country echo with your united cry, "The Public Lands for Education." Send to the public councils men who will plead this cause with power. No party triumphs, no trades-unions, no associations, can so contribute to elevate you as the measure now proposed. Nothing but a higher education can raise you in influence and true dignity. The resources of the public domain, wisely applied for successive generations to the culture of society and of the individual, would create a new people, would awaken through this community intellectual and moral energies, such as the records of no country display, and as would command the respect and emulation of the civilized world. In this grand object, the working men of all parties, and in all divisions of the land, should join with an enthusiasm not to be withstood. They should separate it from all narrow and local strifes. They should not suffer it to be mixed up with the schemes of politicians. In it, they and their children have an infinite stake. May they be true to themselves, to posterity, to their country, to freedom, to the cause of mankind!

III. I am aware that the whole doctrine of this discourse will meet with opposition. There are not a few who will say to me, "What you tell us sounds well; but it is impracticable. Men who dream in their closets spin beautiful theories; but actual life scatters them, as the wind snaps the cobweb. You would have all men to be cultivated; but necessity wills that most men shall work; and which of the two is likely to prevail? A weak sentimentality may shrink from the truth; still it *is* true that most men were made, not for self-culture, but for toil."

I have put the objection into strong language, that we may all look it fairly in the face. For one I deny its validity. Reason, as well as sentiment, rises up against it. The presumption is certainly very strong, that the All-wise Father, who has given to every human being reason and conscience and affection, intended that these should be unfolded; and it is hard to believe that He who

by conferring this nature on all men, has made all his children, has destined the great majority to wear out a life of drudgery and unimproving toil, for the benefit of a few. God cannot have made spiritual beings to be dwarfed. In the body we see no organs created to shrivel by disuse; much less are the powers of the soul given to be locked up in perpetual lethargy.

Perhaps it will be replied, that the purpose of the Creator is to be gathered, not from theory, but from facts; and that it is a plain fact, that the order and prosperity of society, which God must be supposed to intend, require from the multitude the action of their hands, and not the improvement of their minds. I reply, that a social order demanding the sacrifice of the mind is very suspicious, that it cannot, indeed, be sanctioned by the Creator. Were I, on visiting a strange country, to see the vast majority of the people maimed, crippled, and bereft of sight, and were I told that social order required this mutilation, I should say, Perish this order. Who would not think his understanding as well as best feelings insulted, by hearing this spoken of as the intention of God? Nor ought we to look with less aversion on a social system which can only be upheld by crippling and blinding the minds of the people.

But to come nearer to the point. Are labor and self-culture irreconcilable to each other? In the first place, we have seen that a man, in the midst of labor, may and ought to give himself to the most important improvements, that he may cultivate his sense of justice, his benevolence, and the desire of perfection. Toil is the school for these high principles; and we have here a strong presumption that, in other respects, it does not necessarily blight the soul. Next, we have seen that the most fruitful sources of truth and wisdom are not books, precious as they are, but experience and observation; and these belong to all conditions. It is another important consideration, that almost all labor demands intellectual activity, and is best carried on by those who invigorate their minds; so that the two interests, toil and self-culture, are friends to each other. It is mind, after all, which does the work of the world, so that the more there is of mind, the more work will be accomplished. A man, in proportion as he is intelligent, makes a given force accomplish a greater task, makes skill take the place of muscles, and, with less labor, gives a better product. Make men intelligent, and they become inventive. They find shorter processes. Their knowledge of nature helps them to turn its laws to accou[illegible] to understand the substances on whi[illegible] they work, and to seize on useful hi[illegible] which experience continually furnishes It is among workmen that some of the most useful machines have been contrived. Spread education, and, as the history of this country shows, there will be no bounds to useful inventions. You think that a man without culture will do all the better what you call the drudgery of life. Go, then, to the Southern plantation. There the slave is brought up to be a mere drudge. He is robbed of the rights of a man, his whole spiritual nature is starved, that he may work, and do nothing but work; and in that slovenly agriculture, in that worn-out soil, in the rude state of the mechanic arts, you may find a comment on your doctrine, that, by degrading men, you make them more productive laborers.

But it is said, that any considerable education lifts men above their work, makes them look with disgust on their trades as mean and low, makes drudgery intolerable. I reply, that a man becomes interested in labor just in proportion as the mind works with the hands. An enlightened farmer, who understands agricultural chemistry, the laws of vegetation, the structure of plants, the properties of manures, the influences of climate, who looks intelligently on his work [illegible] brings his knowledge to b[illegible] on [illegible]gencies, is a much more cheerful, as well as more dignified laborer, than the peasant whose mind is akin to the clod on which he treads, and whose whole life is the same dull, unthinking, unimproving toil. But this is not all. Why is it, I ask, that we call manual labor low, that we associate with it the idea of meanness, and think that an intelligent people must scorn it? The great reason is, that, in most countries, so few intelligent people have been engaged in it. Once let cultivated men plough, and dig, and follow the commonest labors, and ploughing, digging, and trades will cease to be mean. It is the man who determines the

dignity of the occupation, not the occupation which measures the dignity of the man. Physicians and surgeons perform operations less cleanly than fall to the lot of most mechanics. I have seen a distinguished chemist covered with dust like a laborer. Still these men were not degraded. Their intelligence gave dignity to their [illegible], and so our laborers, once educated, will give dignity to their toils. — Let me add, that I see little difference in point of dignity between the various vocations of men. When I see a clerk spending his days in adding figures, perhaps merely copying, or a teller of a bank counting money, or a merchant selling shoes and hides, I cannot see in these occupations greater respectableness than in making leather, shoes, or furniture. I do not see in them greater intellectual activity than in several trades. A man in the fields seems to have more chances of improvement in his work than a man behind the counter, or a man driving the quill. It is the sign of a narrow mind to imagine, as many seem to do, that there is a repugnance between the plain, coarse exterior of a laborer, and mental culture, especially the more refining culture. The laborer, under his dust and sweat, carries the grand elements of humanity, and he may put forth its highest powers. I doubt not there is as genuine enthusiasm in the contemplation of nature, and in the perusal of works of genius, under a homespun garb as under finery. We have heard of a distinguished author who never wrote so well as when he was full dressed for company. But profound thought and poetical inspiration have n[illegible] generally visited men when, from narrow circumstances or negligent habits, the rent coat and shaggy face have made them quite unfit for polished saloons. A man may see truth, and may be thrilled with beauty, in one costume or dwelling as well as another; and he should respect himself the more for the hardships under which his intellectual force has been developed.

But it will be asked, how can the laboring classes find time for self-culture? I answer, as I have already intimated, that an earnest purpose finds time or makes time. It seizes on spare moments, and turns large fragments of leisure to golden account. A man who follows his calling with industry and spirit, and uses his earnings economically, will always have some portion of the day at command; and it is astonishing how fruitful of improvement a short season becomes, when eagerly seized and faithfully used. It has often been observed, that they who have most time at their disposal profit by it least. A single hour in the day, steadily given to the study of an interesting subject, brings unexpected accumulations of knowledge. The improvements made by well-disposed pupils in many of our country schools, which are open but three months in the year, and in our Sunday schools, which are kept but one or two hours in the week, show what can be brought to pass by slender means. The affections, it is said, sometimes crowd years into moments, and the intellect has something of the same power. Volumes have not only been read, but written, in flying journeys. I have known a man of vigorous intellect, who had enjoyed few advantages of early education, and whose mind was almost engrossed by the details of an extensive business, but who composed a book of much original thought, in steamboats and on horseback, while visiting distant customers. The succession of the seasons gives to many of the working class opportunities for intellectual improvement. The winter brings leisure to the husbandman, and winter evenings to many laborers in the city. Above all, in Christian countries, the seventh day is released from toil. The seventh part of the year, no small portion of existence, may be given by almost every one to intellectual and moral culture. Why is it that Sunday is not made a more effectual means of improvement? Undoubtedly the seventh day is to have a religious character; but religion connects itself with all the great subjects of human thought, and leads to and aids the study of all. God is in nature. God is in history. Instruction in the works of the Creator, so as to reveal his perfection in their harmony, beneficence, and grandeur; instruction in the histories of the church and the world, so as to show in all events his moral government, and to bring out the great moral lessons in which human life abounds; instruction in the lives of philanthropists, of saints, of men eminent for piety and virtue, — all these branches of teaching enter into

religion, and are appropriate to Sunday: and, through these, a vast amount of knowledge may be given to the people. Sunday ought not to remain the dull and fruitless season that it now is to multitudes. It may be clothed with a new interest and a new sanctity. It may give a new impulse to the nation's soul. — I have thus shown that time may be found for improvement; and the fact is, that among our most improved people a considerable part consists of persons who pass the greatest portion of every day at the desk, in the counting-room, or in some other sphere, chained to tasks which have very little tendency to expand the mind. In the progress of society, with the increase of machinery, and with other aids which intelligence and philanthropy will multiply, we may expect that more and more time will be redeemed from manual labor for intellectual and social occupations.

But some will say, "Be it granted that the working classes may find some leisure; should they not be allowed to spend it in relaxation? Is it not cruel to summon them from toils of the hand to toils of the mind? They have earned pleasure by the day's toil, and ought to partake it." Yes, let them have pleasure. Far be it from me to dry up the fountains, to blight the spots of verdure, where they refresh themselves after life's labors. But I maintain that self-culture multiplies and increases their pleasures, that it creates new capacities of enjoyment, that it saves their leisure from being, what it too often is, dull and wearisome, that it saves them from rushing for excitement to indulgences destructive to body and soul. It is one of the great benefits of self-improvement, that it raises a people above the gratifications of the brute, and gives them pleasures worthy of men. In consequence of the present intellectual culture of our country, imperfect as it is, a vast amount of enjoyment is communicated to men, women, and children, of all conditions, by books, — an enjoyment unknown to ruder times. At this moment, a number of gifted writers are employed in multiplying entertaining works. Walter Scott, a name conspicuous among the brightest of his day, poured out his inexhaustible mind in fictions, at once so sportive and thrilling, that they have taken their place among the delights of all civilized nations. How many millions have been chained to his pages! How many melancholy spirits has he steeped in forgetfulness of their cares and sorrows! What multitudes, wearied by their day's work, have owed some bright evening hours and balmier sleep to his magical creations? And not only do fictions give pleasure. In proportion as the mind is cultivated, it takes delight in history and biography, in descriptions of nature, in travels, in poetry, and even graver works. Is the laborer then defrauded of pleasure by improvement? There is another class of gratifications to which self-culture introduces the mass of the people. I refer to lectures, discussions, meetings of associations for benevolent and literary purposes, and to other like methods of passing the evening, which every year is multiplying among us. A popular address from an enlightened man, who has the tact to reach the minds of the people, is a high gratification, as well as a source of knowledge. The profound silence in our public halls, where these lectures are delivered to crowds, shows that cultivation is no foe to enjoyment. — I have a strong hope, that by the progress of intelligence, taste, and morals among all portions of society, a class of public amusements will grow up among us, bearing some resemblance to the theatre, but purified from the gross evils which degrade our present stage, and which, I trust, will seal its ruin. Dramatic performances and recitations are means of bringing the mass of the people into a quicker sympathy with a writer of genius, to a profounder comprehension of his grand, beautiful, touching conceptions, than can be effected by the reading of the closet. No commentary throws such a light on a great poem or any impassioned work of literature, as the voice of a reader or speaker who brings to the task a deep feeling of his author and rich and various powers of expression. A crowd, electrified by a sublime thought, or softened into a humanizing sorrow, under such a voice, partake a pleasure at once exquisite and refined; and I cannot but believe that this and other amusements, at which the delicacy of woman and the purity of the Christian can take no offence, are to grow up under a higher social culture. — Let me only add, that, in proportion as

culture spreads among a people, the cheapest and commonest of all pleasures, conversation, increases in delight. This, after all, is the great amusement of life, cheering us round our hearths, often cheering our work, stirring our hearts gently, acting on us like the balmy air or the bright light of heaven, so silently and continually, that we hardly think of its influence. This source of happiness is too often lost to men of all classes for want of knowledge, mental activity, and refinement of feeling; and do we defraud the laborer of his pleasure by recommending to him improvements which will place the daily, hourly blessings of conversation within his reach?

I have thus considered some of the common objections which start up when the culture of the mass of men is insisted on as the great end of society. For myself, these objections seem worthy little notice. The doctrine is too shocking to need refutation, that the great majority of human beings, endowed as they are with rational and immortal powers, are placed on earth simply to toil for their own animal subsistence, and to minister to the luxury and elevation of the few. It is monstrous, it approaches impiety, to suppose that God has placed insuperable barriers to the expansion of the free, illimitable soul. True, there are obstructions in the way of improvement. But in this country, the chief obstructions lie, not in our lot, but in ourselves; not in outward hardships, but in our worldly and sensual propensities; and one proof of this is, that a true self-culture is as little thought of on exchange as in the workshop, as little among the prosperous as among those of narrower conditions. The path to perfection is difficult to men in every lot; there is no royal road for rich or poor. But difficulties are meant to rouse, not discourage. The human spirit is to grow strong by conflict. And how much has it already overcome! Under what burdens of oppression has it made its way for ages! What mountains of difficulty has it cleared! And with all this experience, shall we say that the progress of the mass of men is to be despaired of; that the chains of bodily necessity are too strong and ponderous to be broken by the mind; that servile, unimproving drudgery is the unalterable condition of the multitude of the human race?

I conclude with recalling to you the happiest feature of our age, and that is, the progress of the mass of the people in intelligence, self-respect, and all the comforts of life. What a contrast does the present form with past times! Not many ages ago, the nation was the property of one man, and all its interests were staked in perpetual games of war, for no end but to build up his family, or to bring new territories under his yoke. Society was divided into two classes, the high-born and the vulgar, separated from one another by a great gulf, as impassable as that between the saved and the lost. The people had no significance as individuals, but formed a mass, a machine, to be wielded at pleasure by their lords. In war, which was the great sport of the times, those brave knights, of whose prowess we hear, cased themselves and their horses in armor, so as to be almost invulnerable, whilst the common people on foot were left, without protection, to be hewn in pieces or trampled down by their betters. Who that compares the condition of Europe a few years ago with the present state of the world, but must bless God for the change? The grand distinction of modern times is, the emerging of the people from brutal degradation, the gradual recognition of their rights, the gradual diffusion among them of the means of improvement and happiness, the creation of a new power in the state, — the power of the people. And it is worthy remark, that this revolution is due in a great degree to religion, which, in the hands of the crafty and aspiring, had bowed the multitude to the dust, but which, in the fulness of time, began to fulfil its mission of freedom. It was religion which, by teaching men their near relation to God, awakened in them the consciousness of their importance as individuals. It was the struggle for religious rights which opened men's eyes to all their rights. It was resistance to religious usurpation which led men to withstand political oppression. It was religious discussion which roused the minds of all classes to free and vigorous thought. It was religion which armed the martyr and patriot in England against arbitrary

power, which braced the spirits of our fathers against the perils of the ocean and wilderness, and sent them to found here the freest and most equal state on earth.

Let us thank God for what has been gained. But let us not think every thing gained. Let the people feel that they have only started in the race. How much remains to be done! What a vast amount of ignorance, intemperance, coarseness, sensuality, may still be found in our community! What a vast amount of mind is palsied and lost! When we think that every house might be cheered by intelligence, disinterestedness, and refinement, and then remember in how many houses the higher powers and affections of human nature are buried as in tombs, what a darkness gathers over society! And how few of us are moved by this moral desolation! How few understand, that to raise the depressed, by a wise culture, to the dignity of men, is the highest end of the social state? Shame on us, that the worth of a fellow-creature is so little felt.

I would that I could speak with an awakening voice to the people of their wants, their privileges, their responsibilities. I would say to them, You cannot, without guilt and disgrace, stop where you are. The past and the present call on you to advance. Let what you have gained be an impulse to something higher. Your nature is too great to be crushed. You were not created what you are, merely to toil, eat, drink, and sleep, like the inferior animals. If you will, you can rise. No power in society, no hardship in your condition can depress you, keep you down, in knowledge, power, virtue, influence, but by your own consent. Do not be lulled to sleep by the flatteries which you hear, as if your participation in the national sovereignty made you equal to the noblest of your race. You have many and great deficiencies to be remedied; and the remedy lies, not in the ballot-box, not in the exercise of your political powers, but in the faithful education of yourselves and your children. These truths you have often heard and slept over. Awake! Resolve earnestly on Self-culture. Make yourselves worthy of your free institutions, and strengthen and perpetuate them by your intelligence and your virtues.

ON THE ELEVATION OF THE LABORING CLASSES.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

THE following lectures were prepared for two meetings of mechanics, one of them consisting of apprentices, the other of adults. For want of strength they were delivered only to the former, though, in preparing them, I had kept the latter also in view. "The Mechanic Apprentices' Library Association," at whose request the lectures are published, is an institution of much promise, not only furnishing a considerable means of intellectual improvement, but increasing the self-respect and conducing to the moral safety of the members.

When I entered on this task, I thought of preparing only one lecture of the usual length. But I soon found that I could not do justice to my views in so narrow a compass. I therefore determined to write at large, and to communicate through the press the results of my labor, if they should be thought worthy of publication. With this purpose, I introduced topics which I did not deliver, and which I thought might be usefully presented to some who might not hear me. I make this statement to prevent the objection, that the lectures are not, in all things, adapted to those to whom they were delivered. Whilst written chiefly for a class, they were also intended for the community.

As the same general subject is discussed in these lectures as in the "Lecture on Self-Culture," published last winter, there will, of course, be

found in them that coincidence of thoughts which always takes place in the writings of a man who has the inculcation of certain great principles much at heart. Still, the point of view, the mode of discussion, and the choice of topics, differ much in the two productions; so that my state of mind would be given very imperfectly were the present lectures withheld.

This is, probably, the last opportunity I shall have for communicating with the laboring classes through the press. I may, therefore, be allowed to express my earnest wishes for their happiness, and my strong hope that they will justify the confidence of their friends, and will prove by their example the possibility of joining with labor all the improvements which do honor to our nature. — W. E. C. *Boston, Feb. 11th*, 1840.

LECTURE I.

IT is with no common pleasure that I take part in the present course of lectures. Such a course is a sign of the times, and very interesting to all who are interested in the progress of their fellow-creatures. We hear much of the improvements of our age. The wonders achieved by machinery are the common talk of every circle; but I confess that, to me, this gathering of mechanics' apprentices, whose chief bond of union is a library, and who come together weekly to refresh and improve themselves by the best instruction which the state of society places within their reach, is more encouraging than all the miracles of the machinist. In this meeting I see, what I desire most to see, that the mass of the people are beginning to comprehend themselves and their true happiness, that they are catching glimpses of the great work and vocation of human beings, and are rising to their true place in the social state. The present meeting indicates a far more radical, more important change in the world than the steam-engine, or the navigation of the Atlantic in a fortnight. That members of the laboring class, at the close of a day's work, should assemble in such a hall as this, to hear lectures on science, history, ethics, and the most stirring topics of the day, from men whose education is thought to fit them for the highest offices, is a proof of a social revolution to which no bounds can be set, and from which too much cannot be hoped. I see in it a repeal of the sentence of degradation passed by ages on the mass of mankind. I see in it the dawn of a new era, in which it will be understood that the first object of society is to give incitements and means of progress to all its members. I see in it the sign of the approaching triumph of men's spiritual over their outward and material interests. In the hunger and thirst for knowledge and for refined pleasures which this course of lectures indicates in those who labor, I see that the spirit of man is not always to be weighed down by toils for animal life and by the appetite for animal indulgences. I do attach great importance to this meeting, not for its own sake or its immediate benefits, but as a token and pledge of a new impulse given to society through all its conditions. On this account, I take more pleasure in speaking here than I should feel in being summoned to pronounce a show-oration before all the kings and nobles on earth. In truth, it is time to have done with shows. The age is too stirring, we are pressed on by too solemn interests, to be justified in making speeches for self-display or mere amusement. He who cannot say something in sympathy with, or in aid of, the great movements of humanity, might as well hold his peace.

With these feelings and convictions, I am naturally, almost necessarily, led to address you on a topic which must insure the attention of such an audience; namely, the elevation of that portion of the community who subsist by the labor of the hands. This work, I have said, is going on. I may add, that it is advancing nowhere so rapidly as in this city. I do not believe that, on the face of the earth, the spirit of improvement has anywhere seized so strongly on those who live by the sweat of the brow as among ourselves. Here it is nothing rare to meet the union of intellectual culture and self-respect with hard work. Here the prejudice against labor as degrading has very much given way. This, then, is the place where the subject which I have proposed should be discussed. We ought to

consider in what the true elevation of the laboring portion consists, how far it is practicable, and how it may be helped onward. The subject, I am aware, is surrounded with much prejudice and error. Great principles need to be brought out, and their application plainly stated. There are serious objections to be met, fears to be disarmed, and rash hopes to be crushed. I do not profess to have mastered the topic. But I can claim one merit, that of coming to the discussion with a feeling of its importance, and with a deep interest in the class of people whom it concerns. I trust that this expression of interest will not be set down as mere words, or as meant to answer any selfish purpose. A politician who professes attachment to the people is suspected to love them for their votes. But a man who neither seeks nor would accept any place within their gift may hope to be listened to as their friend. As a friend, I would speak plainly. I cannot flatter. I see defects in the laboring classes. I think that, as yet, the greater part of them have made little progress; that the prejudices and passions, the sensuality and selfishness of multitudes among them, are formidable barriers to improvement; that multitudes have not waked as yet to a dim conception of the end for which they are to struggle. My hopes do not blind me to what exists; and with this clear sense of the deficiencies of the multitude of men, I cannot, without guilt, minister to their vanity. Not that they alone are to be charged with deficiencies. Look where we may, we shall discern in all classes ground for condemnation; and whoever would do good ought to speak the truth of all, only remembering that he is to speak with sympathy, and with a consciousness of his own fallibleness and infirmity.

In giving my views of the elevation of the laboring multitude, I wish that it may be understood that I shall often speak prospectively, or of changes and improvements which are not to be expected immediately, or soon; and this I say, that I may not be set down as a dreamer, expecting to regenerate the world in a day. I fear, however, that this explanation will not shield me from this and like reproaches. There are men who, in the face of all history, of the great changes wrought in men's condition, and of the new principles which are now acting on society, maintain that the future is to be a copy of the past, and probably a faded rather than bright copy. From such I differ, and did I not differ I would not stand here. Did I expect nothing better from human nature than I see, I should have no heart for the present effort, poor as it may be. I see the signs of a better futurity, and especially signs that the large class by whose toil we all live are rising from the dust: and this faith is my only motive to what I now offer.

The elevation of the laboring portion of society: this is our subject. I shall first consider in what this consists. I shall then consider some objections to its practicableness, and to this point shall devote no small part of the discussion; and shall close the subject with giving some grounds of my faith and hope in regard to the most numerous class of our fellow-beings.

I. What is to be understood by the elevation of the laboring class? This is our first topic. To prevent misapprehension, I will begin with stating what is *not* meant by it, in what it does not consist. — I say, then, that by the elevation of the laborer, I do not understand that he is to be raised above the need of labor. I do not expect a series of improvements, by which he is to be released from his daily work. Still more, I have no desire to dismiss him from his workshop and farm, to take the spade and axe from his hand, and to make his life a long holiday. I have faith in labor, and I see the goodness of God in placing us in a world where labor alone can keep us alive. I would not change, if I could, our subjection to physical laws, our exposure to hunger and cold, and the necessity of constant conflicts with the material world. I would not, if I could, so temper the elements, that they should infuse into us only grateful sensations, that they should make vegetation so exuberant as to anticipate every want, and the minerals so ductile as to offer no resistance to our strength and skill. Such a world would make a contemptible race. Man owes his growth, his energy, chiefly to that striving of the will, that conflict with difficulty, which we call effort. Easy, pleasant work does not make robust minds, does not give men a conscious-

ness of their powers, does not train them to endurance, to perseverance, to steady force of will, that force without which all other acquisitions avail nothing. Manual labor is a school in which men are placed to get energy of purpose and character, — a vastly more important endowment than all the learning of all other schools. They are placed, indeed, under hard masters, physical sufferings and wants, the power of fearful elements, and the vicissitudes of all human things; but these stern teachers do a work which no compassionate, indulgent friend could do for us; and true wisdom will bless Providence for their sharp ministry. I have great faith in hard work. The material world does much for the mind by its beauty and order; but it does more for our minds by the pains it inflicts; by its obstinate resistance, which nothing but patient toil can overcome; by its vast forces, which nothing but unremitting skill and effort can turn to our use; by its perils, which demand continual vigilance; and by its tendencies to decay. I believe that difficulties are more important to the human mind than what we call assistances. Work we all must, if we mean to bring out and perfect our nature. Even if we do not work with the hands, we must undergo equivalent toil in some other direction. No business or study which does not present obstacles, tasking to the full the intellect and the will, is worthy of a man. In science, he who does not grapple with hard questions, who does not concentrate his whole intellect in vigorous attention, who does not aim to penetrate what at first repels him, will never attain to mental force. The uses of toil reach beyond the present world. The capacity of steady, earnest labor is, I apprehend, one of our great preparations for another state of being. When I see the vast amount of toil required of men, I feel that it must have important connection with their future existence; and that he who has met this discipline manfully has laid one essential foundation of improvement, exertion, and happiness in the world to come. You will here see that to me labor has great dignity. It is not merely the grand instrument by which the earth is overspread with fruitfulness and beauty, and the ocean subdued, and matter wrought into innumerable forms for comfort and ornament. It has a far higher function, which is to give force to the will, efficiency, courage, the capacity of endurance, and of persevering devotion to far-reaching plans. Alas, for the man who has not learned to work! He is a poor creature. He does not know himself. He depends on others, with no capacity of making returns for the support they give; and let him not fancy that he has a monopoly of enjoyment. Ease, rest, owes its deliciousness to toil; and no toil is so burdensome as the rest of him who has nothing to task and quicken his powers.

I do not, then, desire to release the laborer from toil. This is not the elevation to be sought for him. Manual labor is a great good; but, in so saying, I must be understood to speak of labor in its just proportions. In excess it does great harm. It is not a good, when made the sole work of life. It must be joined with higher means of improvement, or it degrades instead of exalting. Man has a various nature, which requires a variety of occupation and discipline for its growth. Study, meditation, society, and relaxation should be mixed up with his physical toils. He has intellect, heart, imagination, taste, as well as bones and muscles; and he is grievously wronged when compelled to exclusive drudgery for bodily subsistence. Life should be an alternation of employments, so diversified as to call the whole man into action. Unhappily our present civilization is far from realizing this idea. It tends to increase the amount of manual toil, at the very time that it renders this toil less favorable to the culture of the mind. The division of labor, which distinguishes civilized from savage life, and to which we owe chiefly the perfection of the arts, tends to dwarf the intellectual powers, by confining the activity of the individual to a narrow range, to a few details, perhaps to the heading of pins, the pointing of nails, or the tying together of broken strings; so that while the savage has his faculties sharpened by various occupations, and by exposure to various perils, the civilized man treads a monotonous, stupefying round of unthinking toil. This cannot, must not, always be. Variety of action, corresponding to the variety of human powers, and fitted to develop all, is the most important element of

human civilization. It should be the aim of philanthropists. In proportion as Christianity shall spread the spirit of brotherhood, there will and must be a more equal distribution of toils and means of improvement. That system of labor which saps the health, and shortens life, and famishes intellect, needs, and must receive, great modification. Still, labor in due proportion is an important part of our present lot. It is the condition of all outward comforts and improvements, whilst, at the same time, it conspires with higher means and influences in ministering to the vigor and growth of the soul. Let us not fight against it. We need this admonition, because at the present moment there is a general disposition to shun labor; and this ought to be regarded as a bad sign of our times. The city is thronged with adventurers from the country, and the liberal professions are overstocked, in the hope of escaping the primeval sentence of living by the sweat of the brow; and to this crowding of men into trade we owe not only the neglect of agriculture, but, what is far worse, the demoralization of the community. It generates excessive competition, which of necessity generates fraud. Trade is turned to gambling; and a spirit of mad speculation exposes public and private interests to a disastrous instability. It is, then, no part of the philanthropy which would elevate the laboring body, to exempt them from manual toil. In truth a wise philanthropy would, if possible, persuade all men of all conditions to mix up a measure of this toil with their other pursuits. The body as well as the mind needs vigorous exertion, and even the studious would be happier were they trained to labor as well as thought. Let us learn to regard manual toil as the true discipline of a man. Not a few of the wisest, grandest spirits have toiled at the work-bench and the plough.

I have said that, by the elevation of the laboring mass, I do not mean that they are to be released from labor. I add, in the next place, that this elevation is not to be gained by efforts to force themselves into what are called the upper ranks of society. I wish them to rise, but I have no desire to transform them into gentlemen or ladies, according to the common acceptation of these terms. I desire for them not an outward and showy, but an inward and real change; not to give them new titles and an artificial rank, but substantial improvements and real claims to respect. I have no wish to dress them from a Parisian tailor's shop, or to teach them manners from a dancing-school. I have no desire to see them, at the end of the day, doff their working dress, that they may play a part in richly attired circles. I have no desire that they should be admitted to luxurious feasts, or should get a taste for gorgeous upholstery. There is nothing cruel in the necessity which sentences the multitude of men to eat, dress, and lodge plainly and simply, especially where the sentence is executed so mildly as in this country. In this country, where the demand for labor is seldom interrupted, and the openings for enterprise are numerous beyond precedent, the laboring class, with few exceptions, may well be satisfied with their accommodations. Very many of them need nothing but a higher taste for beauty, order, and neatness, to give an air of refinement and grace as well as comfort to their establishments. In this country, the mass of laborers have their share of outward good. Their food, abundant and healthful, seasoned with the appetite which labor gives, is, on the whole, sweeter as well as healthier than the elaborate luxuries of the prosperous; and their sleep is sounder and more refreshing than falls to the lot of the less employed. Were it a possible thing, I should be sorry to see them turned into men and women of fashion. Fashion is a poor vocation. Its creed, that idleness is a privilege, and work a disgrace, is among the deadliest errors. Without depth of thought, or earnestness of feeling, or strength of purpose, living an unreal life, sacrificing substance to show, substituting the factitious for the natural, mistaking a crowd for society, finding its chief pleasure in ridicule, and exhausting its ingenuity in expedients for killing time, fashion is among the last influences under which a human being, who respects himself or who comprehends the great end of life, would desire to be placed. I use strong language, because I would com-

bat the disposition, too common in the laboring mass, to regard what is called the upper class with envy or admiration. This disposition manifests itself among them in various forms. Thus, when one of their number prospers, he is apt to forget his old acquaintance, and to work his way, if possible, into a more fashionable caste. As far, indeed, as he extends his acquaintance among the intelligent, refined, generous, and truly honorable, he makes a substantial improvement of his condition; but if, as is too often the case, he is admitted by way of favor into a circle which has few claims beyond those of greater luxury and show, and which bestows on him a patronizing, condescending notice, in exchange for his old, honorable influence among his original associates, he does any thing but rise. Such is not the elevation I desire for the laborer. I do not desire him to struggle into another rank. Let him not be a servile copyist of other classes, but aim at something higher than has yet been realized in any body of men. Let him not associate the idea of dignity or honor with certain modes of living, or certain outward connections. I would have every man stand on his own ground, and take his place among men according to personal endowments and worth, and not according to outward appendages; and I would have every member of the community furnished with such means of improvement, that, if faithful to himself, he may need no outward appendage to attract the respect of all around him.

I have said, that the people are not to be elevated by escaping labor, or by pressing into a different rank. Once more, I do not mean by the elevation of the people, that they should become self-important politicians; that, as individuals or a class, they should seize on political power: that by uniting their votes they should triumph over the more prosperous: or that they should succeed in bending the administration of government to their particular interests. An individual is not elevated by figuring in public affairs, or even by getting into office. He needs previous elevation to save him from disgrace in his public relations To govern one's self, not others, is true glory. To serve through love, not to rule, is Christian greatness. Office is not dignity. The lowest men, because most faithless in principle, most servile to opinion, are to be found in office. I am sorry to say it, but the truth should be spoken, that, at the present moment, political action in this country does little to lift up any who are concerned in it. It stands in opposition to a high morality. Politics, indeed, regarded as the study and pursuit of the true, enduring good of a community, as the application of great unchangeable principles to public affairs, is a noble sphere of thought and action; but politics, in its common sense, or considered as the invention of temporary shifts, as the playing of a subtile game, as the tactics of party for gaining power and the spoils of office, and for elevating one set of men above another, is a paltry and debasing concern. The laboring class are sometimes stimulated to seek power as a class, and this it is thought will raise them. But no class, as such, should bear rule among us. All conditions of society should be represented in the government, and alike protected by it: nor can any thing be expected but disgrace to the individual and the country from the success of any class in grasping at a monopoly of political power. I would by no means discourage the attention of the people to politics. They ought to study in earnest the interests of the country, the principles of our institutions, the tendencies of public measures. But the unhappiness is, they do not *study;* and, until they do, they cannot rise by political action. A great amount of time, which, if well used, would form an enlightened population, is now wasted on newspapers and conversations, which inflame the passions, which unscrupulously distort the truth, which denounce moral independence as treachery to one's party, which agitate the country for no higher end than a triumph over opponents: and thus multitudes are degraded into men-worshippers or men-haters, into the dupes of the ambitious, or the slaves of a faction. To rise, the people must substitute reflection for passion. There is no other way. By these remarks, I do not mean to charge on the laboring class all the passionateness of the country. All classes partake of the madness, and all are debased by it. The fiery spirits are not confined to one portion of the community. The men, whose ravings resound through the halls

of Congress, and are then circulated through the country as eloquence, are not taken from among those who toil. Party prejudices break out as fiercely on the exchange, and even in the saloon, as in the workshop. The disease has spread everywhere. Yet it does not dishearten me, for I see that it admits of mitigation, if not of cure. I trust that these lectures, and other sources of intellectual enjoyment now opening to the public, will abate the fever of political excitement, by giving better occupation to the mind. Much, too, may be hoped from the growing self-respect of the people, which will make them shrink indignantly from the disgrace of being used as blinded partisans and unreflecting tools. Much also is to be hoped from the discovery, which must sooner or later be made, that the importance of government is enormously overrated, that it does not deserve all this stir, that there are vastly more effectual means of human happiness. Political institutions are to be less and less deified, and to shrink into a narrower space; and just in proportion as a wiser estimate of government prevails, the present frenzy of political excitement will be discovered and put to shame.

I have now said what I do not mean by the elevation of the laboring classes. It is not an outward change of condition. It is not release from labor. It is not struggling for another rank. It is not political power. I understand something deeper. I know but one elevation of a human being, and that is elevation of soul. Without this, it matters nothing where a man stands or what he possesses; and with it, he towers, he is one of God's nobility, no matter what place he holds in the social scale. There is but one elevation for a laborer, and for all other men. There are not different kinds of dignity for different orders of men, but one and the same to all. The only elevation of a human being consists in the exercise, growth, energy of the higher principles and powers of his soul. A bird may be shot upward to the skies by a foreign force; but it rises, in the true sense of the word, only when it spreads its own wings and soars by its own living power. So a man may be thrust upward into a conspicuous place by outward accidents; but he rises, only in so far as he exerts himself, and expands his best faculties, and ascends by a free effort to a nobler region of thought and action. Such is the elevation I desire for the laborer, and I desire no other. This elevation is indeed to be aided by an improvement of his outward condition, and in turn it greatly improves his outward lot; and thus connected, outward good is real and great; but supposing it to exist in separation from inward growth and life, it would be nothing worth, nor would I raise a finger to promote it.

I know it will be said, that such elevation as I have spoken of is not and cannot be within the reach of the laboring multitude, and of consequence they ought not to be tantalized with dreams of its attainment. It will be said, that the principal part of men are plainly designed to work on matter for the acquisition of material and corporeal good, and that, in such, the spirit is of necessity too wedded to matter to rise above it. This objection will be considered by and by; but I would just observe, in passing, that the objector must have studied very carelessly the material world, if he suppose that it is meant to be the grave of the minds of most of those who occupy it. Matter was made for spirit, body for mind. The mind, the spirit, is the end of this living organization of flesh and bones, of nerves and muscles; and the end of this vast system of sea and land, and air and skies. This unbounded creation of sun, and moon, and stars, and clouds, and seasons, was not ordained merely to feed and clothe the body, but first and supremely to awaken, nourish, and expand the soul, to be the school of the intellect, the nurse of thought and imagination, the field for the active powers, a revelation of the Creator, and a bond of social union. We were placed in the material creation, not to be its slaves, but to master it, and to make it a minister to our highest powers. It is interesting to observe how much the material world does for the mind. Most of the sciences, arts, professions, and occupations of life, grow out of our connection with matter. The natural philosopher, the physician, the lawyer, the artist, and the legislator, find the objects or occasions of their researches in matter. The poet borrows his beautiful imagery from matter. The sculptor and painter express their noble conceptions

through matter. Material wants rouse the world to activity. The material organs of sense, especially the eye, wake up infinite thoughts in the mind. To maintain, then, that the mass of men are and must be so immersed in matter, that their souls cannot rise, is to contradict the great end of their connection with matter. I maintain that the philosophy which does not see, in the laws and phenomena of outward nature, the means of awakening mind, is lamentably short-sighted: and that a state of society which leaves the mass of men to be crushed and famished in soul by excessive toils on matter is at war with God's designs, and turns into means of bondage what was meant to free and expand the soul.

Elevation of soul, this is to be desired for the laborer as for every human being; and what does this mean? The phrase, I am aware, is vague, and often serves for mere declamation. Let me strive to convey some precise ideas of it; and in doing this, I can use no language which will save the hearer from the necessity of thought. The subject is a spiritual one. It carries us into the depths of our own nature, and I can say nothing about it worth saying, without tasking your powers of attention, without demanding some mental toil. I know that these lectures are meant for entertainment rather than mental labor; but, as I have told you, I have great faith in labor, and I feel that I cannot be more useful than in exciting the hearer to some vigorous action of mind.

Elevation of soul, in what does this consist? Without aiming at philosophical exactness, I shall convey a sufficiently precise idea of it, by saying that it consists, first, in force of thought exerted for the acquisition of truth; secondly, in force of pure and generous feeling; thirdly, in force of moral purpose. Each of these topics needs a lecture for its development. I must confine myself to the first; from which, however, you may learn in a measure my views of the other two. — Before entering on this topic, let me offer one preliminary remark. To every man who would rise in dignity as a man, be he rich or poor, ignorant or instructed, there is one essential condition, one effort, one purpose, without which not a step can be taken. He must resolutely purpose and labor to free himself from whatever he knows to be wrong in his motives and life. He who habitually allows himself in any known crime or wrong-doing, effectually bars his progress towards a higher intellectual and moral life. On this point every man should deal honestly with himself. If he will not listen to his conscience, rebuking him for violations of plain duty, let him not dream of self-elevation. The foundation is wanting. He will build, if at all, in sand.

I now proceed to my main subject. I have said that the elevation of a man is to be sought, or rather consists, first, in force of thought exerted for the acquisition of truth; and to this I ask your serious attention. Thought, thought, is the fundamental distinction of mind, and the great work of life. All that a man does outwardly is but the expression and completion of his inward thought. To work effectually, he must think clearly. To act nobly, he must think nobly. Intellectual force is a principal element of the soul's life, and should be proposed by every man as a principal end of his being. It is common to distinguish between the intellect and the conscience, between the power of thought and virtue, and to say that virtuous action is worth more than strong thinking. But we mutilate our nature by thus drawing lines between actions or energies of the soul, which are intimately, indissolubly bound together. The head and the heart are not more vitally connected than thought and virtue. Does not conscience include, as a part of itself, the noblest action of the intellect or reason? Do we not degrade it by making it a mere feeling? Is it not something more? Is it not a wise discernment of the right, the holy, the good? Take away thought from virtue, and what remains worthy of a man? Is not high virtue more than blind instinct? Is it not founded on, and does it not include clear, bright perceptions of what is lovely and grand in character and action? Without power of thought, what we call conscientiousness, or a desire to do right, shoots out into illusion, exaggeration, pernicious excess. The most cruel deeds on earth have been perpetrated in the name of conscience. Men have hated and murdered one another from a sense of duty. The worst frauds have taken the name of pious. Thought, intelligence, is the dignity of a man, and no

man is rising but in proportion as he is learning to think clearly and forcibly, or directing the energy of his mind to the acquisition of truth. Every man, in whatsoever condition, is to be a student. No matter what other vocation he may have, his chief vocation is to Think.

I say every man is to be a student, a thinker. This does not mean that he is to shut himself within four walls, and bend body and mind over books. Men thought before books were written, and some of the greatest thinkers never entered what we call a study. Nature, Scripture, society, and life, present perpetual subjects for thought; and the man who collects, concentrates, employs his faculties on any of these subjects for the purpose of getting the truth, is so far a student, a thinker, a philosopher, and is rising to the dignity of a man. It is time that we should cease to limit to professed scholars the titles of thinkers, philosophers. Whoever seeks truth with an earnest mind, no matter when or how, belongs to the school of intellectual men.

In a loose sense of the word, all men may be said to think; that is, a succession of ideas, notions, passes through their minds from morning to night; but in as far as this succession is passive, undirected, or governed only by accident and outward impulse, it has little more claim to dignity than the experience of the brute, who receives, with like passivenes, sensations from abroad through his waking hours. Such thought, if thought it may be called, having no aim, is as useless as the vision of an eye which rests on nothing, which flies without pause over earth and sky, and of consequence receives no distinct image. Thought, in its true sense, is an energy of intellect. In thought, the mind not only receives impressions or suggestions from without or within, but reacts upon them, collects its attention, concentrates its forces upon them, breaks them up and analyzes them like a living laboratory, and then combines them anew, traces their connections, and thus impresses itself on all the objects which engage it.

The universe in which we live was plainly meant by God to stir up such thought as has now been described. It is full of difficulty and mystery, and can only be penetrated and unravelled by the concentration of the intellect. Every object, even the simplest in nature and society, every event of life, is made up of various elements subtly bound together; so that, to understand any thing, we must reduce it from its complexity to its parts and principles, and examine their relations to one another. Nor is this all. Every thing which enters the mind not only contains a depth of mystery in itself, but is connected by a thousand ties with all other things. The universe is not a disorderly, disconnected heap, but a beautiful whole, stamped throughout with unity, so as to be an image of the One Infinite Spirit. Nothing stands alone. All things are knit together, each existing for all and all for each. The humblest object has infinite connections. The vegetable, which you saw on your table to-day, came to you from the first plant which God made to grow on the earth, and was the product of the rains and sunshine of six thousand years. Such a universe demands thought to be understood; and we are placed in it to think, to put forth the power within, to look beneath the surface of things, to look beyond particular facts and events to their causes and effects, to their reasons and ends, their mutual influences, their diversities and resemblances, their proportions and harmonies, and the general laws which bind them together. This is what I mean by thinking; and by such thought the mind rises to a dignity which humbly represents the greatness of the Divine intellect; that is, it rises more and more to consistency of views, to broad general principles, to universal truths, to glimpses of the order and harmony and infinity of the Divine system, and thus to a deep, enlightened veneration of the Infinite Father. Do not be startled, as if I were holding out an elevation of mind utterly to be despaired of: for all thinking, which aims honestly and earnestly to see things as they are, to see them in their connections, and to bring the loose, conflicting ideas of the mind into consistency and harmony, all such thinking, no matter in what sphere, is an approach to the dignity of which I speak. You are all capable of the thinking which I recommend. You have all practised it in a degree. The child, who casts an inquiring eye on a new toy, and breaks it to pieces that

he may discover the mysterious cause of its movements, has begun the work of which I speak, has begun to be a philosopher, has begun to penetrate the unknown, to seek consistency and harmony of thought; and let him go on as he has begun, and make it one great business of life to inquire into the elements, connections, and reasons of whatever he witnesses in his own breast, or in society, or in outward nature, and, be his condition what it may, he will rise by degrees to a freedom and force of thought, to a breadth and unity of views, which will be to him an inward revelation and promise of the intellectual greatness for which he was created.

You will observe, that in speaking of force of thought as the elevation of the laborer and of every human being, I have continually supposed this force to be exerted for the purpose of acquiring truth. I beg you never to lose sight of this motive, for it is essential to intellectual dignity. Force of thought may be put forth for other purposes, — to amass wealth for selfish gratification, to give the individual power over others, to blind others, to weave a web of sophistry, to cast a deceitful lustre on vice, to make the worse appear the better cause. But energy of thought, so employed, is suicidal. The intellect, in becoming a pander to vice, a tool of the passions, an advocate of lies, becomes not only degraded, but diseased. It loses the capacity of distinguishing truth from falsehood, good from evil, right from wrong; it becomes as worthless as an eye which cannot distinguish between colors or forms. Woe to that mind which wants the love of truth! For want of this, genius has become a scourge to the world, its breath a poisonous exhalation, its brightness a seducer into paths of pestilence and death. Truth is the light of the Infinite Mind, and the image of God in his creatures. Nothing endures but truth. The dreams, fictions, theories, which men would substitute for it, soon die. Without its guidance effort is vain, and hope baseless. Accordingly, the love of truth, a deep thirst for it, a deliberate purpose to seek it and hold it fast, may be considered as the very foundation of human culture and dignity. Precious as thought is, the love of truth is still more precious; for without it, thought — thought wanders and wastes itself, and precipitates men into guilt and misery. There is no greater defect in education and the pulpit than that they inculcate so little an impartial, earnest, reverential love of truth, a readiness to toil, to live and die for it. Let the laboring man be imbued in a measure with this spirit; let him learn to regard himself as endowed with the power of thought, for the very end of acquiring truth; let him learn to regard truth as more precious than his daily bread; and the spring of true and perpetual elevation is touched within him. He has begun to be a man; he becomes one of the elect of his race. Nor do I despair of this elevation of the laborer. Unhappily little, almost nothing, has been done as yet to inspire either rich or poor with the love of truth for its own sake, or for the life, and inspiration, and dignity it gives to the soul. The prosperous have as little of this principle as the laboring mass. I think, indeed, that the spirit of luxurious, fashionable life, is more hostile to it than the hardships of the poor. Under a wise culture, this principle may be awakened in all classes, and wherever awakened, it will form philosophers, successful and noble thinkers. These remarks seem to me particularly important, as showing how intimate a union subsists between the moral and intellectual nature, and how both must work together from the beginning. All human culture rests on a moral foundation, on an impartial, disinterested spirit, on a willingness to make sacrifices to the truth. Without this moral power, mere force of thought avails nothing towards our elevation.

I am aware that I shall be told that the work of thought which I have insisted on is difficult, — that to collect and concentrate the mind for the truth is harder than to toil with the hands. Be it so. But are we weak enough to hope to rise without toil? Does any man, laborer or not, expect to invigorate body or mind without strenuous effort? Does not the child grow and get strength by throwing a degree of hardship and vehemence and conflict into his very sports? Does not life without difficulty become insipid and joyless? Cannot a strong interest turn

difficulty into pleasure? Let the love of truth, of which I have spoken, be awakened, and obstacles in the way to it will whet, not discourage, the mind, and inspire a new delight into its acquisition.

I have hitherto spoken of force of thought in general. My views will be given more completely and distinctly, by considering, next, the objects on which this force is to be exerted. These may be reduced to two classes, matter and mind, — the physical world which falls under our eyes, and the spiritual world. The working man is particularly called to make matter his study, because his business is to work on it, and he works more wisely, effectually, cheerfully, and honorably, in proportion as he knows what he acts upon, knows the laws and forces of which he avails himself, understands the reason of what he does, and can explain the changes which fall under his eye. Labor becomes a new thing when thought is thrown into it, when the mind keeps pace with the hands. Every farmer should study chemistry, so as to understand the elements or ingredients which enter into soils, vegetation, and manures, and the laws according to which they combine with and are loosened from one another. So, the mechanic should understand the mechanic powers, the laws of motion, and the history and composition of the various substances which he works on. Let me add, that the farmer and the mechanic should cultivate the perception of beauty. What a charm and new value might the farmer add to his grounds and cottage, were he a man of taste? The product of the mechanic, be it great or small, a house or a shoe, is worth more, sometimes much more, if he can succeed in giving it the grace of proportion. In France, it is not uncommon to teach drawing to mechanics, that they may get a quick eye and a sure hand, and may communicate to their works the attraction of beauty. Every man should aim to impart this perfection to his labors. The more of mind we carry into toil, the better. Without a habit of thought, a man works more like a brute or machine than like a man. With it, his soul is kept alive amidst his toils. He learns to fix an observing eye on the processes of his trade, catches hints which abridge labor, gets glimpses of important discoveries, and is sometimes able to perfect his art. Even now, after all the miracles of invention which honor our age, we little suspect what improvements of machinery are to spring from spreading intelligence and natural science among workmen.

But I do not stop here. Nature is to engage our force of thought, not simply for the aid which the knowledge of it gives in working, but for a higher end. Nature should be studied for its own sake, because so wonderful a work of God, because impressed with his perfection, because radiant with beauty, and grandeur, and wisdom, and beneficence. A laborer, like every other man, is to be liberally educated, that is, he is to get knowledge, not only for his bodily subsistence, but for the life, and growth, and elevation of his mind. Am I asked, whether I expect the laborer to traverse the whole circle of the physical sciences? Certainly not; nor do I expect the merchant, or the lawyer, or preacher to do it. Nor is this at all necessary to elevation of soul. The truths of physical science, which give greatest dignity to the mind, are those general laws of the creation which it has required ages to unfold, but which an active mind, bent on self-enlargement, may so far study and comprehend, as to interpret the changes of nature perpetually taking place around us, as to see in all the forces of the universe the workings of one Infinite Power, and in all its arrangements the manifestation of one unsearchable wisdom.

And this leads me to observe the second great object on which force of thought is to be exerted, and that is mind, spirit, comprehending under this word God and all his intelligent offspring. This is the subject of what are called the metaphysical and moral sciences. This is the grand field for thought: for the outward, material world is the shadow of the spiritual, and made to minister to it. This study is of vast extent. It comprehends theology, metaphysics, moral philosophy, political science, history, literature. This is a formidable list, and it may seem to include a vast amount of knowledge which is necessarily placed beyond the reach of the laborer. But it is an interesting thought, that the key to these various

sciences is given to every human being in his own nature, so that they are peculiarly accessible to him. How is it that I get my ideas of God, of my fellow-creatures, of the deeds, suffering, motives, which make up universal history? I comprehend all these from the consciousness of what passes in my own soul. The mind within me is a type representative of all others, and therefore I can understand all. Whence come my conceptions of the intelligence, and justice, and goodness, and power of God? It is because my own spirit contains the germs of these attributes. The ideas of them are first derived from my own nature, and therefore I comprehend them in other beings. Thus the foundation of all the sciences which treat of mind is laid in every man's breast. The good man is exercising in his business and family faculties and affections which bear a likeness to the attributes of the Divinity, and to the energies which have made the greatest men illustrious; so that in studying himself, in learning the highest principles and laws of his own soul, he is in truth studying God, studying all human history, studying the philosophy which has immortalized the sages of ancient and modern times. In every man's mind and life all other minds and lives are more or less represented and wrapped up. To study other things, I must go into the outward world, and perhaps go far. To study the science of spirit, I must come home and enter my own soul. The profoundest books that have ever been written do nothing more than bring out, place in clear light, what is passing in each of your minds. So near you, so within you, is the grandest truth.

I have, indeed, no expectation that the laborer is to understand in detail the various sciences which relate to mind. Few men in any vocation do so understand them. Nor is it necessary; though, where time can be commanded, the thorough study of some particular branch, in which the individual has a special interest, will be found of great utility. What is needed to elevate the soul is, not that a man should know all that has been thought and written in regard to the spiritual nature, not that a man should become an encyclopædia, but that the great ideas, in which all discoveries terminate, which sum up all sciences, which the philosopher extracts from infinite details, may be comprehended and felt. It is not the quantity, but the quality of knowledge, which determines the mind's dignity. A man of immense information may, through the want of large and comprehensive ideas, be far inferior in intellect to a laborer, who, with little knowledge, has yet seized on great truths. For example, I do not expect the laborer to study theology in the ancient languages, in the writings of the Fathers, in the history of sects, &c., &c.; nor is this needful. All theology, scattered as it is through countless volumes, is summed up in the idea of God; and let this idea shine bright and clear in the laborer's soul, and he has the essence of theological libraries, and a far higher light than has visited thousands of renowned divines. A great mind is formed by a few great ideas, not by an infinity of loose details. I have known very learned men who seemed to me very poor in intellect, because they had no grand thoughts. What avails it that a man has studied ever so minutely the histories of Greece and Rome, if the great ideas of freedom, and beauty, and valor, and spiritual energy, have not been kindled by these records into living fires in his soul? The illumination of an age does not consist in the amount of its knowledge, but in the broad and noble principles of which that knowledge is the foundation and inspirer. The truth is, that the most laborious and successful student is confined in his researches to a very few of God's works; but this limited knowledge of things may still suggest universal laws, broad principles, grand ideas, and these elevate the mind. There are certain thoughts, principles, ideas, which, by their nature, rule over all knowledge, which are intrinsically glorious, quickening, all-comprehending, eternal, and with these I desire to enrich the mind of the laborer and of every human being.

To illustrate my meaning, let me give a few examples of the great ideas which belong to the study or science of mind. Of course, the first of these, the grandest, the most comprehensive, is the idea of God, the Parent Mind, the Primitive and Infinite Intelligence. Every man's elevation is to be measured first and chiefly by his conception of this Great Being; and to attain a just, and bright,

and quickening knowledge of Him, is the highest aim of thought. In truth, the great end of the universe, of revelation, of life, is to develop in us the idea of God. Much earnest, patient, laborious thought is required to see this Infinite Being as He is, to rise above the low, gross notions of the Divinity, which rush in upon us from our passions, from our selfish partialities, and from the low-minded world around us. There is one view of God particularly suited to elevate us. I mean the view of Him as the "Father of our spirits;" as having created us with great powers to grow up to perfection; as having ordained all outward things to minister to the progress of the soul; as always present to inspire and strengthen us, to wake us up to inward life, and to judge and rebuke our wrong-doing; as looking with parental joy on our resistance of evil; as desiring to communicate himself to our minds for ever. This one idea, expanded in the breast of the laborer, is a germ of elevation more fruitful than all science, no matter how extensive or profound, which treats only of outward finite things. It places him in the first rank of human beings. You hear of great theologians. He only deserves the name, be his condition what it may, who has, by thought and obedience, purified and enlarged his conception of God.

From the idea of God, I proceed to another grand one, that of man, of human nature; and this should be the object of serious, intense thought. Few men know, as yet, what a man is. They know his clothes, his complexion, his property, his rank, his follies, and his outward life. But the thought of his inward being, his proper humanity, has hardly dawned on multitudes; and yet, who can live a man's life that does not know what is the distinctive worth of a human being? It is interesting to observe how faithful men generally are to their idea of a man; how they act up to it. Spread the notion that courage is true manhood, and how many will die rather than fall short of that standard; and hence, the true idea of a man, brought out in the laborer's mind, elevates him above every other class who may want it. Am I asked for my conception of the dignity of a human being? I should say, that it consists, first, in that spiritual principle, called sometimes the reason, sometimes the conscience, which, rising above what is local and temporary, discerns immutable truth and everlasting right; which, in the midst of imperfect things, conceives of perfection; which is universal and impartial, standing in direct opposition to the partial, selfish principles of human nature: which says to me with authority, that my neighbor is as precious as myself, and his rights as sacred as my own; which commands me to receive all truth, however it may war with my pride, and to do all justice, however it may conflict with my interest; and which calls me to rejoice with love in all that is beautiful, good, holy, happy, in whatever being these attributes may be found. This principle is a ray of Divinity in man. We do not know what man is, still something of the celestial grandeur of this principle in the soul may be discerned. There is another grand view of man, included indeed in the former, yet deserving distinct notice. He is a free being: created to act from a spring in his own breast, to form himself and to decide his own destiny; connected intimately with nature, but not enslaved to it; connected still more strongly with God, yet not enslaved even to the Divinity, but having power to render or withhold the service due to his Creator; encompassed by a thousand warring forces, by physical elements which inflict pleasure and pain, by dangers seen and unseen, by the influences of a tempting, sinful world, yet endued by God with power to contend with all, to perfect himself by conflict with the very forces which threaten to overwhelm him. Such is the idea of a man. Happy he in whom it is unfolded by earnest thought!

Had I time, I should be glad to speak of other great ideas belonging to the science of mind, and which sum up and give us, in one bright expression, the speculations of ages. The idea of human life, of its true end and greatness: the idea of virtue, as the absolute and ultimate good; the idea of liberty, which is the highest thought of political science, and which, by its intimate presence to the minds of the people, is the chief spring of our country's life and greatness,—all these might be enlarged on; and I might show how these may be awakened in the laborer, and may give him an elevation which many who are

above labor want. But, leaving all these, I will only refer to another, one of the most important results of the science of mind, and which the laborer, in common with every man, may and should receive, and should strengthen by patient thought. It is the idea of his importance as an individual. He is to understand that he has a value, not as belonging to a community, and contributing to a general good which is distinct from himself, but on his own account. He is not a mere part of a machine. In a machine the parts are useless, but as conducing to the end of the whole, for which alone they subsist. Not so a man. He is not simply a means, but an end, and exists for his own sake, for the unfolding of his nature, for his own virtue and happiness. True, he is to work for others, but not servilely, not with a broken spirit, not so as to degrade himself; he is to work for others from a wise self-regard, from principles of justice and benevolence, and in the exercise of a free will and intelligence, by which his own character is perfected. His individual dignity, not derived from birth, from success, from wealth, from outward show, but consisting in the indestructible principles of his soul, — this ought to enter into his habitual consciousness. I do not speak rhetorically or use the cant of rhapsodists, but I utter my calm, deliberate conviction, when I say that the laborer ought to regard himself with a self-respect unknown to the proudest monarch who rests on outward rank.

I have now illustrated what I mean by the great ideas which exalt the mind. Their worth and power cannot be exaggerated. They are the mightiest influences on earth. One great thought breathed into a man may regenerate him. The idea of freedom in ancient and modern republics, the idea of inspiration in various religious sects, the idea of immortality, how have these triumphed over worldly interests! How many heroes and martyrs have they formed! Great ideas are mightier than the passions. To awaken them is the highest office of education. As yet it has been little thought of. The education of the mass of the people has consisted in giving them mechanical habits, in breaking them to current usages and modes of thinking, in teaching religion and morality as traditions. It is time that a rational culture should take the place of mechanical; that men should learn to act more from ideas and principles, and less from blind impulse and undiscerning imitation.

Am I met here by the constantly recurring objection, that such great thoughts as have now been treated of are not to be expected in the multitude of men whose means of culture are so confined? To this difficulty I shall reply in the next lecture; but I wish to state a fact, or law of our nature, very cheering to those who, with few means, still pant for generous improvement. It is this, that great ideas come to us less from outward, direct, laborious teaching, than from indirect influences, and from the native working of our own minds; so that those who want the outward apparatus for extensive learning are not cut off from them. Thus, laborious teachers may instruct us for years in God, and virtue, and the soul, and we may remain nearly as ignorant of them as at the beginning: whilst a look, a tone, an act of a fellow-creature, who is kindled by a grand thought, and who is thrown in our path at some susceptible season of life, will do much to awaken and expand this thought within us. It is a matter of experience that the greatest ideas often come to us, when right-minded, we know not how. They flash on us as lights from heaven. A man seriously given to the culture of his mind in virtue and truth finds himself under better teaching than that of man. Revelations of his own soul, of God's intimate presence, of the grandeur of the creation, of the glory of disinterestedness, of the deformity of wrong-doing, of the dignity of universal justice, of the might of moral principle, of the immutableness of truth, of immortality, and of the inward sources of happiness; these revelations, awakening a thirst for something higher then he is or has, come of themselves to an humble, self-improving man. Sometimes a common scene in nature, one of the common relations of life, will open itself to us with a brightness and pregnancy of meaning unknown before. Sometimes a thought of this kind forms an era in life. It changes the whole future course. It is a new creation. And these great ideas are not confined to

men of any class. They are communications of the Infinite Mind to all minds which are open to their reception; and labor is a far better condition for their reception than luxurious or fashionable life. It is even better than a studious life, when this fosters vanity, pride, and the spirit of jealous competition. A childlike simplicity attracts these revelations more than a selfish culture of intellect, however far extended. — Perhaps a caution should be added to these suggestions. In speaking of great ideas, as sometimes springing up of themselves, as sudden illuminations, I have no thought of teaching that we are to wait for them passively, or to give up our minds unthinkingly to their control. We must prepare ourselves for them by faithfulness to our own powers, by availing ourselves of all means of culture within our reach; and, what is more, these illuminations, if they come, are not distinct, complete, perfect views, but glimpses, suggestions, flashes, given us, like all notices and impressions from the outward world, to be thought upon, to be made subjects of patient reflection, to be brought by our own intellect and activity into their true connection with all our other thoughts. A great idea, without reflection, may dazzle and bewilder, may destroy the balance and proportion of the mind, and impel to dangerous excess. It is to awaken the free, earnest exertion of our powers, to rouse us from passiveness to activity and life, that inward inspirations, and the teachings of outward nature, are accorded to the mind.

I have thus spoken at large of that force of thought which the laborer is to seek as his true elevation; and I will close the subject with observing, that on whatever objects, or for whatever purposes this force may be exerted, one purpose should be habitually predominant, and that is, to gain a larger, clearer comprehension of all the duties of life. Thought cannot take too wide a range; but its chief aim should be to acquire juster and brighter perceptions of the right and the good, in every relation and condition in which we may be placed. Do not imagine that I am here talking professionally, or sliding unconsciously, by the force of habit, into the tone of the pulpit. The subject of duty belongs equally to all professions and all conditions. It were as wise to think of living without breath, or of seeing without light, as to exclude moral and religious principle from the work of self-elevation. And I say this, because you are in danger of mistaking mere knowledge for improvement. Knowledge fails of its best end when it does not minister to a high virtue. I do not say that we are never to think, read, or study, but for the express purpose of learning our duties. The mind must not be tied down by rigid rules. Curiosity, amusement, natural tastes, may innocently direct reading and study to a certain extent. Even in these cases, however, we are bound to improve ourselves morally as well as intellectually, by seeking truth and rejecting falsehood, and by watching against the taint which inheres in almost all human productions. What avails intellectual without moral power? How little does it avail us to study the outward world, if its greatness inspire no reverence of its Author, if its beneficence awaken no kindred love towards our fellow-creatures! How little does it avail us to study history, if the past do not help us to comprehend the dangers and duties of the present; if from the sufferings of those who have gone before us, we do not learn how to suffer, and from their great and good deeds how to act nobly; if the development of the human heart, in different ages and countries, do not give us a better knowledge of ourselves! How little does literature benefit us, if the sketches of life and character, the generous sentiments, the testimonies to disinterestedness and rectitude, with which it abounds, do not incite and guide us to wiser, purer, and more graceful action! How little substantial good do we derive from poetry and the fine arts, if the beauty, which delights the imagination, do not warm and refine the heart, and raise us to the love and admiration of what is fair, and perfect, and lofty, in character and life! Let our studies be as wide as our condition will allow: but let this be their highest aim, to instruct us in our duty and happiness, in the perfection of our nature, in the true use of life, in the best direction of our powers. Then is the culture of intellect an unmixed good, when it is sacredly used to enlighten the conscience.

to feed the flame of generous sentiment, to perfect us in our common employments, to throw a grace over our common actions, to make us sources of innocent cheerfulness and centres of holy influence, and to give us courage, strength, stability, amidst the sudden changes and sore temptations and trials of life.

Lecture II.

In my last lecture I invited your attention to a subject of great interest, — the elevation of the laboring portion of the community. I proposed to consider, first, in what this elevation consists; secondly, the objections which may be made to its practicableness; thirdly, the circumstances which now favor it, and give us hope that it will be more and more accomplished. In considering the first head, I began with stating in what the elevation of the laboring class does not consist, and then proceeded to show positively what it is, what it does consist in. I want time to retrace the ground over which we then travelled. I must trust to your memories. I was obliged by my narrow limits to confine myself chiefly to the consideration of the intellectual elevation which the laborer is to propose; though, in treating this topic, I showed the moral, religious, social improvements which enter into his true dignity. I observed that the laborer was to be a student, a thinker, an intellectual man, as well as a laborer; and suggested the qualifications of this truth which are required by his peculiar employment, by his daily engagement in manual toil. I now come to consider the objections which spring up in many minds, when such views of the laborer's destiny are given. This is our second head.

First, it will be objected, that the laboring multitude cannot command a variety of books, or spend much time in reading; and how, then, can they gain the force of thought, and the great ideas, which were treated of in the former lecture? This objection grows out of the prevalent disposition to confound intellectual improvement with book-learning. Some seem to think that there is a kind of magic in a printed page, that types give a higher knowledge than can be gained from other sources. Reading is considered as the royal road to intellectual eminence. This prejudice I have virtually set aside in my previous remarks; but it has taken so strong a hold of many as to need some consideration. I shall not attempt to repel the objection by decrying books. Truly good books are more than mines to those who can understand them. They are the breathings of the great souls of past times. Genius is not embalmed in them, as is sometimes said, but *lives* in them perpetually. But we need not many books to answer the great ends of reading. A few are better than many, and a little time given to a faithful study of the few will be enough to quicken thought and enrich the mind. The greatest men have not been book-men. Washington, it has often been said, was no great reader. The learning commonly gathered from books is of less worth than the truths we gain from experience and reflection. Indeed, most of the knowledge from reading, in these days, being acquired with little mental action, and seldom or never reflected on and turned to use, is very much a vain show. Events stirring the mind to earnest thought and vigorous application of its resources, do vastly more to elevate the mind than most of our studies at the present time. Few of the books read among us deserve to be read. Most of them have no principle of life, as is proved by the fact that they die the year of their birth. They do not come from thinkers, and how can they awaken thought? A great proportion of the reading of this city is useless, I had almost said pernicious. I should be sorry to see our laborers exchanging their toils for the reading of many of our young ladies and young gentlemen, who look on the intellect as given them for amusement, who read, as they visit, for amusement, who discuss no great truths and put forth no energy of thought on the topics which fly through their minds. With this insensibility to the dignity of the intellect, and this frittering away of the mind on superficial reading, I see not with what face they can claim superiority to the laboring mass, who certainly understand one thing thoroughly, that is, their own business, and who are doing something useful for themselves and their fellow-creatures. The great use of books is to rouse us to thought; to turn us to questions which great men have been working on for ages; to furnish us

with materials for the exercise of judgment, imagination, and moral feeling; to breathe into us a moral life from higher spirits than our own; and this benefit of books may be enjoyed by those who have not much time for retired study.

It must not be forgotten, by those who despair of the laboring classes because they cannot live in libraries, that the highest sources of truth, light, and elevation of mind, are not libraries, but our inward and outward experience. Human life, with its joys and sorrows, its burdens and alleviations, its crimes and virtues, its deep wants, its solemn changes, and its retributions, always pressing on us; what a library is this! and who may not study it? Every human being is a volume worthy to be studied. The books which circulate most freely through the community are those which give us pictures of human life. How much more improving is the original, did we know how to read it? The laborer has this page always open before him; and, still more, the laborer is every day writing a volume more full of instruction than all human productions, — I mean his own life. No work of the most exalted genius can teach us so much as the revelation of human nature in the secrets of our own souls, in the workings of our own passions, in the operations of our own intelligence, in the retributions which follow our own good and evil deeds, in the dissatisfaction with the present, in the spontaneous thoughts and aspirations which form part of every man's biography. The study of our own history from childhood, of all the stages of our development, of the good and bad influences which have beset us, of our mutations of feeling and purpose, and of the great current which is setting us towards future happiness or woe, — this is a study to make us nobly wise: and who of us has not access to this fountain of eternal truth? May not the laborer study and understand the pages which he is writing in his own breast?

In these remarks, I have aimed to remove the false notion into which laborers themselves fall, that they can do little towards acquiring force and fulness of thought, because in want of books. I shall next turn to prejudices more confined to other classes. A very common one is, that the many are not to be called to think, study, improve their minds, because a privileged few are intended by God to do their thinking for them. "Providence," it is said, "raises up superior minds, whose office it is to discover truth for the rest of the race. Thinking and manual toil are not meant to go together. The division of labor is a great law of nature. One man is to serve society by his head, another by his hands. Let each class keep to its proper work." These doctrines I protest against. I deny to any individual or class this monopoly of thought. Who among men can show God's commission to think for his brethren, to shape passively the intellect of the mass, to stamp his own image on them as if they were wax? As well might a few claim a monopoly of light and air, of seeing and breathing, as of thought. Is not the intellect as universal a gift as the organs of sight and respiration? Is not truth as freely spread abroad as the atmosphere or the sun's rays? Can we imagine that God's highest gifts of intelligence, imagination, and moral power, were bestowed to provide only for animal wants? to be denied the natural means of growth, which is action? to be starved by drudgery? Were the mass of men made to be monsters? to grow only in a few organs and faculties, and to pine away and shrivel in others? or were they made to put forth all the powers of men, especially the best and most distinguishing? No man, not the lowest, is all hands, all bones and muscles. The mind is more essential to human nature, and more enduring, than the limbs; and was this made to lie dead? Is not thought the right and duty of all? Is not truth alike precious to all? Is not truth the natural aliment of the mind, as plainly as the wholesome grain is of the body? Is not the mind adapted to thought, as plainly as the eye to light; the ear to sound? Who dares to withhold it from its natural action, its natural element and joy? Undoubtedly some men are more gifted than others, and are marked out for more studious lives. But the work of such men is not to do others' thinking for them, but to help them to think more vigorously and effectually. Great minds are to make others great. Their superiority is to be used, not to break the multitude to intellectual vassalage, not to establish over them a spiritual tyranny, but to rouse

them from lethargy, and to aid them to judge for themselves. The light and life which spring up in one soul are to be spread far and wide. Of all treasons against humanity, there is no one worse than his who employs great intellectual force to keep down the intellect of his less favored brother.

It is sometimes urged by those who consider the multitude as not intended to think, that at best they can learn but little, and that this is likely to harm rather than to do them good. "A little learning," we are told, "is a dangerous thing." "Shallow draughts" of knowledge are worse than ignorance. The mass of the people, it is said, can go to the bottom of nothing; and the result of stimulating them to thought will be the formation of a dangerous set of half-thinkers. To this argument I reply, first, that it has the inconvenience of proving too much; for, if valid, it shows that none of any class ought to think. For who, I would ask, can go to the bottom of any thing? Whose "learning" is not "little"? Whose "draughts" of knowledge are not "shallow"? Who of us has fathomed the depths of a single product of nature or a single event in history? Who of us is not baffled by the mysteries in a grain of sand? How contracted the range of the widest intellect! But is our knowledge, because so little, of no worth? Are we to despise the lessons which are taught us in this nook of creation, in this narrow round of human experience, because an infinite universe stretches around us, which we have no means of exploring, and in which the earth, and sun, and planets, dwindle to a point? We should remember that the known, however little it may be, is in harmony with the boundless unknown, and a step towards it. We should remember, too, that the gravest truths may be gathered from a very narrow compass of information. God is revealed in his smallest work as truly as in his greatest. The principles of human nature may be studied better in a family than in the history of the world. The finite is a manifestation of the infinite. The great ideas, of which I have formerly spoken, are within the reach of every man who thirsts for truth, and seeks it with singleness of mind. I will only add, that the laboring class are not now condemned to draughts of knowledge so shallow as to merit scorn. Many of them know more of the outward world than all the philosophers of antiquity; and Christianity has opened to them mysteries of the spiritual world which kings and prophets were not privileged to understand. And are they, then, to be doomed to spiritual inaction, as incapable of useful thought?

It is sometimes said, that the multitude may think on the common business of life, but not on higher subjects, and especially on religion. This, it is said, must be received on authority; on this, men in general can form no judgment of their own. But this is the last subject on which the individual should be willing to surrender himself to others' dictation. In nothing has he so strong an interest. In nothing is it so important that his mind and heart should be alive and engaged. In nothing has he readier means of judging for himself. In nothing, as history shows, is he more likely to be led astray by such as assume the office of thinking for him. Religion is a subject open to all minds. Its great truths have their foundation in the soul itself, and their proofs surround us on all sides. God has not shut up the evidence of his being in a few books, written in a foreign language, and locked up in the libraries of colleges and philosophers; but has written his name on the heavens and on the earth, and even on the minutest animal and plant; and his word, taught by Jesus Christ, was not given to scribes and lawyers, but taught to the poor, to the mass of men, on mountains, in streets, and on the sea-shore. Let me not be told that the multitude do actually receive religion on authority, or on the word of others. I reply, that a faith so received seems to me of little worth. The precious, the living, the effectual part of a poor man's faith, is that of which he sees the reasonableness and excellence; that which approves itself to his intelligence, his conscience, his heart; that which answers to deep wants in his own soul, and of which he has the witness in his own inward and outward experience. All other parts of his belief, those which he takes on blind trust, and in which he sees no marks of truth and divinity, do him little or no good. Too often they do him harm, by perplexing his simple reason, by substituting the fictions and arti-

ficial systems of theologians for the plain precepts of love, and justice, and humility, and filial trust in God. As long as it was supposed that religion is to benefit the world by laying restraints, awakening fears, and acting as a part of the system of police, so long it was natural to rely on authority and tradition as the means of its propagation; so long it was desirable to stifle thought and inquiry on the subject. But now that we have learned that the true office of religion is to awaken pure and lofty sentiments, and to unite man to God by rational homage and enlightened love, there is something monstrous in placing religion beyond the thought and the study of the mass of the human race.

I proceed to another prejudice. It is objected, that the distinction of ranks is essential to social order, and that this will be swept away by calling forth energy of thought in all men. This objection, indeed, though exceedingly insisted on in Europe, has nearly died out here; but still enough of it lingers among us to deserve consideration. I reply, then, that it is a libel on social order to suppose that it requires for its support the reduction of the multitude of human beings to ignorance and servility; and that it is a libel on the Creator to suppose that He requires, as the foundation of communities, the systematic depression of the majority of his intelligent offspring. The supposition is too grossly unreasonable, too monstrous, to require labored refutation. I see no need of ranks, either for social order or for any other purpose. A great variety of pursuits and conditions is indeed to be desired. Men ought to follow their genius, and to put forth their powers in every useful and lawful way. I do not ask for a monotonous world. We are far too monotonous now. The vassalage of fashion, which is a part of rank, prevents continually the free expansion of men's powers. Let us have the greatest diversity of occupations. But this does not imply that there is a need of splitting society into castes or ranks, or that a certain number should arrogate superiority, and stand apart from the rest of men as a separate race. Men may work in different departments of life, and yet recognize their brotherly relation, and honor one another, and hold friendly communion with one another. Undoubtedly, men will prefer as friends and common associates those with whom they sympathize most. But this is not to form a rank or caste. For example, the intelligent seek out the intelligent; the pious, those who reverence God. But suppose the intellectual and the religious to cut themselves off by some broad, visible distinction from the rest of society, to form a clan of their own, to refuse admission into their houses to people of inferior knowledge and virtue, and to diminish as far as possible the occasions of intercourse with them; would not society rise up, as one man, against this arrogant exclusiveness? And if intelligence and piety may not be the foundations of a caste, on what ground shall they, who have no distinction but wealth, superior costume, richer equipages, finer houses, draw lines around themselves and constitute themselves a higher class? That some should be richer than others is natural, and is necessary, and could only be prevented by gross violations of right. Leave men to the free use of their powers, and some will accumulate more than their neighbors. But to be prosperous is not to be superior, and should form no barrier between men. Wealth ought not to secure to the prosperous the slightest consideration. The only distinctions which should be recognized are those of the soul, of strong principle, of incorruptible integrity, of usefulness, of cultivated intellect, of fidelity in seeking for truth. A man, in proportion as he has these claims, should be honored and welcomed everywhere. I see not why such a man, however coarsely if neatly dressed, should not be a respected guest in the most splendid mansions, and at the most brilliant meetings. A man is worth infinitely more than the saloons, and the costumes, and the show of the universe. He was made to tread all these beneath his feet. What an insult to humanity is the present deference to dress and upholstery, as if silk-worms, and looms, and scissors, and needles could produce something nobler than a man! Every good man should protest against a caste founded on outward prosperity, because it exalts the outward above the inward, the material above the spir-

itual; because it springs from and cherishes a contemptible pride in superficial and transitory distinctions; because it alienates man from his brother, breaks the tie of common humanity, and breeds jealousy, scorn, and mutual ill-will. Can this be needed to social order?

It is true, that in countries where the mass of the people are ignorant and servile, the existence of a higher and a worshipped rank tends to keep them from outrage. It infuses a sentiment of awe, which prevents more or less the need of force and punishment. But it is worthy of remark, that the means of keeping order in one state of society may become the chief excitement of discontent and disorder in another, and this is peculiarly true of aristocracy or high rank. In rude ages, this keeps the people down; but when the people by degrees have risen to some consciousness of their rights and essential equality with the rest of the race, the awe of rank naturally subsides, and passes into suspicion, jealousy, and sense of injury, and a disposition to resist. The very institution which once restrained, now provokes. Through this process the Old World is now passing. The strange illusion, that a man, because he wears a garter or a riband, or was born to a title, belongs to another race, is fading away: and society must pass through a series of revolutions, silent or bloody, until a more natural order takes place of distinctions which grew originally out of force. Thus, aristocracy, instead of giving order to society, now convulses it. So impossible is it for arbitrary human ordinations permanently to degrade human nature, or subvert the principles of justice and freedom.

I am aware that it will be said, "that the want of refinement of manners and taste in the lower classes will necessarily keep them an inferior caste, even though all political inequalities be removed." I acknowledge this defect of manners in the multitude, and grant that it is an obstacle to intercourse with the more improved, though often exaggerated. But this is a barrier which must and will yield to the means of culture spread through our community. The evil is not necessarily associated with any condition of human life. An intelligent traveller* tells us, that in Norway, a country wanting many of our advantages, good manners and politeness are spread through all conditions; and that the "rough way of talking to and living with each other, characteristic of the lower classes of society in England, is not found there." Not many centuries ago, the intercourse of the highest orders in Europe was sullied by indelicacy and fierceness; but time has worn out these stains, and the same cause is now removing what is repulsive among those who toil with their hands. I cannot believe that coarse manners, boisterous conversation, slovenly negligence, filthy customs, surliness, indecency, are to descend by necessity from generation to generation in any portion of the community. I do not see why neatness, courtesy, delicacy, ease, and deference to others' feelings, may not be made the habits of the laboring multitude. A change is certainly going on among them in respect to manners. Let us hope that it will be a change for the better; that they will not adopt false notions of refinement; that they will escape the servile imitation of what is hollow and insincere, and the substitution of outward shows for genuine natural courtesy. Unhappily they have but imperfect models on which to form themselves. It is not one class alone which needs reform in manners. We all need a new social intercourse, which shall breathe genuine refinement; which shall unite the two great elements of politeness, self-respect, and a delicate regard to the rights and feelings of others; which shall be free without rudeness, and earnest without positiveness; which shall be graceful, yet warm-hearted; and in which communication shall be frank, unlabored, overflowing, through the absence of all assumption and pretence, and through the consciousness of being safe from heartless ridicule. This grand reform, which I trust is to come, will bring with it a happiness little known in social life; and whence shall it come? The wise and disinterested of all conditions must contribute to it; and I see not why the laboring classes may not take part in the work. Indeed, when I consider the greater

* See Laing's Travels in Norway.

simplicity of their lives and their greater openness to the spirit of Christianity, I am not sure but that the "golden age" of manners is to begin among those who are now despaired of for their want of refinement.

In these remarks, I have given the name of "prejudices" to the old opinions respecting rank, and respecting the need of keeping the people from much thought. But allow these opinions to have a foundation in truth; suppose high fences of rank to be necessary to refinement of manners; suppose that the happiest of all ages were the feudal, when aristocracy was in its flower and glory, when the noble, superior to the laws, committed more murders in one year than the multitude in twenty. Suppose it best for the laborer to live and die in thoughtless ignorance. Allow all this, and that we have reason to look with envy on the past: one thing is plain, the past is gone, the feudal castle is dismantled, the distance between classes greatly reduced. Unfortunate as it may be, the people have begun to think, to ask reasons for what they do and suffer and believe, and to call the past to account. Old spells are broken, old reliances gone. Men can no longer be kept down by pageantry, state-robes, forms, and shows. Allowing it to be best that society should rest on the depression of the multitude, the multitude will no longer be quiet when they are trodden under foot, but ask impatiently for a reason why they too may not have a share in social blessings. Such is the state of things, and we must make the best of what we cannot prevent. Right or wrong, the people will think; and is it not important that they should think justly? that they should be inspired with the love of truth, and instructed how to seek it? that they should be established by wise culture in the great principles on which religion and society rest, and be protected from scepticism and wild speculation by intercourse with enlightened and virtuous men? It is plain that, in the actual state of the world, nothing can avail us but a real improvement of the mass of the people. No stable foundation can be laid for us but in men's minds. Alarming as the truth is, it should be told, that outward institutions cannot now secure us. Mightier powers than institutions have come into play among us, — the judgment, the opinions, the feelings of the many; and all hopes of stability which do not rest on the progress of the many must perish.

But a more serious objection than any yet considered, to the intellectual elevation of the laboring class, remains to be stated. It is said, "that the laborer can gain subsistence for himself and his family only by a degree of labor which forbids the use of means of improvement. His necessary toils leave no time or strength for thought. Political economy, by showing that population outstrips the means of improvement, passes an irrepealable sentence of ignorance and degradation on the laborer. He can live but for one end, which is to keep himself alive. He cannot give time and strength to intellectual, social, and moral culture, without starving his family, and impoverishing the community. Nature has laid this heavy law on the mass of the people, and it is idle to set up our theories and dreams of improvement against nature."

This objection applies with great force to Europe, and is not without weight here. But it does not discourage me. I reply, first, to this objection, that it generally comes from a suspicious source. It comes generally from men who abound, and are at ease; who think more of property than of any other human interest; who have little concern for the mass of their fellow-creatures; who are willing that others should bear all the burdens of life, and that any social order should continue which secures to themselves personal comfort or gratification. The selfish epicure and the thriving man of business easily discover a natural necessity for that state of things which accumulates on themselves all the blessings, and on their neighbor all the evils, of life. But no man can judge what is good or necessary for the multitude but he who feels for them, and whose equity and benevolence are shocked by the thought that all advantages are to be monopolized by one set of men, and all disadvantages by another. I wait for the judgment of profound thinkers and earnest philanthropists on this point, — a judgment formed after patient study of political economy, and human nature and human history; nor even on such authority shall I readily despair of the multitude of my race.

In the next place, the objection under consideration is very much a repetition of the old doctrine, that what has been must be; that the future is always to repeat the past, and society to tread for ever the beaten path. But can any thing be plainer than that the present condition of the world is peculiar, unprecedented? that new powers and new principles are at work? that the application of science to art is accomplishing a stupendous revolution? that the condition of the laborer is in many places greatly improved, and his intellectual aids increased? that abuses, once thought essential to society, and which seemed entwined with all its fibres, have been removed? Do the mass of men stand where they did a few centuries ago? And do not new circumstances, if they make us fearful, at the same time keep us from despair? The future, be it what it may, will not resemble the past. The present has new elements, which must work out new weal or woe. We have no right, then, on the ground of the immutableness of human affairs, to quench, as far as we have power, the hope of social progress.

Another consideration, in reply to the objection that the necessary toils of life exclude improvement, may be drawn not only from general history, but from the experience of this country in particular. The working classes here have risen and are still rising intellectually, and yet there are no signs of starvation, nor are we becoming the poorest people on earth. By far the most interesting view of this country is the condition of the working multitude. Nothing among us deserves the attention of the traveller so much as the force of thought and character, and the self-respect awakened by our history and institutions in the mass of the people. Our prosperous classes are much like the same classes abroad, though, as we hope, of purer morals; but the great working multitude leave far behind them the laborers of other countries. No man of observation and benevolence can converse with them without being struck and delighted with the signs they give of strong and sound intellect and manly principle. And who is authorized to set bounds to this progress? In improvement the first steps are the hardest. The difficulty is to wake up men's souls, not to continue their action. Every accession of light and strength is a help to new acquisitions.

Another consideration, in reply to the objection, is, that as yet no community has seriously set itself to the work of improving all its members, so that what is possible remains to be ascertained. No experiment has been made to determine how far liberal provision can be made at once for the body and mind of the laborer. The highest social art is yet in its infancy. Great minds have nowhere solemnly, earnestly undertaken to resolve the problem, how the multitude of men may be elevated. The trial is to come. Still more, the multitude have nowhere comprehended distinctly the true idea of progress, and resolved deliberately and solemnly to reduce it to reality. This great thought, however, is gradually opening on them, and it is destined to work wonders. From themselves their salvation must chiefly come. Little can be done for them by others, till a spring is touched in their own breasts; and this being done, they cannot fail. The people, as history shows us, can accomplish miracles under the power of a great idea. How much have they often done and suffered in critical moments for country, for religion! The great idea of their own elevation is only beginning to unfold itself within them, and its energy is not to be foretold. A lofty conception of this kind, were it once distinctly seized, would be a new life breathed into them. Under this impulse they would create time and strength for their high calling, and would not only regenerate themselves, but the community.

Again, I am not discouraged by the objection, that the laborer, if encouraged to give time and strength to the elevation of his mind, will starve himself and impoverish the country, when I consider the energy and efficiency of mind. The highest force in the universe is mind. This created the heavens and earth. This has changed the wilderness into fruitfulness, and linked distant countries in a beneficent ministry to one another's wants. It is not to brute force, to physical strength, so much as to art, to skill, to intellectual and moral energy, that men owe their mastery over the world. It is mind which has conquered matter. To fear, then, that

by calling forth a people's mind, we shall impoverish and starve them, is to be frightened at a shadow. I believe, that with the growth of intellectual and moral power in the community, its productive power will increase, that industry will become more efficient, that a wiser economy will accumulate wealth, that unimagined resources of art and nature will be discovered. I believe that the means of living will grow easier, in proportion as a people shall become enlightened, self-respecting, resolute, and just. Bodily or material forces can be measured, but not the forces of the soul; nor can the results of increased mental energy be foretold. Such a community will tread down obstacles now deemed invincible, and turn them into helps. The inward moulds the outward. The power of a people lies in its mind; and this mind, if fortified and enlarged, will bring external things into harmony with itself. It will create a new world around it, corresponding to itself. If, however, I err in this belief; if, by securing time and means for improvement to the multitude, industry and capital should become less productive, I still say, Sacrifice the wealth, and not the mind of a people. Nor do I believe that the physical good of a community would in this way be impaired. The diminution of a country's wealth, occasioned by general attention to intellectual and moral culture, would be followed by very different effects from those which would attend an equal diminution brought about by sloth, intemperance, and ignorance. There would indeed be less production in such a country, but the character and spirit of the people would effect a much more equal distribution of what would be produced; and the happiness of a community depends vastly more on the distribution than on the amount of its wealth. In thus speaking of the future, I do not claim any special prophetical gift. As a general rule, no man is able to foretell distinctly the ultimate, permanent results of any great social change. But as to the case before us, we ought not to doubt. It is a part of religion to believe that by nothing can a country so effectually gain happiness and lasting prosperity as by the elevation of all classes of its citizens. To question this seems an approach to crime.

> "If this fail,
> The pillar'd firmament is rottenness,
> And earth's base built on stubble."

I am aware that, in reply to all that has been said in favor of the possibility of uniting self-improvement with labor, discouraging facts may be brought forward from our daily experience. It may be said that in this country, under advantages unknown in other lands, there is a considerable number on whom the burden or toil presses very heavily, who can scarcely live with all their efforts, and who are cut off by their hard condition from the means of intellectual culture; and if this take place now, what are we to expect hereafter in a more crowded population? I acknowledge that we have a number of depressed laborers, whose state is exceedingly unpropitious to the education of the mind: but this argument will lose much of its power when we inquire into the causes of this evil. We shall then see that it comes, not from outward necessity, not from the irresistible obstacles abroad, but chiefly from the fault or ignorance of the sufferers themselves; so that the elevation of the mind and character of the laborer tends directly to reduce, if not remove, the evil. Of consequence, this elevation finds support in what is urged against it. In confirmation of these views, allow me just to hint at the causes of that depression of many laborers which is said to show that labor and self-improvement cannot go on together.

First, how much of this depression is to be traced to intemperance? What a great amount of time, and strength, and money, might multitudes gain for self-improvement, by a strict sobriety! That cheap remedy, pure water, would cure the chief evils in very many families of the ignorant and poor. Were the sums which are still lavished on ardent spirits appropriated wisely to the elevation of the people, what a new world we should live in! Intemperance not only wastes the earnings, but the health and the minds of men. How many, were they to exchange what they call moderate drinking for water, would be surprised to learn that they had been living under a cloud, in half-stupefaction, and would become conscious of an intellectual energy of which they had not before dreamed! Their labors would exhaust

them less; and less labor would be needed for their support; and thus their inability to cultivate their high nature would in a great measure be removed. The working class, above all men, have an interest in the cause of temperance, and they ought to look on the individual who lives by scattering the means and excitements of drunkenness not only as the general enemy of his race, but as their own worst foe.

In the next place, how much of the depression of laborers may be traced to the want of a strict economy! The prosperity of this country has produced a wastefulness that has extended to the laboring multitude. A man, here, turns with scorn from fare that in many countries would be termed luxurious. It is, indeed, important that the standard of living in all classes should be high; that is, it should include the comforts of life, the means of neatness and order in our dwellings, and such supplies of our wants as are fitted to secure vigorous health. But how many waste their earnings on indulgences which may be spared, and thus have no resource for a dark day, and are always trembling on the brink of pauperism! Needless expenses keep many too poor for self-improvement. And here let me say, that expensive habits among the more prosperous laborers often interfere with the mental culture of themselves and their families. How many among them sacrifice improvement to appetite! How many sacrifice it to the love of show, to the desire of outstripping others, and to habits of expense which grow out of this insatiable passion! In a country so thriving and luxurious as ours, the laborer is in danger of contracting artificial wants and diseased tastes; and to gratify these he gives himself wholly to accumulation, and sells his mind for gain. Our unparalleled prosperity has not been an unmixed good. It has inflamed cupidity, has diseased the imagination with dreams of boundless success, and plunged a vast multitude into excessive toils, feverish competitions, and exhausting cares. A laborer having secured a neat home and a wholesome table, should ask nothing more for the senses; but should consecrate his leisure, and what may be spared of his earnings, to the culture of himself and his family, to the best books, to the best teaching, to pleasant and profitable intercourse, to sympathy and the offices of humanity, and to the enjoyment of the beautiful in nature and art. Unhappily, the laborer, if prosperous, is anxious to ape the rich man, instead of trying to rise above him, as he often may, by noble acquisitions. The young in particular, the apprentice and the female domestic, catch a taste for fashion, and on this altar sacrifice too often their uprightness, and almost always the spirit of improvement, dooming themselves to ignorance, if not to vice, for a vain show. Is this evil without remedy? Is human nature always to be sacrificed to outward decoration? Is the outward always to triumph over the inward man? Is nobleness of sentiment never to spring up among us? May not a reform in this particular begin in the laboring class, since it seems so desperate among the more prosperous? Cannot the laborer, whose condition calls him so loudly to simplicity of taste and habits, take his stand against that love of dress which dissipates and corrupts so many minds among the opulent? Cannot the laboring class refuse to measure men by outward success, and pour utter scorn on all pretensions founded on outward show or condition? Sure I am that, were they to study plainness of dress and simplicity of living, for the purpose of their own true elevation, they would surpass in intellect, in taste, in honorable qualities, and in present enjoyment, that great proportion of the prosperous who are softened into indulgence or enslaved to empty show. By such self-denial, how might the burden of labor be lightened, and time and strength redeemed for improvement!

Another cause of the depressed condition of not a few laborers, as I believe, is their ignorance on the subject of health. Health is the working man's fortune, and he ought to watch over it more than the capitalist over his largest investments. Health lightens the efforts of body and mind. It enables a man to crowd much work into a narrow compass. Without it, little can be earned, and that little by slow, exhausting toil. For these reasons I cannot but look on it as a good omen that the press is circulating among us cheap works, in which much useful knowledge is given of the structure, and functions, and laws of the

human body. It is in no small measure through our own imprudence that disease and debility are incurred, and one remedy is to be found in knowledge. Once let the mass of the people be instructed in their own frames; let them understand clearly that disease is not an accident, but has fixed causes, many of which they can avert, and a great amount of suffering, want, and consequent intellectual depression will be removed. — I hope I shall not be thought to digress too far, when I add, that were the mass of the community more enlightened on these points, they would apply their knowledge, not only to their private habits, but to the government of the city, and would insist on municipal regulations favoring general health. This they owe to themselves. They ought to require a system of measures for effectually cleansing the city; for supplying it with pure water, either at public expense or by a private corporation; and for prohibiting the erection or the letting of such buildings as must generate disease. What a sad thought is it, that in this metropolis, the blessings which God pours forth profusely on bird and beast, the blessings of air, and light, and water, should, in the case of many families, be so stinted or so mixed with impurities, as to injure instead of invigorating the frame! With what face can the great cities of Europe and America boast of their civilization, when within their limits thousands and ten thousands perish for want of God's freest, most lavish gifts! Can we expect improvement among people who are cut off from nature's common bounties, and want those cheering influences of the elements which even savages enjoy? In this city, how much health, how many lives are sacrificed to the practice of letting cellars and rooms which cannot be ventilated, which want the benefits of light, free air, and pure water, and the means of removing filth! We forbid by law the selling of putrid meat in the market. Why do we not forbid the renting of rooms in which putrid, damp, and noisome vapors are working as sure destruction as the worst food? Did people understand that they are as truly poisoned in such dens as by tainted meat and decaying vegetables, would they not appoint commissioners for houses as truly as commissioners for markets? Ought not the renting of untenantable rooms, and the crowding of such numbers into a single room as must breed disease, and may infect a neighborhood, be as much forbidden as the importation of a pestilence? I have enlarged on this point, because I am persuaded that the morals, manners, decencies, self-respect, and intellectual improvement, as well as the health and physical comforts of a people, depend on no outward circumstances more than on the quality of the houses in which they live. The remedy of the grievance now stated lies with the people themselves. The laboring people must require that the health of the city shall be a leading object of the municipal administration, and in so doing they will protect at once the body and the mind.

I will mention one more cause of the depressed condition of many laborers, and that is, sloth, "the sin which doth most easily beset us." How many are there who, working languidly and reluctantly, bring little to pass, spread the work of one hour over many, shrink from difficulties which ought to excite them, keep themselves poor, and thus doom their families to ignorance as well as to want!

In these remarks I have endeavored to show that the great obstacles to the improvement of the laboring classes are in themselves, and may therefore be overcome. They want nothing but the will. Outward difficulty will shrink and vanish before them, just as far as they are bent on progress, just as far as the great idea of their own elevation shall take possession of their minds. I know that many will smile at the suggestion, that the laborer may be brought to practise thrift and self-denial, for the purpose of becoming a nobler being. But such sceptics, having never experienced the power of a grand thought or generous purpose, are no judges of others. They may be assured, however, that enthusiasm is not wholly a dream, and that it is not wholly unnatural for individuals or bodies to get the idea of something higher and more inspiring than their past attainments.

III. Having now treated of the elevation of the laborer, and examined the objections to it, I proceed, in the last place, to consider some of the circumstances of the times which encourage

hopes of the progress of the mass of the people. My limits oblige me to confine myself to very few. — And, first, it is an encouraging circumstance, that the respect for labor is increasing, or rather that the old prejudices against manual toil, as degrading a man or putting him in a lower sphere, are wearing away; and the cause of this change is full of promise; for it is to be found in the progress of intelligence, Christianity, and freedom, all of which cry aloud against the old barriers created between the different classes, and challenge especial sympathy and regard for those who bear the heaviest burdens, and create most of the comforts of social life. The contempt of labor of which I have spoken is a relic of the old aristocratic prejudices which formerly proscribed trade as unworthy of a gentleman, and must die out with other prejudices of the same low origin. And the results must be happy. It is hard for a class of men to respect themselves who are denied respect by all around them. A vocation looked on as degrading will have a tendency to degrade those who follow it. Away, then, with the idea of something low in manual labor. There is something shocking to a religious man in the thought that the employment which God has ordained for the vast majority of the human race should be unworthy of any man, even of the highest. If, indeed, there were an employment which could not be dispensed with, and which yet tended to degrade such as might be devoted to it, I should say that it ought to be shared by the whole race, and thus neutralized by extreme division, instead of being laid, as the sole vocation, on one man or a few. Let no human being be broken in spirit or trodden under foot for the outward prosperity of the State. So far is manual labor from meriting contempt or slight, that it will probably be found, when united with true means of spiritual culture, to foster a sounder judgment, a keener observation, a more creative imagination, and a purer taste, than any other vocation. Man thinks of the few, God of the many; and the many will be found at length to have within their reach the most effectual means of progress.

Another encouraging circumstance of the times is the creation of a popular literature, which puts within the reach of the laboring class the means of knowledge in whatever branch they wish to cultivate. Amidst the worthless volumes which are every day sent from the press for mere amusement, there are books of great value in all departments, published for the benefit of the mass of readers. Mines of inestimable truth are thus open to all who are resolved to think and learn. Literature is now adapting itself to all wants; and I have little doubt that a new form of it will soon appear for the special benefit of the laboring classes. This will have for its object to show the progress of the various useful arts, and to preserve the memory of their founders, and of men who have laid the world under obligation by great inventions. Every trade has distinguished names in its history. Some trades can number, among those who have followed them, philosophers, poets, men of true genius. I would suggest to the members of this Association whether a course of lectures, intended to illustrate the history of the more important trades, and of the great blessings they have conferred on society, and of the eminent individuals who have practised them, might not do much to instruct, and, at the same time, to elevate them. Such a course would carry them far into the past, would open to them much interesting information, and at the same time introduce them to men whom they may well make their models. I would go farther. I should be pleased to see the members of an important trade setting apart an anniversary for the commemoration of those who have shed lustre on it by their virtues, their discoveries, their genius. It is time that honor should be awarded on higher principles than have governed the judgment of past ages. Surely the inventor of the press, the discoverer of the compass, the men who have applied the power of steam to machinery, have brought the human race more largely into their debt than the bloody race of conquerors, and even than many beneficent princes. Antiquity exalted into divinities the first cultivators of wheat and the useful plants, and the first forgers of metals; and we, in these maturer ages of the world, have stil

greater names to boast in the records of useful art. Let their memory be preserved to kindle a generous emulation in those who have entered into their labors.

Another circumstance, encouraging the hope of progress in the laboring class, is to be found in the juster views they are beginning to adopt in regard to the education of their children. On this foundation, indeed, our hope for all classes must chiefly rest. All are to rise chiefly by the care bestowed on the young. Not that I would say, as is sometimes rashly said, that none but the young can improve. I give up no age as desperate. Men who have lived thirty, or fifty years, are not to feel as if the door was shut upon them. Every man who thirsts to become something better has in that desire a pledge that his labor will not be in vain. None are too old to learn. The world, from our first to our last hour, is our school, and the whole of life has but one great purpose, — education. Still, the child, uncorrupted, unhardened, is the most hopeful subject; and vastly more, I believe, is hereafter to be done for children, than ever before, by the gradual spread of a simple truth, almost too simple, one would think, to need exposition, yet up to this day wilfully neglected; namely, that education is a sham, a cheat, unless carried on by able, accomplished teachers. The dignity of the vocation of a teacher is beginning to be understood; the idea is dawning on us that no office can compare in solemnity and importance with that of training the child; that skill to form the young to energy, truth, and virtue, is worth more than the knowledge of all other arts and sciences; and that, of consequence, the encouragement of excellent teachers is the first duty which a community owes to itself. I say the truth is dawning, and it must make its way. The instruction of the children of all classes, especially of the laboring class, has as yet been too generally committed to unprepared, unskilful hands, and of course the school is in general little more than a name. The whole worth of a school lies in the teacher. You may accumulate the most expensive apparatus for instruction; but without an intellectual, gifted teacher, it is little better than rubbish; and such a teacher, without apparatus, may effect the happiest results. Our university boasts, and with justice, of its library, cabinets, and philosophical instruments; but these are lifeless, profitless, except as made effectual by the men who use them. A few eminent men, skilled to understand, reach, and quicken the minds of the pupils, are worth all these helps. And I say this, because it is commonly thought that the children of the laboring class cannot be advanced, in consequence of the inability of parents to furnish a variety of books and other apparatus. But in education, various books and implements are not the great requisites, but a high order of teachers. In truth, a few books do better than many. The object of education is not so much to give a certain amount of knowledge, as to awaken the faculties, and give the pupil the use of his own mind; and one book, taught by a man who knows how to accomplish these ends, is worth more than libraries as usually read. It is not necessary that much should be taught in youth, but that a little should be taught philosophically, profoundly, livingly. For example, it is not necessary that the pupil be carried over the history of the world from the deluge to the present day. Let him be helped to read a single history wisely, to apply the principles of historical evidence to its statements, to trace the causes and effects of events, to penetrate into the motives of actions, to observe the workings of human nature in what is done and suffered, to judge impartially of action and character, to sympathize with what is noble, to detect the spirit of an age in different forms from our own, to seize the great truths which are wrapped up in details, and to discern a moral Providence, a retribution, amidst all corruptions and changes; let him learn to read a single history thus, and he has learned to read all histories; he is prepared to study, as he may have time in future life, the whole course of human events; he is better educated by this one book than he would be by all the histories in all languages as commonly taught. The education of the laborer's children need never stop for want of books and apparatus. More of them would do good, but enough may be easily obtained. What we want is, a race of teachers acquainted

with the philosophy of the mind, gifted men and women, who shall respect human nature in the child, and strive to touch and gently bring out his best powers and sympathies; and who shall devote themselves to this as the great end of life. This good, I trust, is to come, but it comes slowly. The establishment of normal schools shows that the want of it begins to be felt. This good requires that education shall be recognized by the community as its highest interest and duty. It requires that the instructors of youth shall take precedence of the money-getting classes, and that the woman of fashion shall fall behind the female teacher. It requires that parents shall sacrifice show and pleasure to the acquisition of the best possible helps and guides for their children. Not that a great pecuniary compensation is to create good teachers; these must be formed by individual impulse, by a genuine interest in education; but good impulse must be seconded by outward circumstances; and the means of education will always bear a proportion to the respect in which the office of teacher is held in the community.

Happily, in this country, the true idea of education, of its nature and supreme importance, is silently working and gains ground. Those of us who look back on half a century, see a real, great improvement in schools and in the standard of instruction. What should encourage this movement in this country is, that nothing is wanting here to the intellectual elevation of the laboring class but that a spring should be given to the child, and that the art of thinking justly and strongly should be formed in early life; for, this preparation being made, the circumstances of future life will almost of themselves carry on the work of improvement. It is one of the inestimable benefits of free institutions, that they are constant stimulants to the intellect; that they furnish, in rapid succession, quickening subjects of thought and discussion. A whole people at the same moment are moved to reflect, reason, judge, and act on matters of deep and universal concern; and where the capacity of thought has received wise culture, the intellect, unconsciously, by an almost irresistible sympathy, is kept perpetually alive. The mind, like the body, depends on the climate it lives in, on the air it breathes; and the air of freedom is bracing, exhilarating, expanding, to a degree not dreamed of under a despotism. This stimulus of liberty, however, avails little, except where the mind has learned to think for the acquisition of truth. The unthinking and passionate are hurried by it into ruinous excess.

The last ground of hope for the elevation of the laborer, and the chief and the most sustaining, is the clearer development of the principles of Christianity. The future influences of this religion are not to be judged from the past. Up to this time it has been made a political engine, and in other ways perverted. But its true spirit, the spirit of brotherhood and freedom, is beginning to be understood, and this will undo the work which opposite principles have been carrying on for ages. Christianity is the only effectual remedy for the fearful evils of modern civilization, — a system which teaches its members to grasp at every thing, and to rise above everybody, as the great aims of life. Of such a civilization the natural fruits are, contempt of others' rights, fraud, oppression, a gambling spirit in trade, reckless adventure, and commercial convulsions, all tending to impoverish the laborer and to render every condition insecure. Relief is to come, and can only come, from the new application of Christian principles, of universal justice and universal love, to social institutions, to commerce, to business, to active life. This application has begun, and the laborer, above all men, is to feel its happy and exalting influences.

Such are some of the circumstances which inspire hopes of the elevation of the laboring classes. To these might be added other strong grounds of encouragement, to be found in the principles of human nature, in the perfections and providence of God, and in the prophetic intimations of his word. But these I pass over. From all I derive strong hopes for the mass of men. I do not, cannot see, why manual toil and self-improvement may not go on in friendly union. I do not see why the laborer may not attain to refined habits and manners as truly as other men. I do not see why conversation under his humble roof may not be cheered by wit

and exalted by intelligence. I do not see why, amidst his toils, he may not cast his eye around him on God's glorious creation, and be strengthened and refreshed by the sight. I do not see why the great ideas which exalt humanity — those of the Infinite Father, of perfection, of our nearness to God, and of the purpose of our being — may not grow bright and strong in the laborer's mind. Society, I trust, is tending towards a condition in which it will look back with astonishment at the present neglect or perversion of human powers. In the development of a more enlarged philanthropy, in the diffusion of the Christian spirit of brotherhood, in the recognition of the equal rights of every human being, we have the dawn and promise of a better age, when no man will be deprived of the means of elevation but by his own fault; when the evil doctrine, worthy of the arch-fiend, that social order demands the depression of the mass of men, will be rejected with horror and scorn; when the great object of the community will be to accumulate means and influences for awakening and expanding the best powers of all classes; when far less will be expended on the body and far more on the mind; when men of uncommon gifts for the instruction of their race will be sent forth to carry light and strength into every sphere of human life; when spacious libraries, collections of the fine arts, cabinets of natural history, and all the institutions by which the people may be refined and ennobled, will be formed and thrown open to all; and when the toils of life, by a wise intermixture of these higher influences, will be made the instruments of human elevation.

Such are my hopes of the intellectual, moral, religious, social elevation of the laboring class. I should not, however, be true to myself, did I not add that I have fears as well as hopes. Time is not left me to enlarge on this point; but without a reference to it I should not give you the whole truth. I would not disguise from myself or others the true character of the world we live in. Human imperfection throws an uncertainty over the future. Society, like the natural world, holds in its bosom fearful elements. Who can hope that the storms which have howled over past ages have spent all their force? It is possible that the laboring classes, by their recklessness, their passionateness, their jealousies of the more prosperous, and their subserviency to parties and political leaders, may turn all their bright prospects into darkness, may blight the hopes which philanthropy now cherishes of a happier and holier social state. It is also possible, in this mysterious state of things, that evil may come to them from causes which are thought to promise them nothing but good. The present anxiety and universal desire is to make the country rich, and it is taken for granted that its growing wealth is necessarily to benefit all conditions. But is this consequence sure? May not a country be rich, and yet great numbers of the people be wofully depressed? In England, the richest nation under heaven, how sad, how degraded the state of the agricultural and manufacturing classes! It is thought that the institutions of this country give an assurance that growing wealth will here equally benefit and carry forward all portions of the community. I hope so; but I am not sure. At the present time a momentous change is taking place in our condition. The improvement in steam navigation has half annihilated the space between Europe and America, and by the progress of invention the two continents are to be more and more placed side by side. We hail this triumph of the arts with exultation. We look forward to the approaching spring, when this metropolis is to be linked with England by a line of steamboats, as a proud era in our history. That a great temporary excitement will be given to industry, and that our wealth and numbers will increase, admits no dispute; but this is a small matter. The great question is, Will the mass of the people be permanently advanced in the comforts of life, and, still more, in intelligence and character, in the culture of their highest powers and affections? It is not enough to grow, if our growth is to resemble that of other populous places. Better continue as we are, better even decline, than tread in the steps of any great city, whether of past or present times. I doubt not that, under God's providence, the approximation of Europe and America is ultimately to be a blessing to both; but without our vigilance, the nearer effects may be more

or less disastrous. It cannot be doubted that for a time many among us, especially in the prosperous classes, will be more and more infected from abroad, will sympathize more with the institutions, and catch more the spirit and manners, of the Old World. As a people we want moral independence. We bow to "the great" of other countries, and we shall become for a time more and more servile in our imitation. But this, though bad, may not be the worst result. I would ask, What is to be the effect of bringing the laboring classes of Europe twice as near us as they now are? Is there no danger of a competition that is to depress the laboring classes here? Can the workman here stand his ground against the half-famished, ignorant workmen of Europe, who will toil for any wages, and who never think of redeeming an hour for personal improvement? Is there no danger that, with increasing intercourse with Europe, we shall import the striking, fearful contrasts which there divide one people into separate nations? Sooner than that our laboring class should become a European populace, a good man would almost wish that perpetual hurricanes, driving every ship from the ocean, should sever wholly the two hemispheres from each other. Heaven preserve us from the anticipated benefits of nearer connection with Europe, if with these must come the degradation which we see or read of among the squalid poor of her great cities, among the overworked operatives of her manufactories, among her ignorant and half-brutalized peasants! Any thing, every thing should be done to save us from the social evils which deform the Old World, and to build up here an intelligent, right-minded, self-respecting population. If this end should require us to change our present modes of life, to narrow our foreign connections, to desist from the race of commercial and manufacturing competition with Europe; if it should require that our great cities should cease to grow, and that a large portion of our trading population should return to labor, these requisitions ought to be obeyed. One thing is plain, that our present civilization contains strong tendencies to the intellectual and moral depression of a large portion of the community; and this influence ought to be thought of, studied, watched, withstood, with a stern, solemn purpose of withholding no sacrifice by which it may be counteracted.

Perhaps the fears now expressed may be groundless. I do not ask you to adopt them. My end will be gained if I can lead you to study, habitually and zealously, the influence of changes and measures on the character and condition of the laboring class. There is no subject on which your thoughts should turn more frequently than on this. Many of you busy yourselves with other questions, such as the probable result of the next election of President, or the prospects of this or that party. But these are insignificant, compared with the great question, Whether the laboring classes here are destined to the ignorance and depression of the lower ranks of Europe, or whether they can secure to themselves the means of intellectual and moral progress. You are cheated, you are false to yourselves, when you suffer politicians to absorb you in their selfish purposes, and to draw you away from this great question. Give the first place in your thoughts to this. Carry it away with you from the present lecture; discuss it together; study it when alone; let your best heads work on it; resolve that nothing shall be wanting on your part to secure the means of intellectual and moral well-being to yourselves, and to those who may come after you.

In these lectures, I have expressed a strong interest in the laboring portion of the community; but I have no partiality to them considered merely as laborers. My mind is attracted to them because they constitute the majority of the human race. My great interest is in human nature, and in the working classes as its most numerous representatives. To those who look on this nature with contempt or utter distrust, such language may seem a mere form, or may be construed as a sign of the predominance of imagination and feeling over the judgment. No matter. The pity of these sceptics I can return. Their wonder at my credulity cannot surpass the sorrowful astonishment with which I look on their indifference to the fortunes of their race. In spite of all their doubts and scoffs, human nature is still most dear to me. When I

behold it manifested in its perfect proportions in Jesus Christ, I cannot but revere it as the true temple of the Divinity. When I see it as revealed in the great and good of all times, I bless God for those multiplied and growing proofs of its high destiny. When I see it bruised, beaten down, stifled by ignorance and vice, by oppression, injustice, and grinding toil, I weep for it, and feel that every man should be ready to suffer for its redemption. I do and I must hope for its progress. But in saying this, I am not blind to its immediate dangers. I am not sure that dark clouds and desolating storms are not even now gathering over the world. When we look back on the mysterious history of the human race, we see that Providence has made use of fearful revolutions as the means of sweeping away the abuses of ages, and of bringing forward mankind to their present improvement. Whether such revolutions may not be in store for our own times, I know not. The present civilization of the Christian world presents much to awaken doubt and apprehension. It stands in direct hostility to the great ideas of Christianity. It is selfish, mercenary, sensual. Such a civilization cannot, must not, endure for ever. How it is to be supplanted, I know not. I hope, however, that it is not doomed, like the old Roman civilization, to be quenched in blood. I trust that the works of ages are not to be laid low by violence, rapine, and the all-devouring sword. I trust that the existing social state contains in its bosom something better than it has yet unfolded. I trust that a brighter future is to come, not from the desolation, but from gradual, meliorating changes of the present. Among the changes to which I look for the salvation of the modern world, one of the chief is the intellectual and moral elevation of the laboring class. The impulses which are to reform and quicken society are probably to come, not from its more conspicuous, but from its obscurer divisions; and among these I see with joy new wants, principles, and aspirations beginning to unfold themselves. Let what is already won give us courage. Let faith in a parental Providence give us courage; and if we are to be disappointed in the present, let us never doubt that the great interests of human nature are still secure under the eye and care of an Almighty Friend.

Note for the third head. — Under the third head of the lectures, in which some of the encouraging circumstances of the times are stated, I might have spoken of the singular advantages and means of progress enjoyed by the laborer in this metropolis. It is believed that there cannot be found another city in the world in which the laboring classes are as much improved, possess as many helps, enjoy as much consideration, exert as much influence, as in this place. Had I pursued this subject, I should have done what I often wished to do; I should have spoken of the obligations of our city to my excellent friend, James Savage, Esq., to whose unwearied efforts we are chiefly indebted for two inestimable institutions, — the Provident Institution for Savings and the Primary Schools; the former giving to the laborer the means of sustaining himself in times of pressure, and the latter placing almost at his door the means of instruction for his children from the earliest age. The union of the Primary Schools with the Grammar Schools and the High Schools in this place constitutes a system of public education unparalleled, it is believed, in any country. It would not be easy to name an individual to whom our city is under greater obligations than to Mr. Savage. In the enterprises which I have named, he was joined and greatly assisted by the late Elisha Ticknor, Esq., whose name ought also to be associated with the Provident Institution and the Primary Schools. The subject of these lectures brings to my mind the plan of an institution which was laid before me by Mr. Ticknor, for teaching at once agriculture and the mechanic arts. He believed that a boy might be made a thorough farmer, both in theory and practice, and might at the same time learn a trade, and that by being skilled in both vocations he would be more useful, and would multiply his chances of comfortable subsistence. I was interested by the plan, and Mr. Ticknor's practical wisdom led me to believe that it might be accomplished.

HONOR DUE TO ALL MEN.

1 Peter ii. 17: "Honor all men."

Among the many and inestimable blessings of Christianity, I regard as not the least the new sentiment with which it teaches man to look upon his fellow-beings; the new interest which it awakens in us towards every thing human; the new importance which it gives to the soul; the new relation which it establishes between man and man. In this respect it began a mighty revolution, which has been silently spreading itself through society, and which, I believe, is not to stop until new ties shall have taken the place of those which have hitherto, in the main, connected the human race. Christianity has as yet but begun its work of reformation. Under its influences a new order of society is advancing, surely though slowly; and this beneficent change it is to accomplish in no small measure by revealing to men their own nature, and teaching them to "honor all" who partake it.

As yet Christianity has done little, compared with what it is to do, in establishing the true bond of union between man and man. The old bonds of society still continue in a great degree. They are instinct, interest, force. The true tie, which is mutual respect, calling forth mutual, growing, never-failing acts of love, is as yet little known. A new revelation, if I may so speak, remains to be made; or rather, the truths of the old revelation in regard to the greatness of human nature are to be brought out from obscurity and neglect. The soul is to be regarded with a religious reverence hitherto unfelt; and the solemn claims of every being to whom this divine principle is imparted are to be established on the ruins of those pernicious principles, both in church and state, which have so long divided mankind into the classes of the abject many and the self-exalting few.

There is nothing of which men know so little as themselves. They understand incomparably more of the surrounding creation, of matter, and of its laws, than of that spiritual principle to which matter was made to be the minister, and without which the outward universe would be worthless. Of course, no man can be wholly a stranger to the soul, for the soul is himself, and he cannot but be conscious of its most obvious workings. But it is to most a chaos, a region shrouded in ever-shifting mists, baffling the eye and bewildering the imagination. The affinity of the mind with God, its moral power, the purposes for which its faculties were bestowed, its connection with futurity, and the dependence of its whole happiness on its own right action and progress, — these truths, though they might be expected to absorb us, are to most men little more than sounds, and to none of us those living realities which, I trust, they are to become. That conviction, without which we are all poor, of the unlimited and immortal nature of the soul, remains in a great degree to be developed. Men have as yet no just respect for themselves, and of consequence no just respect for others. The true bond of society is thus wanting; and accordingly there is a great deficiency of Christian benevolence. There is, indeed, much instinctive, native benevolence, and this is not to be despised; but the benevolence of Jesus Christ, which consists in a calm purpose to suffer, and, if need be, to die, for our fellow-creatures, the benevolence of Christ on the cross, which is the true pattern to the Christian, this is little known; and what is the cause? It is this. We see nothing in human beings to entitle them to such sacrifices; we do not think them worth suffering for. Why should we be martyrs for beings who awaken in us little more of moral interest than the brutes?

I hold that nothing is to make man a true lover of man but the discovery of something interesting and great in human nature. We must see and feel that a human being is something important, and of immeasurable importance. We must see and feel the broad distance between the spiritual life within us and the vegetable or animal life which acts around us. I cannot love the flower, however beautiful, with a disinterested affection which will make me sacrifice to

it my own prosperity. You will in vain exhort me to attach myself, with my whole strength of affection, to the inferior animals, however useful or attractive; and why not? They want the capacity of truth, virtue, and progress. They want that principle of duty which alone gives permanence to a being; and accordingly they soon lose their individual nature, and go to mingle with the general mass. A human being deserves a different affection from what we bestow on inferior creatures, for he has a rational and moral nature, by which he is to endure for ever, by which he may achieve an unutterable happiness, or sink into an unutterable woe. He is more interesting, through what is in him, than the earth or heavens; and the only way to love him aright is to catch some glimpse of this immortal power within him. Until this is done, all charity is little more than instinct; we shall embrace the great interests of human nature with coldness.

It may be said, that Christianity has done much to awaken benevolence, and that it has taught men to call one another brethren. Yes, to *call* one another so; but has it as yet given the true feeling of brotherhood? We undoubtedly feel ourselves to be all of one race, and this is well. We trace ourselves up to one pair, and feel the same blood flowing in our veins. But do we understand our spiritual brotherhood? Do we feel ourselves to be derived from one Heavenly Parent, in whose image we are all made, and whose perfection we may constantly approach? Do we feel that there is one divine life in our own and in all souls? This seems to me the only true bond of man to man. Here is a tie more sacred, more enduring, than all the ties of this earth. Is it felt, and do we in consequence truly honor one another?

Sometimes, indeed, we see men giving sincere, profound, and almost unmeasured respect to their fellow-creatures; but to whom? To great men; to men distinguished by a broad line from the multitude; to men pre-eminent by genius, force of character, daring effort, high station, brilliant success. To such honor is given; but this is not to "honor all men;" and the homage paid to such is generally unfriendly to that Christian estimate of human beings for which I am now pleading. The great are honored at the expense of their race. They absorb and concentrate the world's admiration, and their less gifted fellow-beings are thrown by their brightness into a deeper shade, and passed over with a colder contempt. Now I have no desire to derogate from the honor paid to great men, but I say, Let them not rise by the depression of the multitude. I say, that great men, justly regarded, exalt our estimate of the human race, and bind us to the multitude of men more closely: and when they are not so regarded, when they are converted into idols, when they serve to wean our interest from ordinary men, they corrupt us, they sever the sacred bond of humanity which should attach us to all, and our characters become vitiated by our very admiration of greatness. The true view of great men is, that they are only examples and manifestations of our common nature, showing what belongs to all souls, though unfolded as yet only in a few. The light which shines from them is, after all, but a faint revelation of the power which is treasured up in every human being. They are not prodigies, not miracles, but natural developments of the human soul. They are indeed as men among children, but the children have a principle of growth which leads to manhood.

That great men and the multitude of minds are of one family, is apparent, I think, in the admiration which the great inspire into the multitude. A sincere, enlightened admiration always springs from something congenial in him who feels it with him who inspires it. He that can understand and delight in greatness was created to partake of it; the germ is in him; and sometimes this admiration, in what we deem inferior minds, discovers a nobler spirit than belongs to the great man who awakens it; for sometimes the great man is so absorbed in his own greatness as to admire no other; and I should not hesitate to say, that a common mind, which is yet capable of a generous admiration, is destined to rise higher than the man of eminent capacities, who can enjoy no power or excellence but his own. When I hear of great men, I wish not to separate them from their race, but to blend them with it. I esteem it no small benefit of the philosophy of mind, that it teaches us that the elements of the greatest thoughts

of the man of genius exist in his humbler brethren, and that the faculties which the scientific exert in the profoundest discoveries are precisely the same with those which common men employ in the daily labors of life.

To show the grounds on which the obligation to honor all men rests, I might take a minute survey of that human nature which is common to all, and set forth its claims to reverence. But, leaving this wide range, I observe that there is one principle of the soul which makes all men essentially equal, which places all on a level as to means of happiness, which may place in the first rank of human beings those who are the most depressed in worldly condition, and which therefore gives the most depressed a title to interest and respect. I refer to the sense of duty, to the power of discerning and doing right, to the moral and religious principle, to the inward monitor which speaks in the name of God, to the capacity of virtue or excellence. This is the great gift of God. We can conceive no greater. In seraph and archangel, we can conceive no higher energy than the power of virtue, or the power of forming themselves after the will and moral perfections of God. This power breaks down all barriers between the seraph and the lowest human being; it makes them brethren. Whoever has derived from God this perception and capacity of rectitude, has a bond of union with the spiritual world stronger than all the ties of nature. He possesses a principle which, if he is faithful to it, must carry him forward for ever, and insures to him the improvement and happiness of the highest order of beings.

It is this moral power which makes all men essentially equal, which annihilates all the distinctions of this world. Through this, the ignorant and the poor may become the greatest of the race; for the greatest is he who is most true to the principle of duty. It is not improbable that the noblest human beings are to be found in the least favored conditions of society, among those whose names are never uttered beyond the narrow circle in which they toil and suffer, who have but "two mites" to give away, who have perhaps not even that, but who "desire to be fed with the crumbs which fall from the rich man's table;" for in this class may be found those who have withstood the severest temptation, who have practised the most arduous duties, who have confided in God under the heaviest trials, who have been most wronged and have forgiven most; and these are the great, the exalted. It matters nothing what the particular duties are to which the individual is called, — how minute or obscure in their outward form. Greatness in God's sight lies, not in the extent of the sphere which is filled, or of the effect which is produced, but altogether in the power of virtue in the soul, in the energy with which God's will is chosen, with which trial is borne, and goodness loved and pursued.

The sense of duty is the greatest gift of God. The idea of right is the primary and the highest revelation of God to the human mind, and all outward revelations are founded on and addressed to it. All mysteries of science and theology fade away before the grandeur of the simple perception of duty which dawns on the mind of the little child. That perception brings him into the moral kingdom of God. That lays on him an everlasting bond. He in whom the conviction of duty is unfolded becomes subject from that moment to a law which no power in the universe can abrogate. He forms a new and indissoluble connection with God, that of an accountable being. He begins to stand before an inward tribunal, on the decisions of which his whole happiness rests; he hears a voice which, if faithfully followed, will guide him to perfection, and in neglecting which he brings upon himself inevitable misery. We little understand the solemnity of the moral principle in every human mind. We think not how awful are its functions. We forget that it is the germ of immortality. Did we understand it, we should look with a feeling of reverence on every being to whom it is given.

Having shown, in the preceding remarks, that there is a foundation in the human soul for the honor enjoined in our text towards all men, I proceed to observe, that, if we look next into Christianity, we shall find this duty enforced by new and still more solemn consider-

ations. This whole religion is a testimony to the worth of man in the sight of God, to the importance of human nature, to the infinite purposes for which we were framed. God is there set forth as sending to the succor of his human family his Beloved Son, the bright image and representative of his own perfections; and sending him, not simply to roll away a burden of pain and punishment (for this, however magnified in systems of theology, is not his highest work), but to create men after that divine image which he himself bears, to purify the soul from every stain, to communicate to it new power over evil, and to open before it immortality as its aim and destination, — immortality, by which we are to understand, not merely a perpetual, but an ever-improving and celestial being. Such are the views of Christianity. And these blessings it proffers, not to a few, not to the educated, not to the eminent, but to all human beings, to the poorest and the most fallen; and we know that, through the power of its promises, it has in not a few instances raised the most fallen to true greatness, and given them in their present virtue and peace an earnest of the Heaven which it unfolds. Such is Christianity. Men, viewed in the light of this religion, are beings cared for by God, to whom he has given his Son, on whom he pours forth his Spirit, and whom he has created for the highest good in the universe, for participation in his own perfections and happiness. My friends, such is Christianity. Our scepticism as to our own nature cannot quench the bright light which that religion sheds on the soul and on the prospects of mankind; and just as far as we receive its truth, we shall honor all men.

I know I shall be told that Christianity speaks of man as a sinner, and thus points him out to abhorrence and scorn. I know it speaks of human sin, but it does not speak of this as indissolubly bound up with the soul, as entering into the essence of human nature, but as a temporary stain, which it calls on us to wash away. Its greatest doctrine is, that the most lost are recoverable, that the most fallen may rise, and that there is no height of purity, power, felicity in the universe, to which the guiltiest mind may not, through penitence, attain. Christianity, indeed, gives us a deeper, keener feeling of the guilt of mankind than any other religion. By the revelation of perfection in the character of Jesus Christ, it shows us how imperfect even the best men are. But it reveals perfection in Jesus, not for our discouragement, but as our model, — reveals it only that we may thirst for and approach it. From Jesus I learn what man is to become, that is, if true to this new light; and true he may be.

Christianity, I have said, shows man as a sinner, but I nowhere meet in it those dark views of our race which would make us shrink from it as from a nest of venomous reptiles. According to the courteous style of theology, man has been called half brute and half devil. But this is a perverse and pernicious exaggeration. The brute, as it is called, that is, animal, appetite is indeed strong in human beings; but is there nothing within us but appetite? Is there nothing to war with it? Does this constitute the essence of the soul? Is it not rather an accident, the result of the mind's union with matter? Is not its spring in the body, and may it not be expected to perish with the body? In addition to animal propensities, I see the tendency to criminal excess in all men's passions. I see not one only, but many tempters in every human heart. Nor am I insensible to the fearful power of these enemies to our virtue. But is there nothing in man but temptation, but propensity to sin? Are there no counterworking powers? no attractions in virtue? no tendencies to God? no sympathies with sorrow? no reverence for greatness? no moral conflicts? no triumphs of principle? This very strength of temptation seems to me to be one of the indications of man's greatness. It shows a being framed to make progress through difficulty, suffering, and conflict; that is, it shows a being designed for the highest order of virtues; for we all feel by an unerring instinct that virtue is elevated in proportion to the obstacles which it surmounts, to the power with which it is chosen and held fast. I see men placed by their Creator on a field of battle, but compassed with peril that they may triumph over it; and, though often overborne, still summoned to new efforts, still privi-

leged to approach the Source of all Power, and to seek "grace in time of need," and still addressed in tones of encouragement by a celestial Leader, who has himself fought and conquered, and holds forth to them his own crown of righteousness and victory.

From these brief views of human nature and of Christianity, you will see the grounds of the solemn obligation of honoring all men, of attaching infinite importance to human nature, and of respecting it, even in its present infant, feeble, tottering state. This sentiment of honor or respect for human beings strikes me more and more as essential to the Christian character. I conceive that a more thorough understanding and a more faithful culture of this would do very much to carry forward the church and the world. In truth, I attach to this sentiment such importance, that I measure by its progress the progress of society. I judge of public events very much by their bearing on this. I estimate political revolutions chiefly by their tendency to exalt men's conceptions of their nature, and to inspire them with respect for one another's claims. The present stupendous movements in Europe naturally suggest, and almost force upon me, this illustration of the importance which I have given to the sentiment enjoined in our text. Allow me to detain you a few moments on this topic.

What is it, then, I ask, which makes the present revolutionary movement abroad so interesting? I answer, that I see in it the principle of respect for human nature and for the human race developing itself more powerfully, and this to me constitutes its chief interest. I see in it proofs, indications, that the mind is awakening to a consciousness of what it is, and of what it is made for. In this movement I see man becoming to himself a higher object. I see him attaining to the conviction of the equal and indestructible rights of every human being. I see the dawning of that great principle, that the individual is not made to be the instrument of others, but to govern himself by an inward law, and to advance towards his proper perfection: that he belongs to himself and to God, and to no human superior. I know, indeed, that, in the present state of the world, these conceptions are exceedingly unsettled and obscure; and, in truth, little effort has hitherto been made to place them in a clear light, and to give them a definite and practical form in men's minds. The multitude know not with any distinctness what they want. Imagination, unschooled by reason and experience, dazzles them with bright but baseless visions. They are driven onward with a perilous violence, by a vague consciousness of not having found their element; by a vague yet noble faith in a higher good than they have attained; by impatience under restraints which they feel to be degrading. In this violence, however, there is nothing strange, nor ought it to discourage us. It is, I believe, universally true, that great principles, in their first development, manifest themselves irregularly. It is so in religion. In history we often see religion, especially after long depression, breaking out in vehemence and enthusiasm, sometimes stirring up bloody conflicts, and through struggles establishing a calmer empire over society. In like manner, political history shows us that men's consciousness of their rights and essential equality has at first developed itself passionately. Still the consciousness is a noble one, and the presage of a better social state.

Am I asked, what I hope from the present revolutionary movements in Europe? I answer, that I hope a good which includes all others, and which almost hides all others from my view. I hope the subversion of institutions by which the true bond between man and man has been more or less dissolved, by which the will of one or a few has broken down the will, the heart, the conscience of the many; and I hope that, in the place of these, are to grow up institutions which will express, cherish, and spread far and wide a just respect for human nature, which will strengthen in men a consciousness of their powers, duties, and rights, which will train the individual to moral and religious independence, which will propose as their end the elevation of all orders of the community, and which will give full scope to the best minds in this work of general improvement. I do not say that I expect it to be suddenly realized. The sun, which is to bring on a brighter day, is rising in thick and threatening clouds. Perhaps the minds of men were never

more unquiet than at the present moment. Still I do not despair. That a higher order of ideas or principles is beginning to be unfolded; that a wider philanthropy is beginning to triumph over the distinctions of ranks and nations; that a new feeling of what is due to the ignorant, poor, and depraved, has sprung up; that the right of every human being to such an education as shall call forth his best faculties, and train him more and more to control himself, is recognized as it never was before; and that government is more and more regarded as intended not to elevate the few, but to guard the rights of all; that these great revolutions in principle have commenced and are spreading, who can deny? and to me they are prophetic of an improved condition of human nature and human affairs. — O, that this melioration might be accomplished without blood! As a Christian, I feel a misgiving, when I rejoice in any good, however great, for which this fearful price has been paid. In truth, a good so won is necessarily imperfect and generally transient. War may subvert a despotism, but seldom builds up better institutions. Even when joined, as in our own history, with high principles, it inflames and leaves behind it passions which make liberty a feverish conflict of jealous parties, and which expose a people to the tyranny of faction under the forms of freedom. Few things impair men's reverence for human nature more than war; and did I not see other and holier influences than the sword working out the regeneration of the race, I should indeed despair.

In this discourse I have spoken of the grounds and importance of that honor or respect which is due from us, and enjoined on us, towards all human beings. The various forms in which this principle is to be exercised or manifested, I want time to enlarge on. I would only say, "Honor all men." Honor man, from the beginning to the end of his earthly course. Honor the child. Welcome into being the infant, with a feeling of its mysterious grandeur, with the feeling that an immortal existence has begun, that a spirit has been kindled which is never to be quenched. Honor the child. On this principle all good education rests. Never shall we learn to train up the child till we take it in our arms, as Jesus did, and feel distinctly that "of such is the kingdom of heaven." In that short sentence is taught the spirit of the true system of education; and for want of understanding it, little effectual aid, I fear, is yet given to the heavenly principle in the infant soul. — Again. Honor the poor. This sentiment of respect is essential to improving the connection between the more and less prosperous conditions of society. This alone makes beneficence truly godlike. Without it, almsgiving degrades the receiver. We must learn how slight and shadowy are the distinctions between us and the poor; and that the last in outward condition may be first in the best attributes of humanity. A fraternal union, founded on this deep conviction, and intended to lift up and strengthen the exposed and tempted poor, is to do infinitely more for that suffering class than all our artificial associations; and till Christianity shall have breathed into us this spirit of respect for our nature, whereever it is found, we shall do them little good. I conceive that, in the present low state of Christian virtue, we little apprehend the power which might be exerted over the fallen and destitute by a benevolence which should truly, thoroughly recognize in them the image of God.

Perhaps none of us have yet heard or can comprehend the tone of voice in which a man, thoroughly impressed with this sentiment, would speak to a fellow-creature. It is a language hardly known on earth; and no eloquence, I believe, has achieved such wonders as it is destined to accomplish. I must stop, though I have but begun the application of the principle which I have urged. I will close as I began, with saying, that the great revelation which man now needs is a revelation of man to himself. The faith which is most wanted is a faith in what we and our fellow-beings may become, — a faith in the divine germ or principle in every soul. In regard to most of what are called the mysteries of religion, we may innocently be ignorant. But the mystery within ourselves, the mystery of our spiritual, accountable, immortal nature, it behoves us to explore. Happy are they who have begun to penetrate it, and in whom it has awakened feelings of awe towards themselves, and of deep interest and honor towards their fellow-creatures.

MINISTRY FOR THE POOR:

Discourse delivered before the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches, Boston, April 9, 1835.

LUKE iv. 18: "The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor."

WE are met together on the first anniversary of the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches, — an institution formed for the purpose of providing a ministry for the poor, and of thus communicating moral and spiritual blessings to the most destitute portion of the community. We may well thank God for living in a state of society in which such a design finds cordial support. We should rejoice in this token of human progress. Man has always felt for the outward wants and sufferings of man. This institution shows that he is alive to the higher capacities, the deeper cravings, of his fellow-beings. This institution is one of the forms in which the spirit of Christianity is embodied, — a spirit of reverence and love for the human soul, of sympathy with its fall, of intense desire for its redemption.

On this occasion there is but one topic of which I can speak, and that is the claims of the poor as moral, spiritual beings; and it is a topic on which I enter with a consciousness of insufficiency. The claims of outward and worldly things I can comprehend. I can look through wealth, pomp, rank. I can meet unmoved the most imposing forms of earthly dignity; but the immortal principle in the heart of the poorest human being I approach with awe. There I see a mystery in which my faculties are lost. I see an existence, before which the duration of the world and the outward heavens is a span. I say that I see it. I am not surrendering myself to imagination; I have a consciousness of truth, or rather a consciousness of falling beneath the truth. I feel, then, my incompetency to be just to this subject. But we must do what we can. No testimony, however feeble, if lifted up in sincerity in behalf of great principles, is ever lost. Through weak man, if sanctified by a simple, humble love of truth, a higher Power than man's is pleased to work. May that Power overshadow us, and work within us, and open every soul to truth!

To awaken a spiritual interest in the poor, this is my object. I wish not to diminish your sympathy with their outward condition; I would increase it. But their physical sufferings are not their chief evils. The great calamity of the poor is not their poverty, understanding this word in the usual sense, but the tendency of their privations, and of their social rank, to degradation of mind. Give them the Christian spirit, and their lot would not be intolerable. Remove from them the misery which they bring on themselves by evil-doing, and separate from their inevitable sufferings the aggravations which come from crime, and their burden would be light compared with what now oppresses them.

The outward condition of the poor is a hard one. I mean not to criticise it with the apathy of the stoic, to deny that pain is an evil, privation a loss of good. But when I compare together different classes as existing at this moment in the civilized world, I cannot think the difference between the rich and the poor, in regard to mere physical suffering, so great as is sometimes imagined. That some of the indigent among us die of scanty food is undoubtedly true; but vastly more in this community die from eating too much than from eating too little; vastly more from excess than starvation. So as to clothing, many shiver from want of defences against the cold; but there is vastly more suffering among the rich from absurd and criminal modes of dress, which fashion has sanctioned, than among the poor from deficiency of raiment. Our

daughters are oftener brought to the grave by their rich attire than our beggars by their nakedness. So the poor are often overworked; but they suffer less than many among the rich who have no work to do, no interesting object to fill up life, to satisfy the infinite cravings of man for action. According to our present modes of education, how many of our daughters are victims of *ennui*, a misery unknown to the poor, and more intolerable than the weariness of excessive toil! The idle young man spending the day in exhibiting his person in the street ought not to excite the envy of the overtasked poor; and this cumberer of the ground is found exclusively among the rich.

I repeat it, the condition of the poor deserves sympathy; but let us not, by exaggeration of its pains, turn away our minds from the great inward sources of their misery. In this city, the condition of a majority of the indigent is such as would be thought eligible elsewhere. Insure to a European peasant an abundance of wheaten bread through every season of the year, and he would bless his easy lot. Among us, many a poor family, if doomed to live on bread, would murmur at its hard fare; and accordingly the table of the indigent is daily spread with condiments and viands hardly known in the cottage of the transatlantic laborer. The Greenlander and Laplander, dwelling in huts, and living on food compared with which the accommodations of our poor are abundant, are more than content. They would not exchange their wastes for our richest soils and proudest cities. It is not, then, the physical suffering of the poor, but their relation to the rest of society, — the want of means of inward life, the degrading influences of their position, — to which their chief misery is to be traced.

Let not the condition of the poor be spoken of as necessarily wretched. Give them the Christian spirit, and they would find in their lot the chief elements of good. For example, the domestic affections may and do grow up among the poor, and these are to all of us the chief springs of earthly happiness. And it deserves consideration that the poor have their advantages as well as disadvantages in respect to domestic ties. Their narrow condition obliges them to do more for one another than is done among the rich; and this necessity, as is well known, sometimes gives a vigor and tenderness to the love of parents and children, brothers and sisters, not always found in the luxurious classes, where wealth destroys this mutual dependence, this need of mutual help. Nor let it be said that the poor cannot enjoy domestic happiness for want of the means of educating their children. A sound moral judgment is of more value in education than all wealth and all talent. For want of this, the children of men of genius and opulence are often the worst trained in the community; and if, by our labors, we can communicate this moral soundness to the poor, we shall open among them the fountain of the only pure domestic felicity.

In this country, the poor might enjoy the most important advantages of the rich had they the moral and religious cultivation consistent with their lot. Books find their way into every house, however mean; and especially that book which contains more nutriment for the intellect, imagination, and heart, than all others, — I mean, of course, the Bible. And I am confident that among the poor are those who find in that one book more enjoyment, more awakening truth, more lofty and beautiful imagery, more culture to the whole soul, than thousands of the educated find in their general studies, and vastly more than millions among the rich find in that superficial, transitory literature which consumes all their reading hours.

Even the pleasures of a refined taste are not denied to the poor, but might easily be opened to them by a wise moral culture. True, their rooms are not lined with works of art; but the living beauty of nature opens on the eyes of all her children; and we know, from the history of self-educated genius, that sometimes the inhabitant of a hovel, looking out on the serene sky, the illumined cloud, the setting sun, has received into his rapt spirit impressions of divine majesty and loveliness, to which the burning words of poetry give but faint utterance. True, the rich may visit distant scenery, and feed their eyes on the rarest and most stupendous manifestations of creative power; but the earth and common sky reveal, in some of their changeful aspects, a grandeur as awful as Niagara or the Andes; and nothing

is wanting to the poor man in his ordinary walks but a more spiritual eye to discern a beauty which has never yet been embodied in the most inspired works of sculpture or painting.

Thus for the poor, as for all men, there are provisions for happiness; and it deserves remark that their happiness has a peculiar dignity. It is more honorable to be content with few outward means than with many; to be cheerful amidst privation than amidst overflowing plenty. A poor man, living on bread and water, because he will not ask for more than bare sustenance requires, and leading a quiet, cheerful life through his benevolent sympathies, his joy in duty, his trust in God, is one of the true heroes of the race, and understands better the meaning of happiness than we, who cannot be at ease unless we clothe ourselves "in purple, and fare sumptuously every day," — unless we surround, defend, and adorn ourselves with all the products of nature and art. His scantiness of outward means is a sign of inward fulness, whilst the slavery in which most of us live to luxuries and accommodations shows the poverty within.

I have given the fair side of the poor man's lot. I have shown the advantages placed within his reach; but I do not therefore call him happy. His advantages are too commonly lost for want of inward culture. The poor are generally wretched, with many means of good. Think not that I mean to throw one false color on their actual state. It is miserable enough to awaken deep sympathy; but their misery springs not so much from physical causes, which cannot be withstood, as from moral want. The moral influences of their condition, of their rank in society, of their connection with other classes, — these are more terrible than hunger or cold, and to these I desire to turn your chief regard.

What, then, are the moral influences of poverty, its influences on character, which deserve our chief attention? As one of its most fatal effects, I would observe, in the first place, that it impairs, often destroys, self-respect. I know, and rejoice to know, that the institutions of this country do much to counteract this influence of poverty; but still it exists and works frequent debasement. It is hard for any of us to interpret justly our own nature, and how peculiarly hard for the poor! Uninstructed in the import and dignity of their rational and moral powers, they naturally measure themselves by their outward rank. Living amidst the worshippers of wealth, they naturally feel as if degraded by the want of it. They read in the looks, tones, and manners of the world the evidences of being regarded as an inferior race, and want inward force to repel this cruel, disheartening falsehood. They hear the word *respectable* confined to other conditions, and the word *low* applied to their own. Now, habitual subjection to slight or contempt is crushing to the spirit. It is exceedingly hard for a human being to comprehend and appreciate himself amidst outward humiliation. There is no greater man than he who is true to himself when all around deny and forsake him. Can we wonder that the poor, thus abandoned, should identify themselves with their lot, — that in their rags they should see the sign of inward as well as outward degradation?

Another cause which blights their self-respect is their dependence for pecuniary aid. It is hard to ask alms and retain an erect mind. Dependence breeds servility, and he who has stooped to another cannot be just to himself. The want of self-respect is a preparation for every evil. Degraded in their own and others' esteem, the poor are removed from the salutary restraint of opinion; and, having no caste to lose, no honor to forfeit, often abandon themselves recklessly to the grossest vice.

2. The condition of the poor is unfriendly to the action and unfolding of the intellect, — a sore calamity to a rational being. In most men, indeed, the intellect is narrowed by exclusive cares for the body. In most, the consciousness of its excellence is crushed by the low uses to which it is perpetually doomed. But still, in most, a degree of activity is given to the mind by the variety and extent of their plans for wealth or subsistence. The bodily wants of most carry them in a measure into the future, engage them in enterprises requiring invention, sagacity, and skill. It is the unhappiness of the poor that they are absorbed in immediate wants.

in provisions for the passing day, in obtaining the next meal, or in throwing off a present burden. Accordingly their faculties "live and move," or rather pine and perish, in the present moment. Hope and imagination, the wings of the soul, carrying it forward and upward, languish in the poor; for the future is uninviting. The darkness of the present broods over coming years. The great idea which stirs up in other men a world of thought, the idea of a better lot, has almost faded from the poor man's mind. He almost ceases to hope for his children, as well as for himself. Even parental love, to many the chief quickener of the intellect, stagnates through despair. Thus poverty starves the mind.

And there is another way in which it produces this effect, particularly worthy the notice of this assembly. The poor have no society beyond their own class, — that is, beyond those who are confined to their own narrow field of thought. We all know that it is contact with other minds, and especially with the more active and soaring, from which the intellect receives its chief impulse. Few of us could escape the paralyzing influence of perpetual intercourse with the uncultivated, sluggish, and narrow-minded; and here we see — what I wish particularly to bring to view — how the poor suffer from the boasted civilization of our times, which is built so much on the idea of property. In communities little advanced in opulence, no impassable barrier separates different classes, as among ourselves. The least improved are not thrown to a distance from those who, through natural endowment or peculiar excitement, think more strongly than the rest; and why should such division exist anywhere? How cruel and unchristian are the pride and prejudice which form the enlightened into a caste, and leave the ignorant and depressed to strengthen and propagate ignorance and error without end!

3. I proceed to another evil of poverty, — its disastrous influence on the domestic affections. Kindle these affections in the poor man's hut, and you give him the elements of the best earthly happiness. But the more delicate sentiments find much to chill them in the abodes of indigence. A family crowded into a single and often narrow apartment, which must answer at once the ends of parlor, kitchen, bed-room, nursery, and hospital, must, without great energy and self-respect, want neatness, order, and comfort. Its members are perpetually exposed to annoying, petty interference. The decencies of life can be with difficulty observed. Woman, a drudge, and in dirt, loses her attractions. The young grow up without the modest reserve and delicacy of feeling in which purity finds so much of its defence. Coarseness of manners and language, too sure a consequence of a mode of life which allows no seclusion, becomes the habit almost of childhood, and hardens the mind for vicious intercourse in future years. The want of a neat, orderly home is among the chief evils of the poor. Crowded in filth, they cease to respect one another. The social affections wither amidst perpetual noise, confusion, and clashing interests. In these respects, the poor often fare worse than the uncivilized. True, the latter has a ruder hut, but his habits and tastes lead him to live abroad. Around him is a boundless, unoccupied nature, where he ranges at will, and gratifies his passion for liberty. Hardened from infancy against the elements, he lives in the bright light and pure air of heaven. In the city, the poor man must choose between his close room and the narrow street. The appropriation of almost every spot on earth to private use, and the habits of society, do not allow him to gather his family, or meet his tribe, under a spreading tree. He has a home, without the comforts of home. He cannot cheer it by inviting his neighbors to share his repast. He has few topics of conversation with his wife and children, except their common wants. Of consequence, sensual pleasures are the only means of ministering to that craving for enjoyment which can never be destroyed in human nature. These pleasures, in other dwellings, are more or less refined by taste. The table is spread with neatness and order; and a decency pervades the meal, which shows that man is more than a creature of sense. The poor man's table, strewed with broken food, and seldom approached with courtesy and self-respect, serves too often to nourish only a selfish, animal life, and to bring the partakers of it still nearer to the brute. I speak not of what is nec-

essary and universal; for poverty, under sanctifying influences, may find a heaven in its narrow home; but I speak of tendencies which are strong, and which only a strong religious influence can overcome.

4. I proceed to another unhappy influence exerted on the poor. They live in the sight and in the midst of innumerable indulgences and gratifications which are placed beyond their reach. Their connection with the affluent, though not close enough for spiritual communication, is near enough to inflame appetites, desires, wants, which cannot be satisfied. From their cheerless rooms they look out on the abodes of luxury. At their cold, coarse meal, they hear the equipage conveying others to tables groaning under plenty, crowned with sparkling wines, and fragrant with the delicacies of every clime. Fainting with toil, they meet others unburdened, as they think, with a labor or a care. They feel that all life's prizes have fallen to others. Hence burning desire. Hence brooding discontent. Hence envy and hatred. Hence crime, justified in a measure to their own minds, by what seem to them the unjust and cruel inequalities of social life. Here are some of the miseries of civilization. The uncivilized man is not exasperated by the presence of conditions happier than his own. There is no disproportion between his idea of happiness and his lot. Among the poor the disproportion is infinite. You all understand how much we judge our lot by comparison. Thus the very edifices, which a century ago seemed to our fathers luxurious, seem now to multitudes hardly comfortable, because surrounded by more commodious and beautiful dwellings. We little think of the gloom added to the poor by the contiguity of the rich. They are preyed on by artificial wants, which can only be gratified by crime. They are surrounded by enjoyments, which fraud or violence can make their own. Unhappily the prevalent — I had almost said the whole — spirit of the rich increases these temptations of the poor. Very seldom does a distinct, authentic voice of wisdom come to them from the high places of society, telling them that riches are not happiness, and that a felicity which riches cannot buy is within reach of all. Wealth-worship is the spirit of the prosperous, and this is the strongest possible inculcation of discontent and crime on the poor. The rich satisfy themselves with giving alms to the needy. They think little of more fatal gifts, which they perpetually bestow. They think little that their spirit and lives, their self-indulgence and earthliness, their idolatry of outward prosperity, and their contempt of inferior conditions, are perpetually teaching the destitute that there is but one good on earth, namely, property, — the very good in which the poor have no share. They little think that by these influences they do much to inflame, embitter, and degrade the minds of the poor, to fasten them to the earth, to cut off their communication with Heaven.

5. I pass to another sore trial of the poor. Whilst their condition, as we have seen, denies them many gratifications which on every side meet their view and inflame desire, it places within their reach many debasing gratifications. Human nature has a strong thirst for pleasures which excite it above its ordinary tone, which relieve the monotony of life. This drives the prosperous from their pleasant homes to scenes of novelty and stirring amusement. How strongly must it act on those who are weighed down by anxieties and privations! How intensely must the poor desire to forget for a time the wearing realities of life! And what means of escape does society afford or allow them? What present do civilization and science make to the poor? Strong drink, ardent spirits, liquid poison, liquid fire, a type of the fire of hell! In every poor man's neighborhood flows a Lethean stream, which laps him for a while in oblivion of all his humiliations and sorrows! The power of this temptation can be little understood by those of us whose thirst for pleasure is regularly supplied by a succession of innocent pleasures, who meet soothing and exciting objects wherever we turn. The uneducated poor, without resource in books, in their families, in a well-spread board, in cheerful apartments, in places of fashionable resort, and pressed down by disappointment, debt, despondence, and exhausting toils, are driven, by an impulse dreadfully strong, to the haunts of intemperance; and there they plunge into a misery sorer than all the tortures invented by man. They quench the light

of reason, cast off the characteristics of humanity, blot out God's image as far as they have power, and take their place among the brutes. Terrible misery! And this, I beg you to remember, comes to them from the very civilization in which they live. They are victims to the progress of science and the arts; for these multiply the poison which destroys them. They are victims to the rich; for it is the capital of the rich which erects the distillery, and surrounds them with temptations to self-murder. They are victims to a partial advancement of society, which multiplies gratifications and allurements, without awakening proportionate moral power to withstand them.

Such are the evils of poverty. It is a condition which offers many and peculiar obstructions to the development of intellect and affection, of self-respect and self-control. The poor are peculiarly exposed to discouraging views of themselves, of human nature, of human life. The consciousness of their own intellectual and moral power slumbers. Their faith in God's goodness, in virtue, in immortality, is obscured by the darkness of their present lot. Ignorant, desponding, and sorely tempted, have they not solemn claims on their more privileged brethren for aids which they have never yet received?

I have thus shown, as I proposed, that the chief evils of poverty are moral in their origin and character; and for these I would awaken your concern. With physical sufferings we sympathize. When shall the greater misery move our hearts? Is there nothing to startle us in the fact that in every large city dwells a multitude of human beings, falling or fallen into extreme moral degradation, living in dark, filthy houses, or in damp, unventilated cellars, where the eye lights on no beauty and the ear is continually wounded with discord, where the outward gloom is a type of the darkened mind, where the name of God is heard only when profaned, where charity is known only as a resource for sloth, where the child is trained amidst coarse manners, impure words, and the fumes of intemperance, and is thence sent forth to prowl as a beggar? From these abodes issues a louder, more piercing cry for help and strength than physical want ever uttered. I do not mean that all the poor are such as I have described. Far from it. Among them are the "salt of the earth," the "lights of the world," the elect of God. There is no necessary connection of poverty and crime. Christianity knows no distinction of rank, and has proved itself equal to the wants of all conditions of men. Still poverty has tendencies to the moral degradation which I have described; and to counteract these should be esteemed one of the most solemn duties and precious privileges bequeathed by Christ to his followers.

From the views now given of the chief evils of poverty, it follows that moral and religious culture is the great blessing to be bestowed on the poor. By this it is not intended that their physical condition demands no aid. Let charity minister to their pressing wants and sufferings. But let us bear it in mind that no charity produces permanent good but that which goes beneath the body, which reaches the mind, which touches the inward springs of improvement, and awakens some strength of purpose, some pious or generous emotion, some self-respect. That charity is most useful which removes obstructions to well-doing and temptations to evil from the way of the poor, and encourages them to strive for their own true good. Something, indeed, may be done for the moral benefit of the indigent by wise legislation; I do not mean by poor-laws, but by enactments intended to remove, as far as possible, degrading circumstances from their condition. For example, the laws should prohibit the letting of an apartment to a poor family which is not tenantable, which cannot but injure health, which cannot be ventilated, which wants the necessary means of preventing accumulations of filth. Such ordinances, connected with provisions for cleansing every alley, and for carrying pure, wholesome water in abundance to every dwelling, would do not a little for the health, cleanliness, and self-respect of the poor; and on these their moral well-being in no small degree depends.

Our chief reliance, however, must be placed on more direct and powerful means than legislation. The poor need and must receive moral and religious culture, such as they have never yet enjoyed. I say culture; and I select this term because it expresses the de-

velopment of inward principles; and without this, nothing effectual can be done for rich or poor. Unhappily, religion has been, for the most part, taught to the poor mechanically, superficially, as a tradition. It has been imposed on them as a restraint, or a form; it has been addressed to the senses, or to the sensual imagination, and not to the higher principles. An outward hell, or an outward heaven, has too often been the highest motive brought to bear on their minds. But something more is wanted; a deeper work, an inward culture, the development of the reason, the conscience, the affections, and the moral will. True religion is a life unfolded within, not something forced on us from abroad. The poor man needs an elevating power within to resist the depressing tendencies of his outward lot. Spiritual culture is the only effectual service we can send him, and let his misery plead with us to bestow it to the extent of our power.

Had I time, I might show that moral and religious principles, as far as they are strengthened in the breasts of the poor, meet all the wants and evils which have now been portrayed; that they give them force to bear up against all the adverse circumstances of their lot, inspire them with self-respect, refine their manners, give impulse to their intellectual powers, open to them the springs of domestic peace, teach them to see without murmuring the superior enjoyments of others, and rescue them from the excesses into which multitudes are driven by destitution and despair. But these topics are not only too extensive, but are to a degree familiar, though by no means felt as they should be. I conceive that I shall better answer the purpose of awakening a spiritual interest in this class of society, by confining myself to a single point, by showing that the moral and religious culture which I claim for the poor is the highest cultivation which a human being can receive. We are all of us, I fear, blinded on this subject by the errors and prejudices of our own education. We are apt to imagine that the only important culture of a human being comes from libraries, literary institutions, and elegant accomplishments; that is, from means beyond the reach of the poor. Advantages offered by wealth seem to us the great and essential means of bringing forward the human mind. Perhaps we smile at hearing the word *cultivation* applied to the poor. The best light which their condition admits seems darkness compared with the knowledge imparted by our seminaries of learning; and the highest activity of mind to which they can be excited is scornfully contrasted with what is called forth in their superiors by works of philosophy and genius. There is, among not a few, a contemptuous estimate of the culture which may be extended to the poor, of the good which they are capable of receiving; and hence much of the prevalent indifference as to furnishing them the means of spiritual growth. Now this is a weak and degrading prejudice. I affirm that the highest culture is open alike to rich and poor. I affirm that the rich may extend their most precious acquisitions to the poor. There is nothing in indigence to exclude the noblest improvements. The impartial Father designs his best gifts for all. Exclusive good, or that which only a few can enjoy, is comparatively worthless. Essential good is the most freely diffused. It is time to put away our childish notions as to human improvement; it is time to learn that advantages which are a monopoly of the few are not necessary to the development of human nature, that the soul grows best by helps which are accessible to all.

The truth is, that there is no cultivation of the human being, worthy of the name, but that which begins and ends with the moral and religious nature. No other teaching can make a man. We are striving, indeed, to develop the soul almost exclusively by intellectual stimulants and nutriment, by schools and colleges, by accomplishments and fine arts. We are hoping to form men and women by literature and science; but all in vain. We shall learn in time that moral and religious culture is the foundation and strength of all true cultivation; that we are deforming human nature by the means relied on for its growth, and that the poor who receive a care which awakens their consciences and moral sentiments, start under happier auspices than the prosperous, who place supreme dependence on the education of the intellect and the taste.

It is common to measure the cultivation of men by their knowledge; and this is certainly an important element and means of improvement. But knowledge is various, differing in different men according to the objects which most engage their minds; and by these objects its worth must be judged. It is not the extent but the kind of knowledge which determines the measure of cultivation. In truth, it is foolish to talk of any knowledge as extensive. The most eminent philosopher is of yesterday, and knows nothing. Newton felt that he had gathered but a few pebbles on the shores of a boundless ocean. The moment we attempt to penetrate a subject, we learn that it has unfathomable depths. The known is a sign of the infinite unknown. Every discovery conducts us to an abyss of darkness. In every thing, from the grain of sand to the stars, the wise man finds mysteries, before which his knowledge shrinks into nothingness. It is the kind not the extent of knowledge by which the advancement of a human being must be measured; and that kind which alone exalts a man is placed within the reach of all. Moral and religious truth, this is the treasure of the intellect, and all are poor without it. This transcends physical truth as far as mind transcends matter, or as heaven is lifted above earth. Indeed, physical science parts with its chief dignity when separated from morals, — when it is not used to shadow forth, confirm, and illustrate spiritual truth.

The true cultivation of a human being consists in the development of great moral ideas; that is, the ideas of God, of duty, of right, of justice, of love, of self-sacrifice, of moral perfection as manifested in Christ, of happiness, of immortality, of Heaven. The elements or germs of these ideas belong to every soul, constitute its essence, and are intended for endless expansion. These are the chief distinctions of our nature; they constitute our humanity. To unfold these is the great work of our being. The light in which these ideas rise on the mind, the love which they awaken, and the force of will with which they are brought to sway the outward and inward life, — here, and here only, are the measures of human cultivation.

These views show us that the highest culture is within the reach of the poor. It is not knowledge poured on us from abroad, but the development of the elementary principles of the soul itself, which constitutes the true growth of a human being. Undoubtedly knowledge from abroad is essential to the awakening of these principles. But that which conduces most to this end is offered alike to rich and poor. Society and experience, nature and revelation, our chief moral and religious teachers, and the great quickeners of the soul, do not open their schools to a few favorites, do not initiate a small caste into their mysteries, but are ordained by God to be lights and blessings to all.

The highest culture, I repeat it, is in reach of the poor, and is sometimes attained by them. Without science, they are often wiser than the philosopher. The astronomer disdains them, but they look above his stars. The geologist disdains them, but they look deeper than the earth's centre; they penetrate their own souls, and find there mightier, diviner elements than upheaved continents attest. In other words, the great ideas of which I have spoken may be, and often are, unfolded more in the poor man than among the learned or renowned; and in this case the poor man is the most cultivated. For example, take the idea of justice. Suppose a man, eminent for acquisitions of knowledge, but in whom this idea is but faintly developed. By justice he understands little more than respect for the rights of property. That it means respect for all the rights, and especially for the moral claims, of every human being, of the lowest as well as the most exalted, has perhaps never entered his mind, much less been expanded and invigorated into a broad, living conviction. Take now the case of a poor man, to whom, under Christ's teaching, the idea of the Just has become real, clear, bright, and strong; who recognizes, to its full extent, the right of property, though it operates against himself; but who does not stop here; who comprehends the higher rights of men as rational and moral beings, their right to exercise and unfold all their powers, their right to the means of improvement, their right to search for truth and to utter their hon-

est convictions, their right to consult first the monitor in their own breasts, and to follow wherever it leads, their right to be esteemed and honored according to their moral efforts, their right, when injured, to sympathy and succor against every oppressor. Suppose, I say, the poor man to rise to the comprehension of this enlarged justice, to revere it, to enthrone it over his actions, to render to every human being, friend or foe, near or far off, whatever is his due, to abstain conscientiously, not only from injurious deeds, but from injurious thoughts, judgments, feelings, and words. Is he not a more cultivated man, and has he not a deeper foundation and surer promise of truth, than the student, who, with much outward knowledge, does not comprehend men's highest rights, whose scientific labors are perhaps degraded by injustice towards his rivals, who, had he the power, would fetter every intellect which threatens to outstrip his own?

The great idea on which human cultivation especially depends is that of God. This is the concentration of all that is beautiful, glorious, holy, blessed.. It transcends immeasurably in worth and dignity all the science treasured up in cyclopædias or libraries; and this may be unfolded in the poor as truly as in the rich. It is not an idea to be elaborated by studies, which can be pursued only in leisure or by opulence. Its elements belong to every soul, and are especially to be found in our moral nature, in the idea of duty, in the feeling of reverence, in the approving sentence which we pass on virtue, in our disinterested affections, and in the wants and aspirations which carry us towards the Infinite. There is but one way of unfolding these germs of the idea of God, and that is, faithfulness to the best convictions of duty and of the Divine Will which we have hitherto gained. God is to be known by obedience, by likeness, by sympathy; that is, by moral means, which are open alike to rich and poor. Many a man of science has not known Him. The pride of science, like a thick cloud, has hidden from the philosopher the Spiritual Sun, the only true light, and for want of this quickening ray he has fallen in culture far, very far, below the poor.

These remarks have been drawn from me by the proneness of our times to place human culture in physical knowledge, and especially in degrees of it denied to the mass of the people. To this knowledge I would on no account deny great value. In its place, it is an important means of human improvement. I look with admiration on the intellectual force which combines and masters scattered facts, and by analysis and comparison ascends to the general laws of the material universe. But the philosopher who does not see in the force within him something nobler than the outward nature which he analyzes, who, in tracing mechanical and chemical agencies, is unconscious of a higher action in his own soul, who is not led by all finite powers to the Omnipotent, and who does not catch, in the order and beauty of the universe, some glimpses of spiritual perfection, stops at the very threshold of the temple of truth. Miserably narrow is the culture which confines the soul to matter, which turns it to the outward as to something nobler than itself. I fear the spirit of science at the present day is too often a degradation rather than the true culture of the soul. It is the bowing down of the heaven-born spirit before unthinking mechanism. It seeks knowledge rather for animal, transitory purposes, than for the nutriment of the imperishable inward life; and yet the worshippers of science pity or contemn the poor, because denied this means of cultivation. Unhappy poor! shut out from libraries, laboratories, and learned institutes! In view of this world's wisdom, it avails you nothing that your own nature, manifested in your own and other souls, that God's word and works, that the ocean, earth, and sky, are laid open to you; that you may acquaint yourselves with the Divine Perfections, with the character of Christ, with the duties of life, with the virtues, the generous sacrifices, and the beautiful and holy emotions, which are a revelation and pledge of heaven. All these are nothing, do not lift you to the rank of cultivated men, because the mysteries of the telescope and microscope, of the air-pump and crucible, are not revealed to you! I would they were revealed to you. I believe the time is coming when Christian benevolence will delight in spreading all truth and all refinements

through all ranks of society. But meanwhile be not discouraged. One ray of moral and religious truth is worth all the wisdom of the schools. One lesson from Christ will carry you higher than years of study under those who are too enlightened to follow this celestial guide.

My hearers, do not contemn the poor man for his ignorance. Has he seen the right? Has he felt the binding force of the everlasting moral law? Has the beauty of virtue, in any of its forms, been revealed to him? Then he has entered the highest school of wisdom. Then a light has dawned within him worth all the physical knowledge of all worlds. It almost moves me to indignation when I hear the student exalting his science, which at every step meets impenetrable darkness, above the idea of duty and above veneration for goodness and God. It is true, and ought to be understood, that outward nature, however tortured, probed, dissected, never reveals truths so sublime or precious as are wrapped up in the consciousness of the meanest individual, and laid open to every eye in the word of Christ.

I trust it will not be inferred from what I have said of the superiority of moral and religious culture to physical science, that the former requires or induces a neglect or disparagement of the latter. No; it is the friend of all truth, the enemy of none. It is propitious to intellect, and incites to the investigation of the laws and order of the universe. This view deserves a brief illustration, because an opposite opinion has sometimes prevailed, because reproach has sometimes been thrown on religious culture, as if it narrowed the mind and barred it against the lights of physical science. There cannot be a more groundless charge. Superstition contracts and darkens the mind; but that living faith in moral and religious truth, for which I contend as the highest culture of rich and poor, is in no respect narrow or exclusive. It does not fasten the mind for ever on a few barren doctrines. In proportion to its growth, it cherishes our whole nature, gives a wide range to thought, opens the intellect to the true, and the imagination to the beautiful. The great principles of moral and religious science are, above all others, fruitful, life-giving, and have intimate connections with all other truth. The love towards God and man, which is the centre in which they meet, is the very spirit of research into nature. It finds perpetual delight in tracing out the harmonies and vast and beneficent arrangements of creation, and inspires an interest in the works of the universal Father, more profound, intense, enduring, than philosophical curiosity. I conceive, too, that faith in moral and religious truth has strong affinities with the scientific spirit, and thus contributes to its perfection. Both, for example, have the same objects, — that is, universal truths. As another coincidence, I would observe that it is the highest prerogative of scientific genius to interpret obscure signs, to dart from faint hints to sublime discoveries, to read in a few fragments the history of vanished worlds and ages, to detect in the falling apple the law which rules the spheres. Now it is the property of moral and religious faith to see in the finite the manifestation of the Infinite, in the present the germ of the boundless future, in the visible the traces of the Incomprehensible Unseen, in the powers and wants of the soul its imperishable destiny. Such is the harmony between the religious and the philosophical spirit. It is to a higher moral and religious culture that I look for a higher interpretation of nature. The laws of nature, we must remember, had their origin in the mind of God. Of this they are the product, expression, and type; and I cannot but believe that the human mind which best understands, and which partakes most largely of the divine, has a power of interpreting nature which is accorded to no other. It has harmonies with the system which it is to unfold. It contains in itself the principles which gave birth to creation. As yet, science has hardly penetrated beneath the surface of nature. The principles of animal and vegetable life, of which all organized beings around us are but varied modifications, the forces which pervade or constitute matter, and the links between matter and mind, are as yet wrapped in darkness; and how little is known of the adaptations of the physical and the spiritual world to one another! Whence is light to break in on these depths of creative wisdom? I look for it to the spirit of philosophy,

baptized, hallowed, exalted, made piercing by a new culture of the moral and religious principles of the human soul. The topic opens before me as I advance. The superiority of moral and religious to all other culture is confirmed by a throng of arguments not yet touched. The peculiar wisdom which this culture gives, by revealing to us the end, the ultimate good of our being, which nothing else teaches; the peculiar power which it gives, power over ourselves, so superior to the most extensive sway over the outward universe; the necessity of moral and religious culture to make knowledge a blessing, to save it from being a curse; these are weighty considerations which press on my mind, but cannot be urged. They all go to show that the culture which the poor may receive is worth all others; that in sending among them religious and moral influences, you send the highest good of the universe.

My friends, I have now set before you the chief evils of the poor, and have shown you the greatness and dignity of the culture which is within their reach; and the great conviction which I wish by these views to carry home to every mind is, that we are solemnly bound to cherish and manifest a strong moral and religious interest in the poor, and to give them, as far as we have power, the means of moral and religious cultivation. Your sympathies with their bodily wants and pains I, of course, would not weaken. We must not neglect their bodies under pretence of caring for their souls; nor must we, on the other hand, imagine that, in providing for their outward wants, we have acquitted ourselves of all Christian obligations. To scatter from our abundance occasional alms is not enough; we must bring them to our minds as susceptible of deeper evils than hunger and cold, and as formed for higher good than food or the cheering flame. The love of Christ towards them should seem to us no extravagance, no blind enthusiasm, but a love due to human nature in all its forms. To look beyond the outward to the spiritual in man is the great distinction of Christian love. The soul of a fellow-creature must come out, if I may so say, and become more visible and prominent to us than his bodily frame. To see and estimate the spiritual nature of the poor is greater wisdom than to span earth or heaven. To elevate this is a greater work than to build cities. To give moral life to the fallen is a higher achievement than to raise the dead from their graves. Such is the philanthropy which characterizes our religion; and without this we can do little effectual good to the poor.

I am here teaching a difficult but great duty. To acquire and maintain an unaffected conviction of the superiority of the spiritual in man to every thing outward, is a hard task, especially to the prosperous, and yet among the most essential. In the poor man, walking through our streets with a haggard countenance and tottering step, we ought to see something greater than all the opulence and splendor which surround him. On this foundation of respect for every soul are built all social duties, and none can be thoroughly performed without it. On this point I feel that I use no swollen language. Words cannot exaggerate the worth of the soul. We have all felt, when looking above us into the atmosphere, that there was an infinity of space which we could not explore. When I look into man's spirit, and see there the germs of an immortal life, I feel more deeply that an infinity lies hid beyond what I see. In the idea of duty, which springs up in every human heart, I discern a law more sacred and boundless than gravitation, which binds the soul to a more glorious universe than that to which attraction binds the body, and which is to endure though the laws of physical nature pass away. Every moral sentiment, every intellectual action, is to me a hint, a prophetic sign, of a spiritual power to be expanded for ever, just as a faint ray from a distant star is significant of unimaginable splendor. And if this be true, is not a human being wronged, greatly wronged, who awakens in his fellow-creatures no moral concern, who receives from them no spiritual care?

It is the boast of our country that the civil and political rights of every human being are secured, — that impartial law watches alike over rich and poor. But man has other, and more important, than civil rights; and this is especially true of the poor. To him who owns nothing, what avails it that he lives in a country

where property is inviolable; or what mighty boon is it to him, that every citizen is eligible to office, when his condition is an insuperable bar to promotion? To the poor, as to all men, moral rights are most important; the right to be regarded according to their nature, to be regarded, not as animals or material instruments, but as men; the right to be esteemed and honored, according to their fidelity to the moral law; and their right to whatever aids their fellow-beings can offer for their improvement, for the growth of their highest powers. These rights are founded on the supremacy of the moral nature, and until they are recognized the poor are deeply wronged.

Our whole connection with the poor should tend to awaken in them the consciousness of their moral powers and responsibility, and to raise them in spirit and hope above their lot. They should be aided to know themselves, by the estimate we form of them. They should be rescued from self-contempt, by seeing others impressed with the great purpose of their being. We may call the poor unfortunate, but never call them low. If faithful to their light, they stand among the high. They have no superiors, but in those who follow a brighter, purer light; and to withhold from them respect, is to defraud their virtue of a support which is among the most sacred rights of man. Are they morally fallen and lost? They should still learn, in our unaffected concern, the worth of the fallen soul, and learn that nothing seems to us so fearful as its degradation.

This moral, spiritual interest in the poor, we should express and make effectual, by approaching them, by establishing an intercourse with them, as far as consists with other duties. We must live with them, not as another race, but as brethren. Our Christian principles must work a new miracle, must exorcise and expel the spirit of caste. The outward distinctions of life must seem to us not "a great gulf," but superficial lines, which the chances of a day may blot out, and which are broad only to the narrow-minded. How can the educated and improved communicate themselves to their less favored fellow-creatures but by coming near them? The strength, happiness, and true civilization of a community are determined by nothing more than by this fraternal union among all conditions of men. Without this, a civil war virtually rages in a state. For the sake of rich as well as poor, there should be a mutual interest binding them together; there should be but one caste, that of humanity.

To render this connection interesting and useful, we must value and cultivate the power of acting morally on the poor. There is no art so divine as that of reaching and quickening other minds. Do not tell me you are unequal to this task. What! call yourselves educated, and yet want power to approach and aid your unimproved fellow-creatures! Of what use is education, if it do not fit us to receive and give freely in our various social connections? How wasted has been our youth, if it has taught us only the dialect and manners of a select class, and not taught us the language of humanity, not taught us to mix with and act on the mass of our fellow-creatures! How far are you raised above the poor, if you cannot comprehend, guide, or sway them? The chief endowment of a social being — I mean the power of imparting what is true and good in your own souls — you have yet to learn. You cannot learn it too soon.

Yes, I call you to seek and use the power of speaking to the minds of the ignorant and poor, and especially of the poor child. Strive, each of you, to bring at least one human being to the happiness for which God made him. Awaken him to some inward moral activity; for on this, not on mere outward teaching, the improvement of rich and poor alike depends. Strive to raise him above the crushing necessities of the body, by turning him to the great, kindling purpose of his being. Show him that the fountain of all happiness is within us, and that this fountain may be opened alike in every soul. Show him how much virtue and peace he may gain by fidelity to his domestic relations; how much progress he may make by devout and resolute use of his best opportunities; what a near union he may form with God; how beneficent an influence he may exert in his narrow sphere; what heroism may be exercised amidst privations and pains; how suffering may be turned to glory; how heaven may begin in the most unprosperous condition on earth. Surely he who can carry such truths to any human being is

charged with a glorious mission from above.

In these remarks I have urged on all who hear me a personal interest in the moral well-being of the poor. I am aware, however, that many can devote but little personal care to this work. But what they cannot do themselves, they can do by others; and this I hold to be one of our most sacred duties as Christians. If we cannot often visit the poor ourselves, we may send those who are qualified to serve them better. We can support ministers to study and apply the means of enlightening, comforting, reforming, and saving the ignorant and depressed. Every man whom God has prospered is bound to contribute to this work. The Christian ministry is indeed a blessing to all, but above all to the poor. We, who have leisure and quiet homes, and can gather round us the teachers of all ages in their writings, can better dispense with the living teacher than the poor, who are unused to learn from books, and unaccustomed to mental effort, who can only learn through the eye and ear, through the kind look and the thrilling voice. Send them the ministers of God's truth and grace. And think not that this office may be filled by any who will take it. There are some, I know, perhaps not a few, who suppose the most common capacities equal to the Christian ministry in general, and who, of course, will incline to devolve the office of teaching the ignorant and destitute on men unfit for other vocations. Away with this disgraceful error! If there be an office worthy of angels, it is that of teaching Christian truth. The Son of God hallowed it, by sustaining it in his own person. All other labors sink before it. Royalty is impotence and a vulgar show, compared with the deep and quickening power which many a Christian teacher has exerted on the immortal soul. Profound intellect, creative genius, thrilling eloquence, can nowhere find such scope and excitement as in the study and communication of moral and religious truth, as in breathing into other minds the wisdom and love which were revealed in Jesus Christ; and the time will come when they will joyfully consecrate themselves to this as their true sphere. That the ministry of the poor may be sustained by a man wanting some qualifications for a common congregation, is true; but he needs no ordinary gifts, — a sound judgment, a clear mind, an insight into human nature, a spirit of patient research, the power of familiar and striking illustration of truth, a glowing heart, an unaffected self-devotion to the service of mankind. Such men we are bound to provide for the poor, if they can be secured. He who will not contribute to the moral and religious culture of the destitute is unworthy to live in Christendom. He deserves to be banished beyond the light which he will not spread. Let him deny his religion if he will; but to believe in it, and yet not seek to impart it to those who can receive no other treasure, is to cast contempt on its excellence, and to harden himself against the most sacred claims of humanity.

My friends, it is a cause of gratitude that so much has been done in this city to furnish such a ministry as now has been described. The poor, I believe, are provided for here as in no other place in our country. The Fraternity of Churches, which I address, have in their service three ministers for this work, and the number, it is expected, will be increased; and we all know that they have not labored in vain. Their good influence we cannot doubt. The cause has been signally prospered by God. Since the institution of this ministry, it has not only carried instruction, counsel, reproof, hope, and moral strength to multitudes who would otherwise have heard no encouraging voice, would have met no outward remembrances of Christian duty, — it has produced in other classes of society still more promising effects; it has produced a connection of the rich with the poor, a knowledge of their real state and wants, a sympathy with them, an interest in their well-being, which are the signs of a lasting improvement in society. This ministry has not been lifeless machinery. It has vitality, earnestness, force. It does not rest in a round of regular services, but seeks new means of reaching the poor. It particularly seeks to act on the children. Not content with gathering them in Sunday-schools, it forms congregations of them for wor-

ship, and adapts to them the ordinary services of the church, so as to fix attention and touch the heart. What an invaluable service to humanity! Formerly, these children, unprovided with the means of public worship, never guided by their parents to the house of prayer, wasted and worse than wasted the Sunday in the streets, and found or made this holy season a day of peculiar temptation and crime. Whilst the ministers of the poor are faithful to the adult, they give a special care to children, and through the child often reach the parent's heart. Through their efforts, the young who had been brought up to beg have often been sent to the public school or the Sunday-school, and in this way many a heedless foot, going down to ruin, has been turned to the path of duty. It is confidently stated that, since the establishment of this ministry a few years ago, street beggary has decreased, notwithstanding the rapid growth of our population. Happily, men of intelligence and noble hearts are willing to enter this field, and new laborers are needed. It is important that the ministers of the poor should extend their care beyond the most indigent, to that class from which the ranks of indigence are recruited, — I mean to that class of laborers who are hovering over the brink of poverty, who depend on each day's toil for each day's food, and whom a short sickness or deficiency of employment reduces to want. Among these, the degrading infidelity of our days finds many of its victims, and on this account they peculiarly need to be visited by Christian friendship and the light of truth. To connect these with regular congregations, and to incite them to contribute to the support of public worship some part of what they now too generally expend in pernicious indulgences, would be to render an essential service to morals and religion.

The work of a minister for the poor covers much ground, and it demands superior minds. This body of men are set apart, not only to act on individuals, but to study poverty in all its aspects, in its causes, its influences, its various shapes, its growth, and its decline, and thus to give light to the legislator and philanthropist in the great work of its prevention and cure. To me, this ministry is peculiarly interesting, regarded as the beginning of a series of operations for banishing from society its chief calamity and reproach, and for changing the face of the civilized and Christian world. I see in it the expression of a silently growing purpose, that Christian communities shall not always be deformed and disgraced by the presence of an ignorant, destitute, miserable horde; that in the bosom of civilization there shall no longer exist a more wretched, degraded portion of human beings than can be found in savage life. This horrible contrast of condition, which all large cities present, has existed too long. Shall it endure for ever? My friends, we all, as well as others, have hitherto been dreadfully insensible to this sorest evil under the sun. Long use has hardened us to it. We have lived comfortably, perhaps luxuriously, in our dwellings, whilst within a stone's throw were fellow-creatures, the children of our Father in heaven, as nobly born and gifted as ourselves, in whose countenances might be read brutal ignorance, hopeless misery, and degrading vice. We have passed them in the street, not only without a tear but without a thought. Oh, how seldom has a pang shot through our hearts at the sight of our ruined fellow-creatures! Shall this insensibility continue for ever? Shall not a new love succeed to this iron hardness of heart? Do not call the evil remediless. Sure I am, that at this moment there is enough of piety, philanthropy, and moral power in this community to work deep changes in the poorer classes, could these energies, now scattered and slumbering, be brought to bear wisely and perseveringly on the task. Shall we decline this work? If so, we decline the noblest labor of philanthropy. If so, we must suffer, and we ought to suffer. Society ought to be troubled, to be shaken, yea convulsed, until its solemn debt to the ignorant and poor be paid. Poor there will be, but they need not, must not, exist as a degraded, hopeless caste. They need not, must not, be cut off from the brotherhood of humanity. Their children must not be left to inherit and propagate their crimes and woes. To put an end to such a class is the

highest office of Christian philanthropy. Do you ask how it is to be done? I answer, Christianity has wrought mighty revolutions, and in these we have an earnest of what it is able and destined to accomplish. Let us bring this into new contact with the poor. Let us send forth men, imbued with its spirit, to preach it to the poor, and still more to study poverty in all its forms, that the moral pestilence which has so long ravaged the Christian world may at last be stayed.

I now see before me the representatives of several congregations of this city, which have united to support the ministry for the poor. Thanks to God for this manifestation of the spirit and power of Christianity. This connection, framed only for purposes of Christian philanthropy, looking only to the spiritual relief of our depressed fellow-creatures, and incapable of being perverted to the accumulation of ecclesiastical power, is the happiest means which could be devised to bring our churches into stronger sympathy and closer friendship, without infringing, in the smallest degree, that principle of independence or self-government on which they are built. Is it not a plain truth, that every Christian congregation, besides providing for its own spiritual wants, is bound to devote itself to the general cause of Christianity, and to provide for spreading its own light and privileges to the destitute? By this fraternity we are discharging, in part, this sacred obligation. May it be sustained with increasing zeal, with unshaken faith, with glorious success!

My friends, is it necessary that I should urge you to contribute of your substance to the work which has now been laid before you? I am speaking to the prosperous. Let the Goodness which has prospered you teach you the spirit in which your wealth or competence should be used. What is the true use of prosperity? Not to minister to self-indulgence and ostentation: not to widen the space between you and the less prosperous: not to multiply signs of superior rank; not to raise us to an eminence, whence we may look down on the multitude as an inferior race; but to multiply our bonds of union with our fellow-creatures, to spread our sympathies far and wide, to give us nobler spheres of action, to make us more eminently the delegates and representatives of divine beneficence. What is the true use of increasing wealth in a city? It is not that more magnificent structures should be reared, but that our dwellings should be inhabited by a more intelligent and virtuous people: that institutions for awakening intellectual and moral life should be brought to bear on the whole community; that the individual may be carried forward to his true happiness and perfection; that society may be bound together by stronger and purer bonds, and that the rigid laws of earthly governments may be more and more superseded by the law of love. Without such influences, wealth is turned into a snare and curse. If, indeed, our prosperity is to be used to spread luxurious and selfish modes of life, to form a frivolous class of fashion, to produce more striking contrasts between unfeeling opulence and abject penury, to corrupt manners and harden the heart, better were it for us that, by the just judgment of God, it should be sunk into the depths of the sea. It avails little that intercourse is more polished, and a new grace is thrown over life. The simple question is, Do we better understand and more strongly feel our relations to God and to our fellow-creatures? Without this, our boasted civilization is a whited sepulchre, fair to the eye, but inwardly "full of dead men's bones and all uncleanness." — But I cannot end this discourse with the voice of warning. You deserve to hear the voice of encouragement and hope. One good work you are carrying on, as this anniversary testifies. One institution for instructing the ignorant and raising up the fallen, you have sustained. Let it not fall. Extend and strengthen it. Make it permanent. Bind it up with the institutions which you support for your own religious improvement. Transmit it to your children. Let your children learn, from this your example, to take part in the cause of Christ, of prophets and apostles, of holy men of all ages, in the work of regenerating society, and of extending to the whole human family the light and blessings of the Christian faith.

ON PREACHING THE GOSPEL TO THE POOR:

Charge at the Ordination of Charles F. Barnard and Frederick T. Gray, as Ministers at Large, in Boston.

You have now been set apart to the Christian ministry, according to the rites of the Congregational Church. A principal design of these is to impress you with the importance and responsibleness of your office. That this impression may be strengthened, and that the duties now imposed on you may be brought distinctly to your minds, I have been appointed by the Council, here convened, to deliver to you the usual Charge. From the various topics which naturally occur to me on this occasion, I can select but a few. For full instruction in your sacred calling, I refer you to the Scriptures, to the example of Christ, the first and only perfect teacher of his religion, to the labors and sufferings of the Apostles, and to the precepts relating to the ministry scattered through their writings. These are able "to furnish you unto every good work, and to make you wise unto salvation."

Preaching and private intercourse with the poor are henceforth to be the labors of your lives. First, you are to preach; and in performing this office, let me exhort you to the scrupulous observance of a plain but often neglected precept. It is this, reverence truth. Preach what approves itself clearly to your own minds as true, and preach nothing else. Teach nothing because others teach it. Inculcate nothing about which you have doubts, because expected to inculcate it. Speak from no human master, from no human creed. Speak from your own calm convictions, and from nothing else. Do not use stronger language than your own minds warrant, for the sake of making greater impression. Do not seek the reputation of eloquence, by assuming a bold, confident tone, which exceeds your private belief. Exaggerate nothing. Paint nothing beyond the life. Be true, — the hardest lesson to the minister. Preach nothing, however gratifying to the imagination or the heart, which cannot stand the scrutiny of the deliberate judgment. Distort no truth for the sake of effect. Never hope to make the sword of the spirit more powerful by any human alloy. I have said, beware of exaggeration. Beware also of the opposite vice, of softening down, diluting, obscuring the truth, till its power and pungency are gone, in order to accommodate it to the prejudices and passions of men. No man is fit to preach who is not ready to be a martyr to truth. We indeed recommend to you prudence; but the great office of prudence is not to disfigure or conceal the truth, but to secure it against misapprehension, and to place it before men's minds in the light which will probably gain for it the readiest reception. Be prudent for the truth's sake, not for your own sake, not for the sake of popularity, not from weakness or timidity. Be cautious lest you be over-cautious. Fear to stifle any great truth. Let your preaching be the frank expression of the workings and convictions of your own minds. There is a peculiar freshness, charm, energy, in perfect sincerity. The preaching which manifests a profound reverence for truth, which is seen and felt to spring from an inward fountain, which reveals the real and whole mind of the speaker, wins confidence, and works conviction, far more than the most vehement outpourings of imagination and passion.

I have said, preach what approves itself to your own minds as true, and nothing else. I now say, preach it in your own style. Give it forth in the form to which your own minds prompt you. Be not imitators. Be not anxious to wield other men's weapons. Do not think that the mode of preaching which is effectual in another will there-

tore succeed in you. You surely would not mimic his tones, because they penetrate his hearers. Look at subjects with your own eyes. Utter them in your own words. Be yourselves. Be natural. There is no other road to the human heart.

Would you be increasingly useful? Then be just to your own minds. Let them act freely. Form yourselves from within more than from without. You ought, indeed, to seek benefit by hearing other preachers; but be benefited through sympathy, and by catching from them generous impulses, and not by making them models. So you must read what others have written; but read, that the action of other minds may awaken your own intellectual activity, and not be a substitute for it. Listen in the first place to the whispers of truth in your own souls, and prize them more than the teachings of your fellow-creatures. Whenever you catch a new glimpse of God's character, of human nature, of human perfection, of life, of futurity, of the Christian spirit: whenever a familiar truth rises before you in a new aspect; whenever a new principle dawns on you from a number of facts, which had before lain without connection in your minds; whenever a sentence in a human work, or a text of Scripture, reveals to you, as by a flash, some depths in your own souls, or scatters suddenly the mist which had before hung over some important doctrine; whenever a new light of this kind gleams on you, prize it more than volumes or libraries. Feel that a higher teacher than man has approached you. Pray to the Father of lights that this new ray may brighten within you. It is by this welcome to truth, springing up in our own souls, that we are to grow in energy of thought and feeling; and growth is the great condition of increasing usefulness. We charge you, then, to be just and generous to your own minds. Cherish every divine inspiration. Be no man's slaves. Seek truth for yourselves. Speak it from yourselves. Speak it in your own natural tones. You, of course, desire to avoid the greatest of all defects in a preacher, — that of being tame and dull; and your security from this is to be found, not in starts and exclamations, not in noise and gesture, not in the commonplaces of passion, but in keeping your minds and hearts in free and powerful action. This inward life will give life to style and delivery, and nothing else will. This is the only secret of eloquence. Eloquence is not a trick of words. It is the utterance of great truths, so clearly discerned, so deeply felt, so bright, so burning, that they cannot be confined, that they create for themselves a style and manner which carry them far into other souls; and of this eloquence there is but one fount, and that is inward life, force of thought, force of feeling.

Perhaps it may be said that these remarks apply little to ministers of the poor; that the poor are as children; and that little spiritual energy is required for their instruction. We charge you, my friends, to beware of this common error. Do not dishonor your high calling by supposing it to require little force of thought and feeling. The poor are generally ignorant, but in some respects they are better critics than the rich, and make greater demands on their teachers. A congregation of the more affluent and educated can be satisfied with proprieties of style and manner, can be held together by local attachment, by the elegance or fashionableness of the edifice in which it worships, or by the strong bonds of a creed or sect. The poor care for none of these things. Proprieties of style and manner, local feeling, fashion, show, or sectarian zeal are not attractions to them. They can only be brought and held together by a preaching which fastens their attention, or pierces their consciences, or moves their hearts. They are no critics of words, but they know when they are touched or roused, and by this test — a far truer one than you find in fastidious congregations — they judge the minister, and determine whether to follow or forsake him. The duty of preaching to the poor is accordingly a difficult one. Their minister has much to learn, and, what is harder, much to forget. He must forget the modes of address under which he was himself educated. He is to speak to those who cannot find a meaning in the vague language which he has generally heard from the pulpit. He must find a new tongue. He must reach the understanding through the imagination and the heart. He must look, not upon

his notes, but into the eyes of his hearers. He must appeal to the simple, universal principles of human nature. There must be a directness, freedom, earnestness of manner, which are not required in the church of more refined worshippers. To accomplish all this, books will do him little good. His best study is the poor man's narrow room. His best teacher is a keen observation of the workings of the poor man's heart, of his passions, perils, and spiritual wants. We charge you to beware of aiming to resemble ministers in other situations. You must invent modes of action for yourselves. You must make a new path. Cultivate by perpetual practice the power of extemporaneous address. Take your texts, as your Master did, from scenes, events, objects which are pressing on the notice of your hearers. Find your way to their minds and hearts. Be any thing but formal and mechanical. Better forsake your ministry than make it a monotonous repetition of the common modes of teaching and action.

But preaching is not your whole or chief work. Private intercourse is to you a more important instrument than the pulpit. You must not wait for the poor in the church. Go to them in their houses. Go where no other will go. Let no squalidness, or misery, or crime, repel you. Seek the friendless, the forsaken, the desponding, the lost. Penetrate the depths of poverty, the haunts of intemperance, the strongholds of sin. Feel an attraction in what others shun, in the bleak room open to the winter's wind, in the wasted form and the haggard countenance, in the very degradation of your race. Go where suffering and guilt summon you; and what weapon shall you take with you for this contest with physical and moral evil? You will be told to arm yourselves with caution, to beware of deception, to take the shield of prudence, and to put on the breastplate of distrust; and this lesson is indeed important; but prudence and caution are only defensive armor. They will be security to yourselves; they give no power over misery, poverty, and vice. That power is to be found in a higher principle; and take heed lest this be quenched by that distrust in which you will be so plentifully instructed. The only power to oppose to evil is love, — strong, enduring love, — a benevolence which no crime or wretchedness can conquer, and which therefore can conquer all. Miserable indeed will be your office, if this spirit do not possess you, if a deep sympathy with your suffering fellow-creatures do not compel you, as it were, to seek their abodes, and do not identify you with them. Nothing but Christ's spirit, that which carried him to his cross, can carry you through your work. Go, then, with his love; and it will be mightier than the sword of the magistrate, or the armies of monarchs, to conquer evil. It will touch the heart which has hardened itself against all other influences. It will pierce the conscience which is impregnable against the most vehement rebuke. It will say to the reckless transgressor, in the only language he can understand, that he is not an outcast from his race; and it will reveal to the desponding sufferer a love higher than your own, and bring back his lost faith in God. Love gives a new tongue, — the only one which all men can comprehend. But by this I mean something more than the common kindness of the world. I mean the spirit of Christ and his Apostles, a love not born on the earth, but which came from heaven in the person of the Saviour, and is only to be nourished by communion with heaven. Seek it as your chief power. Guard it against the contagion of the spirit of this world. Cherish it by meditation and prayer, by intimacy with Christ and his true disciples, and by perpetual exercise in your intercourse with the poor.

You must love the poor; you must also respect them; and, in truth, respect is the very soul of the love which I have enjoined. Honor the poor man. Let not his poverty for a moment hide you from his participation of your own nature and of the divine image. Never let the man be lost in the beggar. If you have not power to penetrate to the spirit within him, and to reverence that divine principle more than all outward magnificence, you are unfit for your office. If there seem to you exaggeration, or a false sentimentality, in the language which pronounces the soul of one poor man worth more than the wealth of worlds, or than all material nature, then you want the spirit of your function, and cannot lay it aside too soon. Go to the poor, to awaken in them the consciousness of their relation to God, and of

their immortality. Do not go as the representatives of the richer classes, to keep them in order; but go in the name of Christians, to make them partakers of the highest distinctions and blessings in which any of us rejoice. Carry to them the gospel, not for purposes of worldly policy, but as a life-giving truth, imparted by God to lift them above all worldly greatness, to subject them to a nobler law than that of the state, to make them citizens of heaven. Present religion to them in a generous form. Carry to them the very truths you would bear to the most prosperous and enlightened. Stir up the poor man to be active for his own improvement, and teach him that the power of improvement is communicated to him as liberally as to his prosperous neighbor. Because he is poor, do not think that he is put into your hands as a passive material, to be shaped at your pleasure. Remember that he is as free as yourselves, and can only be carried forward by a spring of improvement in his own soul. The work of his salvation you cannot do for him. Awaken him to strive, watch, and pray for himself. Do not depress him. Do not, through a false sympathy, speak discouragingly of his condition. Show him that in his poverty he still has God's best gifts, — an immortal soul, and the means of its redemption and glory. Show him how much can be done for human nature in the humblest lot. Teach him that his condition has all the elements of virtue and of the only durable happiness; that suffering may be the occasion and incitement of fervent prayer, filial trust, and fervent fortitude; that the dews of God's spirit descend alike on rich and poor; that every grace may strike root in the soil of penury, and may gain strength from life's storms: that, like the poor widow in the gospel, he can give even more generously, can be more charitable in the sight of God, than the richest of his race; and that even greatness is within his reach, for greatness lies not in what is outwardly done, but in strength of love and holy purpose put forth under sore temptation. Beware of depressing or degrading the poor, by giving them a low form of religion, or low views of their lot. Christ has pronounced blessings on them, and help them to put faith in his life-giving words.

There is one particular on which I cannot forbear speaking. Would you promote the present as well as future happiness of the poor? Then labor much, let it be a leading aim, to cherish among them the domestic and benevolent affections. Whoever knows the poor, must know how greatly the aspect of their abodes would be changed, and what a large proportion of their sufferings would be removed, by the substitution of a true love for selfishness, passion, and envy, for unkind words and unkind deeds. Open within them the fountain of kindness. Urge on them Christianity as a spring of disinterested and tender affection. Teach the poor that we who are prosperous find our chief earthly happiness in our domestic and other social bonds, and not in wealth; and that without love magnificence is a vain show, and the palace embosoms less peace than many a hovel. I insist on this, because it is the common doctrine of the day, that the poor are to be raised by being taught to save, to hoard, to economize their scanty earnings. By all means teach prudence, but do not make the poor anxious, selfish, sordid. Teach prudence; but still more teach love; and so doing you will teach economy. Inspire the poor with strong and tender affections towards their families and fellow-creatures, and they will deny themselves, and practise thrift with a cheerfulness and fidelity, not often learned from the maxims of worldly wisdom.

I must not enlarge more on particular duties. In general, I would say to you, Honor your work. Think of it reverently. I use no exaggeration when I give it a place among the most important labors of the times; for it bears on the very evil from which the social state has most to fear. We are accustomed to speak of the improvement of society; but its progress has been attended with one disastrous circumstance, which at times almost makes us doubt whether the good has not been too dearly bought. I refer to the fact that the elevation of one part of the community has been accompanied with the depression of another. Society has not gone forward as a whole. By the side of splendid dwellings you descry the abodes of squalid poverty; and within the city walls, which enclose the educated and

refined, you may meet a half-civilized horde, given up to deeper degradation than the inhabitants of the wilderness. In England, the country advanced above all others in agriculture, manufactures, refinement, and literary institutions, are miserable multitudes, degraded by dependence, uninstructed even in the being of a God, and dying of want before their time; and such is the tendency of modern civilization through the world. Society is not only disfigured but endangered by the poverty, and ignorance, and vice of a multitude of its members; and its security and happiness demand nothing so imperiously as that this wretched mass should be enlightened, elevated, redeemed. Here is the chief sphere for philanthropy. Inequalities of property must indeed exist. But can it be necessary that multitudes of human beings should writhe under wants and hardships which palsy and almost extinguish their spiritual and moral power? This greatest social evil is beginning to arrest the attention of the statesman as well as of the philanthropist and Christian. A louder and louder cry is beginning to break forth through the civilized world for a social reform which shall reach the most depressed ranks of the community. I see and rejoice to see in your office, my friends, a sign of this new movement, an earnest of this grand and holy revolution. I see in it a recognition of the right of every human being to the means of spiritual development, of moral and intellectual life. This is the most sacred right of humanity. Blessed are our eyes which see the day of its recognition. Feel, then, that you are consecrated to the greatest work of your age; and feel that you will be sustained in it by the prayers and zeal of our churches and their pastors. If, indeed, *your* ministry for the poor should be suffered to decline and fail, it would be a melancholy proof that *our* ministry for the rich is of little avail. If in this age, when the improvement of society is the theme even of the unbeliever; if, with every help from the spirit of the times, we, the pastors of these churches, cannot awaken in them a sensibility to the intellectual and moral wants of multitudes around them, cannot carry home to their consciences and hearts the duty of raising up their depressed fellow-creatures, of imparting Christian light, strength, and comfort to the ignorant and poor, then it is time that we should give up our pulpits to others who will better understand and inculcate the spirit of Christ and his Apostles. It is time that our lips should be closed, if we can do nothing towards breathing into men the peculiar benevolence of the gospel, — a benevolence which feels for, and seeks to elevate and save, the human soul. It is time, too, that as a class of Christians we should disappear, if we will not take our part in the great work of regenerating society. It is the order of nature that the dead should be buried; and the sooner a dead, lifeless, soulless sect is buried and forgotten the better. But, my friends, I cannot fear that you will be abandoned. Christian love, I trust, has called you to this work, and will cheer and strengthen you in your heavenly mission.

Go forth, then, my friends, with a confiding spirit. Go forth in the strength of faith, hope, and charity. Go forth to increase the holiness of earth and the happiness of heaven. Go to the dark alleys and the darker dwellings of the poor. Go in the spirit of that God to whom the soul of the poor man is as precious as your own. Go in the spirit of him who for our sakes was poor, and had not where to lay his head. Go in reliance on that omnipotent grace which can raise up the most fallen, cleanse the most polluted, enrich the poorest with more than royal wealth, console the deepest sorrows, and sanctify the sorest trials of life. Go cheerfully, for into the darkest dwellings you carry the light of life. And think not that you alone visit these humble habitations. God is there, — Christ is there, — angels are there. Feel their presence; breathe their love; and through your wise, unwearied, effectual labors, may the poor man's dwelling become a consecrated place, the abode of love, "the house of God and the gate of heaven!"

CHARGE FOR THE ORDINATION OF MR. ROBERT C. WATERSTON, AS MINISTER AT LARGE,

November 24, 1839.

[The following Charge, although prepared for the occasion, was not delivered, on account of the Author's state of health.]

MY YOUNG FRIEND AND BROTHER,— The Council here assembled for your ordination have assigned me the office of giving you the Charge; and I perform this work the more cheerfully, because of the relation which has long subsisted between you and myself. You have grown up from childhood under my ministry, and you have given me reason to believe that impressions received in the church where you have worshipped have, in concurrence with other causes, led you to this consecration of yourself to the pastoral office. Another consideration, which renders this occasion still more interesting, is, that you seem now to be placed, by a kind Providence, in the sphere for which you are particularly fitted, and in which all your faculties and affections may be expected to act and unfold freely, cheerfully, vigorously, and beneficially to yourself and others. I remember how, long ago, you felt the attraction of this ministry; how a thirst for it followed you to your place of business, and overcame the spirit of gain; and how patiently you have labored to furnish yourself thoroughly for the work. These are good auguries, and they shed a bright hope over these solemnities. Listen now, my brother, to a few counsels which may help you to fulfil our hopes. Many topics, belonging to this occasion, I formerly enlarged upon, in the Charge given to your predecessor, to which I refer you. There are others, then omitted or slightly touched upon, to which I now ask attention.

You are now set apart to be a Minister at Large. This is the distinction of your office. Whilst other ministers gather worshippers into their churches from all the conditions of life, you expect to labor chiefly among the less prosperous, the destitute. It may be thought, at first, that this peculiarity must make a wide distinction between your office and the common ministry; that it must demand almost a totally different style of preaching; that all your labors must take a hue and impress from the condition of those whom you teach. I counsel you not to be misled by this natural impression. I see no great distinction between you and other ministers. I advise you to bring habitually to your mind, not the outward condition of men, but their spiritual nature, their participation of that "divine humanity" which is the only wealth of rich or poor. The distinction of rich and poor, what is it in the eye of reason? And what should it be to the Christian teacher? It does not penetrate the skin, but is a distinction of clothes, fuel, meat, and drink. During life, it avails little or nothing against pain, illness, bereavement. Death turns it to utter scorn. The costliest winding-sheet, the most splendid coffin, cannot shut out the worm or protect against the humiliation of the tomb. In the next world, how often will present distinctions be reversed! The first will be last; the last first. It belongs, then, to the Christian teacher to look through, and for the most part to forget, outward distinctions. To the Christian teacher all men of all ranks are much the same; all rational, spiritual, immortal; all stained with guilt; all needing to be born again. Undoubtedly he is to adapt himself to differences of age and education. But in all there is the same human heart; in all the same deep wants, the same chords to be touched, the same mighty obstacles to purity to be overcome. They all need essentially the same truths, though modified slightly as to phraseology and form.

There are not different gospels for different conditions of men; but one and the same truth for all; just as the same sun sheds the same beams into every human dwelling, and is equally needed and equally welcome wherever he shines.

I would not have any class habitually addressed with reference to outward condition. It is a great object in all preaching, no matter to whom addressed, to raise the hearer above his outward condition, to make it seem as nothing to him in comparison with his immortal spirit and his inward wants. The poor should be spoken to as men, and as standing on the same ground with all other men. They are not to be condoled with as objects of peculiar commiseration, but addressed as those who have the essential goods of life, who may do its great work, and win its highest prize. The deepest vice of our present civilization is, that we count the distinction between wealth and poverty the greatest on earth. Do you show that you count it as nothing.

My brother, look on your hearers as children and heirs of God; and remember that your work is to call out and to build up the divine nature within them; and let such thoughts give you a consciousness of the dignity of your office. Do not measure this by the outward condition of those to whom you preach. Measure it by their souls, and feel that these are the equals of the most favored in outward lot. Some of the community undoubtedly think of you as having little more to do than to aid in keeping order in the city. You look infinitely above the order of the city, though that in its right place is not to be despised. Your function is to bring men to obey, not the laws of the land, but the eternal, immutable, celestial law of righteousness; not to make them quiet citizens, but members of the universal kingdom of God. It is in seeking this highest end that you will secure the lower. Religion only serves the state when it is infinitely exalted above the state, and taught and cherished for its own peerless worth. Nothing has so stripped Christianity of its power as the conversion of it into a state machine, as the polluting touch of the politician, who has caused it to be preached to the lower ranks, and to be professed by the higher, in order that the old polity, with its inveterate abuses, may stand fast, and that the accumulation of property in a few hands may be undisturbed. Religion, taught for such ends, is among the worst foes of social progress. It loses its vitality; it paralyzes the intellect; it strives to crush by persecution or disabilities those who would restore its primitive purity, or unfold more distinctly its higher truths; it teaches pretence to the great, and breathes servility into the multitude whom it ought especially to imbue with nobleness of mind. You, my young friend, have learned that religion has a higher work to accomplish than that of police; that its aim is to bring the individual, be his rank what it may, to a comprehension of his relation to the Infinite Father and the everlasting world, and to inspire him with disinterested love of God and man; and that in this way alone it makes good citizens, tender and faithful husbands and wives, parents and children, brothers and sisters, neighbors and friends.

In these remarks I do not mean that you are never to allude to outward distinctions. The poor have peculiar difficulties; but they must never be left to imagine that they have all the difficulties of life. Their burden is heavy, but there are still heavier on earth; and the same high truths are needed to sustain all the suffering children of humanity. So they have peculiar temptations; and yet, temptations to the very vices which abound most among the poor are exceedingly powerful among the more prosperous. The poor, it is said, are peculiarly incited by their condition to envy; and yet are we sure that there is less envy among the rich, that there are fewer jealousies and heartburnings growing out of competitions and neglects in fashionable life, than spring from indigence? I am not sure that there is more discontent among the needy than among those who abound. I incline to think that, on the whole, there is among the latter less submission to God's providence; and for this plain reason, that success and abundance increase self-will. You must not, therefore, preach to your congregation as if they monopolized any vice; but speak to all as partakers of the universal corruption. Never expect to reclaim men from a vice by singling them out for denunciation; but by addressing to them those solemn truths and motives which are to stir up all men to resist moral evil.

The sum of what I have now said is,

do nothing to discourage your hearers. If cheering, animating language is to be used anywhere, it is among the poor. As a minister of Christ, you are to encourage. Unhappily the gospel is too often used to break men's spirits. The gospel, as too often preached, instead of being glad tidings, is the saddest news ever told on earth. From your lips may it raise the dispirited to effort, and reveal to the indigent their boundless wealth!

At the beginning of this ministry, it was thought that its chief benefit would come from visiting; and little comparatively was expected from the pulpit. Experience, however, has proved that public preaching is a powerful instrument for the moral recovery of the poor. The multitudes who throng the Chapel where you are to labor, and who devour with earnest attention the words of the minister, indicate that this is a sphere of action to which you are to devote much of your energies. You must labor to perfect yourself as a preacher. I say to perfect yourself; for you will do little unless you aim at perfection. I might, had I time, repeat many exhortations as to preaching; but two short rules may suffice you. They are these: Preach the truth, and preach it *as* the truth.

First; Preach the truth, and for this end you must seek and get it; and this is among the hardest labors of life. To see things as they are, to see them through a clear, uncolored medium, to strip them of every disguise, to put to silence our own passions and prejudices, to resist the intolerance, the servility, the established errors and earthly modes of thought, the arrogant pretensions and the nervous fears of the multitude around us, and, amidst all these hindrances and obscurations, to discern the truth in its simplicity and majesty, — this is a labor which turns to sport the toil of the hands and the sweat of the brow; and to hold fast this truth openly, fearlessly, amidst outcry, scorn, desertion, persecution, is a heroism before which the exploits of conquerors grow vulgar and tame.

It is a common notion that it is no great task to acquire religious truths in a country which enjoys, as we do, a revelation from God. The revelation is thought to save us the trouble of research, — to do our work for us. But this is a great error. You should learn that the very familiarity of a revelation hides its truths from us, or is an obstacle to clear comprehension. Abstract words, continually sounded in our ears, lose their meaning and force, and are among the last words which we really understand. The language of Christianity, which has come down from distant ages: which in every age has received a coloring from prevalent errors, passions, and corruptions; on which men of different conditions, interest, feelings, and mental powers, have fastened different interpretations; which we heard before we could think, and to which we attached the narrow, earthly conceptions of the opening intellect; this language it is an immense toil to divest of all false associations, and to restore to its original significance. Add to this the difficulty which springs from the refined, spiritual, sublime character of moral and religious truth, and you will learn what you must do to seize this pearl of great price. What a work is it to form a true idea of God; to separate from Him all material forms and attributes, all human passions and human limitations! How hard to separate from Him all self-reference and arbitrariness, all love of rule, of homage, and kingly power! How hard to contemplate Him as calm, unimpassioned reason; as impartial, disinterested, all-comprehending love; as having no will but the everlasting law of righteousness; as having no favorites; as the ever-present inspirer and judge of every soul! How hard to look through the multiplied forces and agencies of the universe, to one central, all-pervading Power; beyond the endless mutations and conflicts of human life to one unchangeable, all-reconciling Wisdom! The true idea of God, that highest thought of angels, demands for its development the study of a life. How hard, too, is it to attain to the true idea of Christian duty; to purify this from all debasing mixtures; to keep it from being stained by the sophistry of the passions, by the interpretations of theologians, by the moral standard of our age, by the spirit and practice of the world and the church! How hard, again, to attain to the true idea of a man; to discern the greatness of our nature, and its affinity with God, amidst its present ruins; to comprehend it as revealed in the character and life of Christ!

My brother, do not think that you

know the truth because you are familiar with the words which envelop it. I repeat it, the very commonness of Christianity throws over it a mist not easily penetrated. You have to break the spell of habit, the spell of mental associations stronger than adamant. You must put forth more force of thought on the religion, because it is so familiar. A true faith is as hard an attainment now as in the first age of Christianity. A revelation is not given to deliver us from the toil of seeking truth. This is the great work of every rational being, especially the great work of him who aspires to be a teacher. Thirst for the truth. Study, inquire, and pray for it. Welcome it from whatever quarter it may shine. Be willing to pay for it the price of ease, honor, life. Of all crimes, dread none more than that of shutting out God's light from your mind.

But it is not enough to get the truth; you must preach it *as* the truth. Christianity is often preached as false, or at least as a matter of doubt. God, Christ, duty, immortality, the soul, its greatness, its destiny, — these are spoken of as vague rumors which the teacher has chanced to hear, and not as realities; not as what he knows; not as matters of deliberate and deep conviction. Preaching is too often traditional, conventional, professional, the repetition of what is expected, of what it is the custom to say; not the free, natural utterance of persuasion, of experience, of truths which have a substantial being within our souls. Undoubtedly the hearer is culpable for remaining dead under the light of God's word; but how often does the want of life in the teacher put down the life of the taught! Do you ask me, how you may come to feel the reality of the spiritual truth you are to dispense? I answer, do not hope to accomplish this end by the methods commonly used by fanatics: that is, by inflaming the imagination; by representing to yourself, in material forms, God, heaven, hell, the suffering of Christ; or by applying perpetual stimulants to the passions. You must unite the forces of the intellect, the heart, and the life, and bring them all to bear on this great end. You must accustom yourself to concentrate thought on the truth which you have gained; you must cultivate the hard but necessary art of meditation; and must exalt meditation into prayer to the Father of light for his quickening spirit. Nor is this all. You must inwardly and outwardly live up to the truth. You must strive against those appetites and passions which cloud the inward eye and shut the inward ear. You must be true without compromise to your convictions of duty. You must cherish and express disinterested affection. It is only by this joint and vigorous action of the moral and intellectual nature that spiritual vision becomes clear; that the spiritual world is opened to us; that God, and duty, and immortality come forth from the clouds which ordinarily envelop them into clear and beautiful light; that God's spirit becomes a distinct voice in the soul. You cannot labor too devoutly that the religion which you preach may become thus real to you, may live in your understanding and heart. Without this, preaching is a tinkling cymbal, a vain show. Without it, there may be prodigies of theological learning. Without it, there may be eloquent declaimers, much admired and run after. But they work on the surface only. They show themselves, not the truth. They may excite transient emotions, but do not strike the deep fountains of thought and feeling in the human soul. He, alone, within whom Christian truth is a living, substantial presence, can give it forth in fresh, genial, natural, quickening tones. Covet, as the minister's best gift, the divine art of speaking the truth as truth. Do not speak as a machine, an echo, but from a living soul.

So important do I hold it to speak the truth, as truth, that, were I able, I would describe more particularly this style of preaching. But words do little to make it intelligible. I might say, that the truth-preacher is free from all artifices and affectation of style and manner; that he is distinguished by simplicity, earnestness, naturalness, freedom. But your own observation and consciousness can alone explain to you the characteristics of that truth in preaching which all feel, though none can describe. I would observe, however, that all who are distinguished by this style bear one mark. They preach with faith, hope, confidence. Truth, when seen as a reality, always breathes faith and trust. Doubt and despondence

belong to error or superficial views. Truth is of God, and is bright with promise of that infinite good which all his perfections make sure to his creation. God's supreme interest and joy in moral excellence; the immutable glory and the omnipotence of rectitude and disinterested love; and the utter feebleness of human passion and prejudice, of sects and armies, of opinion and physical force, when arrayed against the cause of holiness, of Christ, of God, — these are among the clearest manifestations of truth, and indeed its very essence; and, of consequence, he who knows the truth must be strong in faith, must tread doubt and fear under foot, and must speak with the energy of a living hope. One great reason of the inefficacy of the ministry is, the want of faith in a higher operation of Christianity, in a higher development of humanity, than is now witnessed. As long as the present wretched condition of the Christian world shall be regarded as ultimate; as long as our religion shall be thought to have done already its chief work on earth; as long as the present corruptions of the church and the state shall be acquiesced in as laws of nature, and shall stir up no deep, agonizing desire of reform, so long the ministry will be comparatively dead.

My brother, may you receive from Christ and his disciples this glorious inheritance, a spirit of faith! May you read every truth of the gospel with a prophet's eye, and see in it the promise of that new spiritual creation which Christ came to accomplish on earth! May you discover in God's attributes, in the perfection of the Saviour, in the virtues of eminent men, and in the workings and aspirations of your own soul, pledges, omens, predictions of a higher state of the church and of humanity! This is indeed to know the truth, and this is the knowledge which gives power to preaching. Alas for that community, civil or religious, which binds itself to the past, and has no faith in a higher futurity! That community which ceases to grow, begins to decay. In losing hope, it loses the breath of life. Where there is no faith there is no courage, and, of consequence, no victory over evil. You, in particular, will need faith; for you will have continually to do with what is to many minds full of discouragement, — I mean with pauperism, that dark cloud which hangs ominously over our modern civilization. But fear not. Study this great social evil, its causes, its prevention, its cure, with full confidence that in society, as in the natural body, there is a healing power, and that no evil is desperate except despair.

Had I time, I might suggest several rules or cautions particularly needed in such a ministry as yours. I will offer but one or two suggestions. In one important respect your work is to differ from the common ministry, — that is, in the distribution of your time. Your life is to be spent, not in retired study, but very much in visits from house to house; and this has its advantages. It will bring you near to the poor, awaken your sympathies with them, acquaint you with their wants, and give them a confidence in your attachment which will open their hearts to your public instructions. But it has, too, its disadvantages. There is danger that your mind may be frittered away by endless details, by listening continually to frivolous communications and suspicious complaints. To escape these narrowing influences, you should steadily devote a part of every day to solitary study; and, still more, you should make it your rule to regard the events and experiences of every day as lessons, and strive to extract from them general truths, so that the intellect may enlarge itself in the midst of the humblest concerns. In the meanest hovel, the great principles of human nature and of God's moral providence will be set before you for study and observation. Every man is a volume, if you know how to read him. To seize the universal in the particular is the great art of wisdom, and this is especially important to one who is to live amidst details.

Another peculiarity of your ministry is, that you are to see human nature more undisguised, naked, than as it falls under our common notice. You are to go among those who have not learned to cover up the deformities of the soul by courtesy and graceful speech. You will see more of the coarser appetites and passions. Not that you are to meet more guilt than the rest of us. The selfishness and deceit of the exchange or of fashionable life, however wrapped up in refined manners, are not a whit the

fairer in God's sight than the artful or grasping habits of the poor. Still we are in peculiar danger of losing our respect for human nature when it offers itself to us in repulsive, uncouth, vulgar forms and language. Remember to be candid and just to the poor. Treasure up in memory the instances, which you will often meet among them, of generosity, patience, domestic love and self-control; and do not forget that their destitution and suffering add to these virtues a moral worth not belonging to the good deeds of prosperous life. Look beneath the outward to the spiritual, the immortal, the divine. Feel that each of the poor is as dear to God as the most exalted in condition, and approach them with humanity and respect. I do not mean by this that you should use flattering words. Be true, honest, plain. Speak to them your mind. Rebuke wrong-doing openly, firmly. The respect won by manly courage and simplicity will give you greater power than any attachment gained by soft and soothing words. Be rough rather than affectedly complacent. But with plain dealing you can join a sympathizing heart, and in the union of these you will find strength.

I might multiply instructions, and indeed I know not where to stop; but I have already transgressed the usual limits of this service, and I will add but a single admonition, which, if followed, will render all others useless. Go to Jesus Christ for guidance, inspiration, and strength in your office. This precept is easily uttered, but not easily obeyed. Nothing, indeed, is harder than to place ourselves near Jesus Christ. The way to him is blocked up on every side. Interpreters, churches, sects, past and present, creeds, authorities, the influences of education, all stand in our way. So many voices, declaring what Christ has said, break on our ears, that his own voice is drowned. The old cry still resounds, "Lo here! and lo there!" How hard is it to get near the true Christ, to see him as he was and is, to hear his own voice, and to penetrate beneath his works and words to his spirit, to his mind and heart, to the great principles of his religion, to the grand spiritual purpose of all which he said and did! How hard to escape our age, to penetrate through the disguises in which works of art and of theology have wrapped up Jesus, and to receive immediate, unmixed impulses from his teaching and life! And yet the privilege of communing with such a spirit is so great, and the duty of going from man to Christ is so solemn, that you must spare no effort to place yourself nearer and nearer to the Divine Master. Learn from him how to look on men, how to feel for them, how to bear with them, how to meet them courageously yet tenderly, how to awaken in them the consciousness of their spiritual nature and destiny, and how to stir them up to the desire and pursuit of a new, inward, everlasting life.

My brother, I conclude with reminding you of your great responsibilities. Your office is important; but this is not all. You enter on it at a critical moment. The ministry for the poor has indeed ceased to be an experiment; its success has surpassed our hopes; and yet it is not established as firmly as it should be. It awakens little interest in our churches. It receives little aid from them. The contributions to it from most of our congregations are small, and do little honor to us as a body of Christians. The success of the ministry thus far is due, under Providence, not to the zeal of the churches, but to the devotion, the martyr-spirit of the men who have been charged with its duties. More faithful laborers, I believe, are not to be found in the ranks of the ministry through Christendom. Our brother, that faithful servant of God, who began this work, still lives; but almost, if not quite, worn down by unremitted toils, he is waging a doubtful conflict with disease brought on him in the pulpit and in the hovels of the poor. How his successor has labored you need not be told. And now you are to enter into the labors of these faithful men, and to commend by like labors the cause for which they have struggled to the honor and confidence of our churches. Whether this good work shall go on, rests not a little with you. This I say, not to stimulate you to labors beyond your strength. I beseech you not to waste in a few spasmodic efforts the strength and usefulness of years. I beseech you to regard the care of your health as a duty to yourself, to us, and to the poor. But, within this limit, work with life, with

courage, with strength of purpose, with unfaltering faith in God. My brother, go forth to your labors with the spirit and power of him who first preached the gospel to the poor; and may you, in fulfilment of his promise, perform greater works than those outward miracles which signalized his earthly ministry! Through your teaching, may the spiritually blind see and the deaf hear, the lost be found and the dead raised! May the blessing of them that are ready to perish come upon you! May the poor, consoled, strengthened, sanctified by your ministry, be your crown and joy in the day of the Lord!

ADDRESS ON TEMPERANCE:

Delivered by request of the Council of the Massachusetts Temperance Society, at the Odeon, Boston, February 28, 1837, the day appointed for the simultaneous Meeting of the Friends of Temperance throughout the World.

I SEE before me the representatives of various societies for the promotion of temperance. It is a good and great cause, and I shall be grateful to God if, by the service now allotted me, I can in any degree encourage them in their work, or throw new light on their path. The present occasion may well animate a Christian minister. What a noble testimony does this meeting bear to the spirit and influences of the Christian faith! Why is this multitude brought together? Not for selfish gratification, not for any worldly end, but for the purpose of arresting a great moral and social evil, — of promoting the virtue, dignity, well-being of men. And whence comes this sympathy with the fallen, the guilty, the miserable? Have we derived it from the schools of ancient philosophy, or from the temples of Greece and Rome? No. We inherit it from Jesus Christ. We have caught it from his lips, his life, his cross. This meeting, were we to trace its origin, would carry us back to Bethlehem and Calvary. The impulse which Christ gave to the human soul, having endured for ages, is now manifesting itself more and more in new and increasing efforts of philanthropy for the redemption of the world from every form of evil. Within these walls the authority of Christ has sometimes been questioned, his character traduced. To the blasphemer of that holy name, what a reply is furnished by the crowd which these walls now contain! A religion, which thus brings and knits men together for the help, comfort, salvation of their erring, lost fellow-creatures, bears on its front a broad, bright, unambiguous stamp of Divinity. Let us be grateful that we were born under its light, and more grateful still if we have been, in any measure, baptized into its disinterested and divine love.

I cannot hope, in the present stage of the temperance effort, to render any important aid to your cause by novelty of suggestion. Its friends have thoroughly explored the ground over which I am to travel. Still every man who is accustomed to think for himself, is naturally attracted to particular views or points in the most familiar subject: and, by concentrating his thoughts on these, he sometimes succeeds in giving them a new prominence, in vindicating their just rank, and in securing to them an attention which they may not have received, but which is their due.

On the subject of intemperance, I have sometimes thought, perhaps without foundation, that its chief, essential evil was not brought out as thoroughly and frequently as its secondary evils, and that there was not a sufficient conviction of the depth of its causes and of the remedies which it demands. With these impressions, I invite your attention to the following topics: — the great essential evil of intemperance, — the extent of its temptations, — its causes, — the means of its prevention or cure.

I. I begin with asking, What is the great, essential evil of intemperance? The reply is given when I say that intemperance is the *voluntary extinction of reason*. The great evil is inward or spiritual. The intemperate man divests himself, for a time, of his rational and moral nature, casts from himself self-consciousness and self-command, brings on frenzy, and, by repetition of this insanity, prostrates more and more his rational and moral powers. He sins immediately and directly against the rational nature, — that divine principle which distinguishes between truth and falsehood, between right and wrong action, which distinguishes man from the brute. This is the essence of the vice, what constitutes its peculiar guilt and woe, and what should particularly impress and awaken those who are laboring for its suppression. All the other evils of intemperance are light compared with this, and almost all flow from this: and it is right, it is to be desired, that all other evils should be joined with and follow this. It is to be desired, when a man lifts a suicidal arm against his highest life, when he quenches reason and conscience, that he and all others should receive solemn, startling warning of the greatness of his guilt: that terrible outward calamities should bear witness to the inward ruin which he is working; that the handwriting of judgment and woe on his countenance, form, and whole condition, should declare what a fearful thing it is for a man, God's rational offspring, to renounce his reason and become a brute. It is common for those who argue against intemperance to describe the bloated countenance of the drunkard, now flushed and now deadly pale. They describe his trembling, palsied limbs. They describe his waning prosperity, his poverty, his despair. They describe his desolate, cheerless home, his cold hearth, his scanty board, his heart-broken wife, the squalidness of his children; and we groan in spirit over the sad recital. But it is right that all this should be. It is right that he who, forewarned, puts out the lights of understanding and conscience within him, who abandons his rank among God's rational creatures, and takes his place among brutes, should stand a monument of wrath among his fellows, should be a teacher wherever he is seen, — a teacher, in every look and motion, of the awful guilt of destroying reason. Were we so constituted that reason could be extinguished, and the countenance retain its freshness, the form its grace, the body its vigor, the outward condition its prosperity, and no striking change be seen in one's home, so far from being gainers, we should lose some testimonies of God's parental care. His care and goodness, as well as his justice, are manifested in the fearful mark He has set on the drunkard, in the blight which falls on all the drunkard's joys. These outward evils, dreadful as they seem, are but faint types of the ruin within. We should see in them God's respect to his own image in the soul, his parental warnings against the crime of quenching the intellectual and moral life.

We are too apt to fix our thoughts on the consequences or punishments of crime, and to overlook the crime itself. This is not turning punishment to its highest use. Punishment is an outward sign of inward evil. It is meant to reveal something more terrible than itself. The greatness of punishment is a mode of embodying, making visible, the magnitude of the crime to which it is attached. The miseries of intemperance, its loathsomeness, ghastliness, and pains, are not seen aright, if they do not represent to us the more fearful desolation wrought by this sin in the soul.

Among the evils of intemperance, much importance is given to the poverty of which it is the cause. But this evil, great as it is, is yet light in comparison with the essential evil of intemperance, which I am so anxious to place distinctly before you. What matters it that a man be poor, if he carry into his poverty the spirit, energy, reason, and virtues of a man! What matters it that a man must, for a few years, live on bread and water! How many of the richest are reduced by disease to a worse condition than this! Honest, virtuous, noble-minded poverty is a comparatively light evil. The ancient philosopher chose it as the condition of virtue. It has been the lot of many a Christian. The poverty of the intemperate man owes its great misery to its cause. He who makes himself a beggar, by having made himself a brute, is miserable indeed. He who has no solace, who has only agonizing recollections and harrowing remorse, as he looks on his

cold hearth, his scanty table, his ragged children, has indeed to bear a crushing weight of woe. That he suffers, is a light thing. That he has brought on himself this suffering by the voluntary extinction of his reason, this is the terrible thought, the intolerable curse.

We are told that we must keep this or that man from drunkenness, to save him from "coming on the town," from being a burden to the city. The motive is not to be overlooked; but I cannot keep my thoughts fixed for a moment on the few hundred or thousand dollars which the intemperate cost. When I go to the poor-house, and see the degradation, the spiritual weakness, the abjectness, the half-idiot imbecility written on the drunkard's countenance, I see a ruin which makes the cost of his support a grain of dust in the scale. I am not sorry that society is taxed for the drunkard. I would it were taxed more. I would the burden of sustaining him were so heavy, that we should be compelled to wake up, and ask how he may be saved from ruin. It is intended, wisely intended by God, that sin shall spread its miseries beyond itself, that no human being shall suffer alone, that the man who falls shall draw others with him, if not into his guilt, at least into a portion of his woe. If one member of the social body suffer, others must suffer too; and this is well. This is one of the dependencies by which we become interested in one another's moral safety, and are summoned to labor for the rescue of the fallen.

Intemperance is to be pitied and abhorred for its own sake much more than for its outward consequences. These consequences owe their chief bitterness to their criminal source. We speak of the miseries which the drunkard carries into his family. But take away his own brutality, and how lightened would be these miseries! We talk of his wife and children in rags. Let the rags continue; but suppose them to be the effects of an innocent cause. Suppose the drunkard to have been a virtuous husband and an affectionate father, and that sickness, not vice, has brought his family thus low. Suppose his wife and children bound to him by a strong love, which a life of labor for their support and of unwearied kindness has awakened; suppose them to know that his toils for their welfare had broken down his frame; suppose him able to say, "We are poor in this world's goods, but rich in affection and religious trust. I am going from you; but I leave you to the Father of the fatherless and to the widow's God." Suppose this, and how changed these rags! How changed the cold, naked room! The heart's warmth can do much to withstand the winter's cold; and there is hope, there is honor, in this virtuous indigence. What breaks the heart of the drunkard's wife? It is not that he is poor, but that he is a drunkard. Instead of that bloated face, now distorted with passion, now robbed of every gleam of intelligence, if the wife could look on an affectionate countenance, which had for years been the interpreter of a well-principled mind and faithful heart, what an overwhelming load would be lifted from her! It is a husband whose touch is polluting, whose infirmities are the witnesses of his guilt, who has blighted all her hopes, who has proved false to the vow which made her his; it is such a husband who makes home a hell, not one whom toil and disease and providence have cast on the care of wife and children.

We look too much at the consequences of vice, too little at the vice itself. It is vice which is the chief weight of what we call its consequence, — vice which is the bitterness in the cup of human woe.

II. I proceed now to offer some remarks on the extent of temptations to this vice. And on this point I shall not avail myself of the statistics of intemperance. I shall not attempt to number its victims. I wish to awaken universal vigilance, by showing that the temptations to this excess are spread through all classes of society. We are apt to speak as if the laborious, uneducated, unimproved, were alone in danger, and as if we ourselves had no interest in this cause, except as others are concerned. But it is not so; multitudes in all classes are in danger. In truth, when we recall the sad histories of not a few in every circle, who once stood among the firmest and then yielded to temptation, we are taught that none of us should dismiss fear, — that we too may be walking on the edge of the abyss. The young are exposed to intemperance, for youth wants fore-

thought, loves excitement, is apt to place happiness in gayety, is prone to convivial pleasure, and too often finds or makes this the path to hell; nor are the old secure, for age unnerves the mind as well as the body, and silently steals away the power of self-control. The idle are in scarcely less peril than the over-worked laborer; for uneasy cravings spring up in the vacant mind, and the excitement of intoxicating draughts is greedily sought as an escape from the intolerable weariness of having nothing to do. Men of a coarse, unrefined character fall easily into intemperance, because they see little in its brutality to disgust them. It is a sadder thought that men of genius and sensibility are hardly less exposed. Strong action of the mind is even more exhausting than the toil of the hands. It uses up, if I may so say, the finer spirits, and leaves either a sinking of the system which craves for tonics, or a restlessness which seeks relief in deceitful sedatives. Besides, it is natural for minds of great energy to hunger for strong excitement; and this, when not found in innocent occupation and amusement, is too often sought in criminal indulgence. These remarks apply peculiarly to men whose genius is poetical, imaginative, allied with, and quickened by, peculiar sensibility. Such men, living in worlds of their own creation, kindling themselves with ideal beauty and joy, and too often losing themselves in reveries, in which imagination ministers to appetite, and the sensual triumphs over the spiritual nature, are peculiarly in danger of losing the balance of the mind, of losing calm thought, clear judgment, and moral strength of will, become children of impulse, learn to despise simple and common pleasures, and are hurried to ruin by a feverish thirst of high-wrought, delirious gratification. In such men, these mental causes of excess are often aggravated by peculiar irritableness of the nervous system. Hence the records of literature are so sad. Hence the brightest lights of the intellectual world have so often undergone disastrous eclipse; and the inspired voice of genius, so thrilling, so exalting, has died away in the brutal or idiot cries of intemperance. I have now been speaking of the highest order of intellectual men; but it may be said of men of education in general, that they must not feel themselves beyond peril. It is said that as large a proportion of intemperate men can be found among those who have gone through our colleges as among an equal number of men in the same sphere of life who have not enjoyed the same culture. It must not, however, be inferred that the cultivation of the intellect affords no moral aids. The truth is, that its good tendencies are thwarted. Educated men fall victims to temptation as often as other men, not because education is inoperative, but because our public seminaries give a partial training, being directed almost wholly to the development of the intellect, and very little to moral culture, and still less to the invigoration of the physical system. Another cause of the evil is probably this, that young men, liberally educated, enter on professions which give at first little or no occupation, which expose them, perhaps for years, to the temptations of leisure, the most perilous in an age of inexperience and passion. Accordingly, the ranks of intemperance are recruited from that class which forms the chief hope of society. And I would I could stop here. But there is another prey on which intemperance seizes, still more to be deplored, and that is woman. I know no sight on earth more sad than woman's countenance, which once knew no suffusion but the glow of exquisite feeling, or the blush of hallowed modesty, crimsoned, deformed by intemperance. Even woman is not safe. The delicacy of her physical organization exposes her to inequalities of feeling which tempt to the seductive relief given by cordials. Man with his iron nerves little knows what the sensitive frame of woman suffers, how many desponding imaginations throng on her in her solitudes, how often she is exhausted by unremitting cares, and how much the power of self-control is impaired by repeated derangements of her frail system. The truth should be told. In all our families, no matter what their condition, there are endangered individuals, and fear and watchfulness in regard to intemperance belong to all.

Do not say that I exaggerate your exposure to intemperance. Let no man

say, when he thinks of the drunkard, broken in health and spoiled of intellect, "I can never so fall." He thought as little of falling in his earlier years. The promise of his youth was as bright as yours; and even after he began his downward course he was as unsuspicious as the firmest around him, and would have repelled as indignantly the admonition to beware of intemperance. The danger of this vice lies in its almost imperceptible approach. Few who perish by it know its first accesses. Youth does not see or suspect drunkenness in the sparkling beverage which quickens all its susceptibilities of joy. The invalid does not see it in the cordial which his physician prescribes, and which gives new tone to his debilitated organs. The man of thought and genius detects no palsying poison in the draught which seems a spring of inspiration to intellect and imagination. The lover of social pleasure little dreams that the glass which animates conversation will ever be drunk in solitude, and will sink him too low for the intercourse in which he now delights. Intemperance comes with noiseless step, and binds its first cords with a touch too light to be felt. This truth of mournful experience should be treasured up by us all, and should influence the habits and arrangements of domestic and social life in every class of the community.

Such is the extent of the temptations of this vice. It is true, however, that whilst its ravages may be traced through all conditions, they are chiefly to be found in the poorer and laboring portions of society. Here its crimes and woes swell to an amount which startles and appals us. Here the evil is to be chiefly withstood. I shall, therefore, in my following remarks, confine myself very much to the causes and remedies of intemperance in this class of the community.

III. Among the causes of intemperance in the class of which I have spoken, not a few are to be found in the present state of society, which every man does something to confirm, and which brings to most of us many privileges On these I shall now insist, because they show our obligation to do what we can to remove the evil. It is just that they who receive good should aid those who receive harm from our present social organization. Undoubtedly, the primary cause of intemperance is in the intemperate themselves, in their moral weakness and irresolution, in the voluntary surrender of themselves to temptation. Still, society, by increasing temptation and diminishing men's power to resist, becomes responsible for all wide-spread vices, and is bound to put forth all its energy for their suppression. This leads me to consider some of the causes of intemperance which have their foundation in our social state.

One cause of the commonness of intemperance in the present state of things is the heavy burden of care and toil which is laid on a large multitude of men. Multitudes, to earn subsistence for themselves and their families, are often compelled to undergo a degree of labor exhausting to the spirits and injurious to health. Of consequence, relief is sought in stimulants. We do not find that civilization lightens men's toils; as yet it has increased them; and in this effect I see the sign of a deep defect in what we call the progress of society. It cannot be the design of the Creator that the whole of life should be spent in drudgery for the supply of animal wants. That civilization is very imperfect in which the mass of men can redeem no time from bodily labor for intellectual, moral, and social culture. It is melancholy to witness the degradation of multitudes to the condition of beasts of burden. Exhausting toils unfit the mind to withstand temptation. The man, spent with labor, and cut off by his condition from higher pleasures, is impelled to seek a deceitful solace in sensual excess. How the condition of society shall be so changed as to prevent excessive pressure on any class, is undoubtedly a hard question. One thing seems plain, that there is no tendency in our present institutions and habits to bring relief. On the contrary, rich and poor seem to be more and more oppressed with incessant toil, exhausting forethought, anxious struggles, feverish competitions. Some look to legislation to lighten the burden of the laboring class. But equal laws and civil liberty have no power to remove the shocking contrast of condition which all civilized

communities present. Inward, spiritual improvement, I believe, is the only sure remedy for social evils. What we need is a new diffusion of Christian, fraternal love, to stir up the powerful and prosperous to succor liberally and encourage the unfortunate or weak, and a new diffusion of intellectual and moral force to make the multitude efficient for their own support, to form them to self-control, and to breathe a spirit of independence which will scorn to ask or receive unnecessary relief.

Another cause, intimately connected with the last, is the intellectual depression and the ignorance to which many are subjected. They who toil from morning to night, without seasons of thought and mental improvement, are of course exceedingly narrowed in their faculties, views, and sources of gratification. The present moment, and the body, engross their thoughts. The pleasures of intellect, of imagination, of taste, of reading, of cultivated society, are almost entirely denied them. What pleasures but those of the senses remain? Unused to reflection and forethought, how dim must be their perceptions of religion and duty, and how little fitted are they to cope with temptation! Undoubtedly in this country this cause of intemperance is less operative than in others. There is less brutal ignorance here than elsewhere: but, on the other hand, the facilities of excess are incomparably greater, so that for the uneducated the temptation to vice may be stronger in this than in less enlightened lands. Our outward prosperity, unaccompanied with proportionate moral and mental improvement, becomes a mighty impulse to intemperance, and this impulse the prosperous are bound to withstand.

I proceed to another cause of intemperance among the poor and laboring classes, and that is the general sensuality and earthliness of the community. There is, indeed, much virtue, much spirituality, in the prosperous classes, but it is generally unseen. There is a vastly greater amount in these classes of worldliness, of devotion to the senses, and this stands out in bold relief. The majority live unduly for the body. Where there is little intemperance, in the common acceptation of that term, there is yet a great amount of excess. Thousands, who are never drunk, place their chief happiness in pleasures of the table. How much of the intellect of this community is palsied, how much of the expression of the countenance blotted out, how much of the spirit buried, through unwise indulgence! What is the great lesson which the more prosperous classes teach to the poorer? Not self-denial, not spirituality, not the great Christian truth that human happiness lies in the triumphs of the mind over the body, in inward force and life. The poorer are taught by the richer that the greatest good is ease, indulgence. The voice which descends from the prosperous contradicts the lessons of Christ and of sound philosophy. It is the sensuality, the earthliness of those who give the tone to public sentiment, which is chargeable with a vast amount of the intemperance of the poor. How is the poor man to resist intemperance? Only by a moral force, an energy of will, a principle of self-denial in his soul. And where is this taught him? Does a higher morality come to him from those whose condition makes them his superiors? The great inquiry which he hears among the better educated is, What shall we eat and drink, and wherewithal shall we be clothed? Unceasing struggles for outward, earthly, sensual good, constitute the chief activity which he sees around him. To suppose that the poorer classes should receive lessons of luxury and self-indulgence from the more prosperous, and should yet resist the most urgent temptations to excess, is to expect from them a moral force in which we feel ourselves to be sadly wanting. In their hard conflicts, how little of life-giving truth, of elevating thought, of heavenly aspiration, do they receive from those above them in worldly condition!

Another cause of intemperance is the want of self-respect which the present state of society induces among the poor and laborious. Just as far as wealth is the object of worship, the measure of men's importance, the badge of distinction, so far there will be a tendency to self-contempt and self-abandonment among those whose lot gives them no chance of its acquisition. Such naturally feel as if the great good of life were denied them. They see themselves neg-

iected. Their condition cuts them off from communication with the improved. They think they have little stake in the general weal. They do not feel as if they had a character to lose. Nothing reminds them of the greatness of their nature. Nothing teaches them that in their obscure lot they may secure the highest good on earth. Catching from the general tone of society the ruinous notion that wealth is honor as well as happiness, they see in their narrow lot nothing to inspire self-respect. In this delusion they are not more degraded than the prosperous; they but echo the voice of society; but to them the delusion brings a deeper, immediate ruin. By sinking them in their own eyes it robs them of a powerful protection against low vices. It prepares them for coarse manners, for gross pleasures, for descent to brutal degradation. Of all classes of society, the poor should be treated with peculiar deference, as the means of counteracting their chief peril, — I mean, the loss of self-respect. But to all their other evil is added peculiar neglect. Can we then wonder that they fall?

I might name other causes in our social constitution favoring intemperance; but I must pass them, and will suggest one characteristic of our times which increases all the tendencies to this vice. Our times are distinguished by what is called a love of excitement; in other words, by a love of strong stimulants. To be stimulated, excited, is the universal want. The calmness, sobriety, plodding industry of our fathers, have been succeeded by a feverish restlessness. The books that are read are not the great, standard, immortal works of genius, which require calm thought, and inspire deep feeling; but ephemeral works, which are run through with a railroad rapidity, and which give a pleasure not unlike that produced by exhilarating draughts. Business is become a race, and is hurried on by the excitement of great risks, and the hope of great profits. Even religion partakes the general restlessness. In some places, extravagant measures, which storm the nervous system, and drive the more sensitive to the borders of insanity, are resorted to for its promotion. Everywhere people go to church to be excited rather than improved. This thirst for stimulants cannot be shut up in certain spheres. It spreads through and characterizes the community. It pervades those classes who, unhappily, can afford themselves but one strong stimulus, intoxicating liquor; and among these the spirit of the age breaks out in intemperance.

IV. I have now set before you some of the causes of intemperance in our present social state; and this I have done that you may feel that society, in all its ranks, especially in the highest, is bound in justice to resist the evil; and not only justice, but benevolence pleads with us to spare no efforts for its prevention or cure. The thought that in the bosom of our society are multitudes standing on the brink of perdition, multitudes who are strongly tempted to debase and destroy their rational nature, to sink into brutal excess, to seal their ruin in this world and in the world to come, ought to weigh on us as a burden, ought to inspire deeper concern than the visitation of pestilence, ought to rouse every man who has escaped this degradation to do what he may to rescue the fallen, and, still more, to save the falling.

The question now comes, How shall we arrest, how suppress, this great evil? Such is our last inquiry, and to this I answer, there are two modes of action. To rescue men, we must act on them inwardly or outwardly. We must either give them strength within to withstand the temptations to intemperance, or we must remove these temptations without. We must increase the power of resistance, or diminish the pressure which is to be resisted. Both modes of influence are useful, but the first incalculably the most important. No man is safe against this foe but he who is armed with moral force, with strength in his own soul, with the might of principle, and a virtuous will. The great means, then, of repressing intemperance in those portions of society which are most exposed to it, is to communicate to them, or awaken in them, moral strength, the power of self-denial, a nobler and more vigorous action of conscience and religious principle. In other words, to save the laboring and poor from intemperance, we must set in action amongst them the means of intellectual, moral, and religious improvement. We must strive to elevate them as rational and moral beings, to unfold their highest nature. It is idle to think that, whilst these classes

remain the same in other respects, they can be cured of intemperance. Intemperance does not stand alone in their condition and character. It is a part or sign of general degradation. It can only be effectually removed by exalting their whole character and condition. To heal a diseased limb or organ, you must relieve and strengthen the whole body. So it is with the mind. We cannot, if we would, remove those vices from the poor which are annoying to ourselves, and leave them, in other respects, as corrupt as before. Nothing but a general improvement of their nature can fortify them against the crimes which make them scourges alike to themselves and to their race.

And how may moral strength, force of principle, be communicated to the less prosperous classes of society? I answer, first, the surest means is to increase it among the more favored. All classes of a community have connections, sympathies. Let selfishness and sensuality reign among the prosperous and educated, and the poor and uneducated will reflect these vices in grosser forms. That man is the best friend to temperance, among high and low, whose character and life express clearly and strongly moral energy, self-denial, superiority to the body, superiority to wealth, elevation of sentiment and principle. The greatest benefactor to society is not he who serves it by single acts, but whose general character is the manifestation of a higher life and spirit than pervades the mass. Such men are the salt of the earth. The might of individual virtue surpasses all other powers. The multiplication of individuals of true force and dignity of mind would be the surest of all omens of the suppression of intemperance in every condition of society.

Another means is, the cultivation of a more fraternal intercourse than now exists between the more and less improved portions of the community. Our present social barriers and distinctions, in so far as they restrict sympathy, and substitute the spirit of caste, the bigotry of rank, for the spirit of humanity, for reverence of our common nature, ought to be reprobated as gross violations of the Christian law. Those classes of society which have light, strength, and virtue, are bound to communicate these to such as want them. The weak, ignorant, falling and fallen, ought not to be cut off from their more favored brethren, ought not to be left to act continually and exclusively on one another, and thus to propagate their crimes and woes without end. The good should form a holy conspiracy against evil, should assail it by separate and joint exertion, should approach it, study it, weep and pray over it, and throw all their souls into efforts for its removal. My friends, you whom God has prospered, whom He has enlightened, in whose hearts He has awakened a reverence for Himself, what are you doing for the fallen, the falling, the miserable of your race? When an improved Christian thinks of the mass of unpitied, unfriended guilt in this city, must he not be shocked at the hardness of all our hearts? Are we not all of one blood, one nature, one heavenly descent; and are outward distinctions, which to-morrow are to be buried for ever in the tomb, to divide us from one another, to cut off the communications of brotherly sympathy and aid? In a Christian community, not one human being should be left to fall, without counsel, remonstrance, sympathy, encouragement, from others more enlightened and virtuous than himself. Say not this cannot be done. I know it cannot be done without great changes in our habits, views, feelings; but these changes must be made. A new bond must unite the scattered portions of men. A new sense of responsibility must stir up the enlightened, the prosperous, the virtuous. Christianity demands this. The progress of society demands it. I see blessed omens of this, and they are among the brightest features of our times.

Again, to elevate and strengthen the more exposed classes of society, it is indispensable that a higher education should be afforded them. We boast of the means of education afforded to the poorest here. It may be said with truth, in regard to both rich and poor, that these means are very deficient. As to moral education, hardly any provisions are made for it in our public schools. To educate is something more than to teach those elements of knowledge which are needed to get a subsistence. It is to exercise and call out the higher faculties and affections of a human

being. Education is not the authoritative, compulsory, mechanical training of passive pupils, but the influence of gifted and quickening minds on the spirits of the young. Such education is, as yet, sparingly enjoyed, and cannot be too fervently desired. Of what use, let me ask, is the wealth of this community, but to train up a better generation than ourselves? Of what use, I ask, is freedom, except to call forth the best powers of all classes and of every individual? What, but human improvement, is the great end of society? Why ought we to sustain so anxiously republican institutions, if they do not tend to form a nobler race of men, and to spread nobleness through all conditions of social life? It is a melancholy and prevalent error among us, that persons in the laboring classes are denied by their conditions any considerable intellectual improvement. They must live, it is thought, to work, not to fulfil the great end of a human being, which is to unfold his divinest powers and affections. But it is not so. The poorest child might and ought to have liberal means of self-improvement; and were there a true reverence among us for human nature and for Christianity, he would find them. In a letter recently received from a most intelligent traveller in Germany, I am informed that in certain parts of that country there is found, in the most depressed classes, a degree of intellectual culture not generally supposed to consist with their lot; that a sense of the beautiful in nature and art produces much happiness in a portion of society which among us is thought to be disqualified for this innocent and elevated pleasure; that the teaching in Sunday-schools is in some places more various than here, and that a collection of books and a degree of scientific knowledge may be met in cottages far inferior to the dwellings of our husbandmen. "In short," my friend adds, "I have seen abundant proof that intellectual culture, as found here, spreads its light and comfort through a class that hardly exists at all with us, or, where it does exist, is generally supposed to labor under a degree of physical wretchedness inconsistent with such culture." Information of this kind should breathe new hope into philanthropic labors for the intellectual and moral life of every class in society. How much may be done in this city to spread knowledge, vigor of thought, the sense of beauty, the pleasures of the imagination and the fine arts, and, above all, the influences of religion, through our whole community! Were the prosperous and educated to learn that, after providing for their families, they cannot better employ their possessions and influence than in forwarding the improvement and elevation of society, how soon would this city be regenerated! How many generous spirits might be enlisted here by a wise bounty in the work of training their fellow-creatures! Wealth cannot be better used than in rescuing men of vigorous and disinterested minds from worldly toils and cares, in giving them time and opportunity for generous self-culture, and in enabling them to devote their whole strength and being to a like culture of their race. The surest mark of a true civilization is, that the arts which minister to sensuality decrease, and spiritual employments are multiplied, or that more and more of the highest ability in the state is withdrawn from labors for the animal life, and consecrated to the work of calling forth the intellect, the imagination, the conscience, the pure affections, the moral energy of the community at large, and especially of the young. What is now wasted among us in private show and luxury, if conscientiously and wisely devoted to the furnishing of means of generous culture to all classes among us, would render this city the wonder and joy of the whole earth. What is thus wasted might supply not only the means of education in the sciences, but in the refined arts. Music might here be spread as freely as in Germany, and be made a lightener of toil, a cheerer of society, a relief of loneliness, a solace in the poorest dwellings. Still more, what we now waste would furnish this city, in a course of years, with the chief attractions of Paris, with another Louvre, and with a Garden of Plants, where the gifted of all classes might have opportunity to cultivate the love of nature and art. Happily, the cause of a higher education begins to find friends here. Thanks to that enlightened and noble-minded son of Boston, whose ashes now slumber on a foreign shore, but who has left

to his birthplace a testimony of filial love, in his munificent bequest for the diffusion of liberal instruction through this metropolis. Honored be the name of Lowell, the intellectual benefactor of his native city! A community, directing its energies chiefly to a higher education of its rising members, to a generous development of human nature, would achieve what as yet has not entered human thought; and it is for this end that we ought to labor. Our show and our luxury, how contemptible in comparison with the improvement of our families, neighborhood, and race!

Allow me here to express an earnest desire that our legislators, provoked to jealousy by the spirit of improvement in other states, and moved by zeal for the ancient honor of this Commonwealth, may adopt some strong measures for the advancement of education among us. We need an institution for the formation of better teachers; and until this step is taken we can make no important progress. The most crying want in this Commonwealth is the want of accomplished teachers. We boast of our schools; but our schools do comparatively little, for want of educated instructors. Without good teaching, a school is but a name. An institution for training men to train the young would be a fountain of living waters, sending forth streams to refresh present and future ages. As yet, our legislators have denied to the poor and laboring classes this principal means of their elevation. We trust they will not always prove blind to the highest interest of the state.

We want better teachers and more teachers for all classes of society, for rich and poor, for children and adults. We want that the resources of the community should be directed to the procuring of better instructors, as its highest concern. One of the surest signs of the regeneration of society will be the elevation of the art of teaching to the highest rank in the community. When a people shall learn that its greatest benefactors and most important members are men devoted to the liberal instruction of all its classes, to the work of raising to life its buried intellect, it will have opened to itself the path of true glory. This truth is making its way. Socrates is now regarded as the greatest man in an age of great men. The name of King has grown dim before that of Apostle. To teach, whether by word or action, is the highest function on earth. It is commonly supposed that instructors are needed only in the earlier years of life. But ought the education of a human being ever to cease? And may it not always be forwarded by good instruction? Some of us, indeed, can dispense with all teachers save the silent book. But to the great majority the voice of living teachers is an indispensable means of cultivation. The discovery and supply of this want would give a new aspect to a community. Nothing is more needed than that men of superior gifts and of benevolent spirit should devote themselves to the instruction of the less enlightened classes in the great end of life, in the dignity of their nature, in their rights and duties, in the history, laws, and institutions of their country, in the philosophy of their employments, in the laws, harmonies, and productions of outward nature, and especially in the art of bringing up children in health of body and in vigor and purity of mind. We need a new profession or vocation, the object of which shall be to wake up the intellect in those spheres where it is now buried in habitual slumber. We honor, and cannot too much honor, the philanthropist, who endows permanent institutions for the relief of human suffering; but not less good, I apprehend, would be accomplished by inquiring for and seizing on men of superior ability and disinterestedness, and by sending them forth to act immediately on society. A philanthropist who should liberally afford to one such man the means of devoting himself to the cultivation of the poorer classes of society would confer invaluable good. One gifted man, with his heart in the work, who should live among the uneducated, to spread useful knowledge and quickening truth, by conversation and books, by frank and friendly intercourse, by encouraging meetings for improvement, by forming the more teachable into classes, and giving to these the animation of his presence and guidance, by bringing parents to an acquaintance with the principles of physical, intellectual, and moral education, by instructing families in the means and conditions of health, by using, in a word, all the methods which an active, generous mind would discover

or invent for awakening intelligence and moral life; one gifted man, so devoted, might impart a new tone and spirit to a considerable circle; and what would be the result were such men to be multiplied and combined, so that a community might be pervaded by their influence! We owe much to the writings of men of genius, piety, science, and exalted virtue. But most of these remain shut up in narrow spheres. We want a class of liberal instructors, whose vocation it shall be to place the views of the most enlightened minds within the reach of a more and more extensive portion of their fellow-creatures. The wealth of a community should flow out like water for the preparation and employment of such teachers, for enlisting powerful and generous minds in the work of giving impulse to their race. Jesus Christ, in instituting the ministry, laid the foundation of the intellectual and moral agency which I now urge. On this foundation we ought to build more and more, until a life-giving influence shall penetrate all classes of society. What a painful thought is it, that such an immense amount of intellectual and moral power, of godlike energy, is this very moment lying dead among us! Can we do nothing for its resurrection? Until this be done, we may lop off the branches of intemperance, but its root will live; and happy shall we be if its poisonous shade do not again darken our land. Let it not be said that the laborious can find no time for such instruction as is now proposed. More or less leisure, if sought, can be found in almost every life. Nor let it be said that men able and disposed to carry on this work, must not be looked for in such a world as ours. Christianity, which has wrought so many miracles of beneficence, which has sent forth so many apostles and martyrs, so many Howards and Clarksons, can raise up laborers for this harvest also. Nothing is needed but a new pouring out of the spirit of Christian love, nothing but a new comprehension of the brotherhood of the human race, to call forth efforts which seem impossibilities in a self-seeking and self-indulging age.

I will add but one more means of giving moral power and general improvement to those portions of the community in which intemperance finds its chief victims. We must not only promote education in general, but especially send among them Christian instruction, Christian teachers, who shall be wholly devoted to their spiritual welfare. And here I cannot but express my joy at the efforts made for establishing a ministry among the poor in this and other cities. Though not sustained as it should be, it yet subsists in sufficient vigor to show what it can accomplish. I regard this institution as among the happiest omens of our times. It shows that the spirit of him who came to seek and to save that which was lost is not dead among us. Christianity is the mighty power before which intemperance is to fall. Christianity, faithfully preached, assails and withstands this vice, by appealing, as nothing else can, to men's hopes and fears, by speaking to the conscience in the name of the Almighty Judge, by speaking to the heart in the name of the Merciful Father, by proffering strength to human weakness and pardon to human guilt, by revealing to men an immortal nature within, and an eternal state before them, by spreading over this life a brightness borrowed from the life to come, by awakening generous affections, and binding man by new ties to God and his race. But Christianity, to fulfil this part of its mission, to reach those who are most exposed to intemperance, must not only speak in the churches, where these are seldom found, but must enter their dwellings in the persons of its ministers, must commune with them in the language of friendship, must take their children under its guardianship and control. The ministry for the poor, sustained by men worthy of the function, will prove one of the most powerful barriers ever raised against intemperance.

The means of suppressing this vice, on which I have hitherto insisted, have for their object to strengthen and elevate the whole character of the classes most exposed to intemperance. I would now suggest a few means fitted to accomplish the same end, by diminishing or removing the temptations to this vice.

The first means which I shall suggest of placing a people beyond the temptations to intemperance, is to furnish them with the means of innocent pleas-

ure. This topic, I apprehend, has not been sufficiently insisted on. I feel its importance and propose to enlarge upon it, though some of the topics which I may introduce may seem to some hardly consistent with the gravity of this occasion. We ought not, however, to respect the claims of that gravity which prevents a faithful exposition of what may serve and improve our fellow-creatures.

I have said, a people should be guarded against temptation to unlawful pleasures by furnishing the means of innocent ones. By innocent pleasures I mean such as excite moderately; such as produce a cheerful frame of mind, not boisterous mirth; such as refresh, instead of exhausting, the system; such as occur frequently, rather than continue long; such as send us back to our daily duties invigorated in body and in spirit; such as we can partake in the presence and society of respectable friends; such as consist with, and are favorable to, a grateful piety; such as are chastened by self-respect, and are accompanied with the consciousness that life has a higher end than to be amused. In every community there *must* be pleasures, relaxations, and means of agreeable excitement; and if innocent ones are not furnished, resort will be had to criminal. Man was made to enjoy, as well as to labor; and the state of society should be adapted to this principle of human nature. France, especially before the revolution, has been represented as a singularly temperate country, — a fact to be explained, at least in part, by the constitutional cheerfulness of that people, and by the prevalence of simple and innocent gratifications, especially among the peasantry. Men drink to excess very often to shake off depression, or to satisfy the restless thirst for agreeable excitement, and these motives are excluded in a cheerful community. A gloomy state of society, in which there are few innocent recreations, may be expected to abound in drunkenness, if opportunities are afforded. The savage drinks to excess, because his hours of sobriety are dull and unvaried; because, in losing the consciousness of his condition and his existence, he loses little which he wishes to retain. The laboring classes are most exposed to intemperance, because they have at present few other pleasurable excitements. A man who, after toil, has resources of blameless recreation, is less tempted than other men to seek self-oblivion. He has too many of the pleasures of a man to take up with those of a brute. Thus, the encouragement of simple, innocent enjoyments is an important means of temperance.

These remarks show the importance of encouraging the efforts which have commenced among us for spreading the accomplishment of music through our whole community. It is now proposed that this shall be made a regular branch in our schools; and every friend of the people must wish success to the experiment. I am not now called to speak of all the good influences of music, particularly of the strength which it may and ought to give to the religious sentiment, and to all pure and generous emotions. Regarded merely as a refined pleasure, it has a favorable bearing on public morals. Let taste and skill in this beautiful art be spread among us, and every family will have a new resource. Home will gain a new attraction. Social intercourse will be more cheerful, and an innocent public amusement will be furnished to the community. Public amusements, bringing multitudes together to kindle with one emotion, to share the same innocent joy, have a humanizing influence; and among these bonds of society perhaps no one produces so much unmixed good as music. What a fulness of enjoyment has our Creator placed within our reach, by surrounding us with an atmosphere which may be shaped into sweet sounds! And yet this goodness is almost lost upon us, through want of culture of the organ by which this provision is to be enjoyed.

Dancing is an amusement which has been discouraged in our country by many of the best people, and not without reason. Dancing is associated in their minds with balls; and this is one of the worst forms of social pleasure. The time consumed in preparation for a ball, the waste of thought upon it, the extravagance of dress, the late hours, the exhaustion of strength, the exposure of health, and the languor of the succeeding day, — these and other evils, connected with this amusement,

are strong reasons for banishing it from the community. But dancing ought not therefore to be proscribed. On the contrary, balls should be discouraged for this among other reasons, that dancing, instead of being a rare pleasure, requiring elaborate preparation, may become an every-day amusement, and may mix with our common intercourse. This exercise is among the most healthful. The body as well as the mind feels its gladdening influence. No amusement seems more to have a foundation in our nature. The animation of youth overflows spontaneously in harmonious movements. The true idea of dancing entitles it to favor. Its end is, to realize perfect grace in motion; and who does not know that a sense of the graceful is one of the higher faculties of our nature? It is to be desired that dancing should become too common among us to be made the object of special preparation as in the ball; that members of the same family, when confined by unfavorable weather, should recur to it for exercise and exhilaration; that branches of the same family should enliven in this way their occasional meetings; that it should fill up an hour in all the assemblages for relaxation in which the young form a part. It is to be desired that this accomplishment should be extended to the laboring classes of society, not only as an innocent pleasure, but as a means of improving the manners. Why shall not gracefulness be spread through the whole community? From the French nation we learn that a degree of grace and refinement of manners may pervade all classes. The philanthropist and Christian must desire to break down the partition-walls between human beings in different conditions; and one means of doing this is to remove the conscious awkwardness which confinement to laborious occupations is apt to induce. An accomplishment, giving free and graceful movement, though a far weaker bond than intellectual or moral culture, still does something to bring those who partake it near each other.

I approach another subject, on which a greater variety of opinion exists than on the last, and that is the theatre. In its present state, the theatre deserves no encouragement. It is an accumulation of immoral influences. It has nourished intemperance and all vice. In saying this, I do not say that the amusement is radically, essentially evil. I can conceive of a theatre which would be the noblest of all amusements, and would take a high rank among the means of refining the taste and elevating the character of a people. The deep woes, the mighty and terrible passions, and the sublime emotions of genuine tragedy, are fitted to thrill us with human sympathies, with profound interest in our nature, with a consciousness of what man can do and dare and suffer, with an awed feeling of the fearful mysteries of life. The soul of the spectator is stirred from its depths; and the lethargy in which so many live is roused, at least for a time, to some intenseness of thought and sensibility. The drama answers a high purpose when it places us in the presence of the most solemn and striking events of human history, and lays bare to us the human heart in its most powerful, appalling, glorious workings. But how little does the theatre accomplish its end! How often is it disgraced by monstrous distortions of human nature, and still more disgraced by profaneness, coarseness, indelicacy, low wit, such as no woman, worthy of the name, can hear without a blush, and no man can take pleasure in without self-degradation! Is it possible that a Christian and a refined people can resort to theatres where exhibitions of dancing are given fit only for brothels, and where the most licentious class in the community throng unconcealed to tempt and destroy? That the theatre should be suffered to exist in its present degradation is a reproach to the community. Were it to fall, a better drama might spring up in its place. In the mean time, is there not an amusement, having an affinity with the drama, which might be usefully introduced among us? I mean recitation. A work of genius, recited by a man of fine taste, enthusiasm, and powers of elocution, is a very pure and high gratification. Were this art cultivated and encouraged, great numbers, now insensible to the most beautiful compositions, might be waked up to their excellence and power. It is not easy to conceive of a more effectual way of spreading a refined taste through a community. The drama, undoubtedly, appeals more

strongly to the passions than recitation; but the latter brings out the meaning of the author more. Shakspeare, worthily recited, would be better understood than on the stage. Then, in recitation, we escape the weariness of listening to poor performers, who, after all, fill up most of the time at the theatre. Recitation, sufficiently varied, so as to include pieces of chaste wit, as well as of pathos, beauty, and sublimity, is adapted to our present intellectual progress as much as the drama falls below it. Should this exhibition be introduced among us successfully, the result would be that the power of recitation would be extensively called forth, and this would be added to our social and domestic pleasures.

I have spoken in this discourse of intellectual culture, as a defence against intemperance, by giving force and elevation to the mind. It also does great good as a source of amusement; and on this ground should be spread through the community. A cultivated mind may be said to have infinite stores of innocent gratification. Every thing may be made interesting to it, by becoming a subject of thought or inquiry. Books, regarded merely as a gratification, are worth more than all the luxuries on earth. A taste for literature secures cheerful occupation for the unemployed and languid hours of life; and how many persons, in these hours, for want of innocent resources, are now impelled to coarse and brutal pleasures! How many young men can be found in this city who, unaccustomed to find a companion in a book, and strangers to intellectual activity, are almost driven, in the long, dull evenings of winter, to haunts of intemperance and depraving society! It is one of the good signs of the times that lectures on literature and science are taking their place among our public amusements, and attract even more than theatres. This is one of the first fruits of our present intellectual culture. What a harvest may we hope for from its wider diffusion!

In these remarks, I have insisted on the importance of increasing innocent gratifications in a community. Let us become a more cheerful and we shall become a more temperate people. To increase our susceptibility of innocent pleasure, and to remove many of the sufferings which tempt to evil habits, it would be well if physical as well as moral education were to receive greater attention. There is a puny, half-healthy, half-diseased state of the body too common among us, which, by producing melancholy and restlessness, and by weakening the energy of the will, is a strong incitement to the use of hurtful stimulants. Many a case of intemperance has had its origin in bodily infirmity. Physical vigor is not only valuable for its own sake, but it favors temperance, by opening the mind to cheerful impressions, and by removing those indescribable feelings of sinking, disquiet, depression, which experience alone can enable you to understand. I have pleaded for mental culture; but nothing is gained by sacrificing the body to the mind. Let not intellectual education be sought at the expense of health. Let not our children in their early years be instructed, as is too common, in close, unventilated rooms, where they breathe for hours a tainted air. Our whole nature must be cared for. We must become a more cheerful, animated people; and for this end we must propose, in our systems of education, the invigoration of both body and mind.

I am aware that the views now expressed may not find unmixed favor with all the friends of temperance. To some, perhaps to many, religion and amusement seem mutually hostile, and he who pleads for the one may fall under suspicion of unfaithfulness to the other. But to fight against our nature is not to serve the cause of piety or sound morals. God, who gave us our nature, who has constituted body and mind incapable of continued effort, who has implanted a strong desire for recreation after labor, who has made us for smiles much more than for tears, who has made laughter the most contagious of all sounds, whose Son hallowed a marriage feast by his presence and sympathy, who has sent the child fresh from his creating hand to develop its nature by active sports, and who has endowed both young and old with a keen susceptibility of enjoyment from wit and humor, — He, who has thus formed us, cannot have intended us for a dull, monotonous life, and cannot frown on pleasures which solace our fatigue and refresh our spirits for coming toils. It is not only possible to reconcile amusement with duty, but to make

it the means of more animated exertion, more faithful attachments, more grateful piety. True religion is at once authoritative and benign. It calls us to suffer, to die, rather than to swerve a hair's breadth from what God enjoins as right and good; but it teaches us that it is right and good, in ordinary circumstances, to unite relaxation with toil, to accept God's gifts with cheerfulness, and to lighten the heart, in the intervals of exertion, by social pleasures. A religion, giving dark views of God, and infusing superstitious fear of innocent enjoyment, instead of aiding sober habits, will, by making men abject and sad, impair their moral force, and prepare them for intemperance as a refuge from depression or despair.

Two other means remain to be mentioned for removing the temptations to intemperance, and these are the discouragement of the use and the discouragement of the sale of ardent spirits in the community.

First, we should discourage the use of ardent spirits in the community. It is very plain — too plain to be insisted on — that to remove what intoxicates is to remove intoxication. In proportion as ardent spirits are banished from our houses, our tables, our hospitalities; in proportion as those who have influence and authority in the community abstain themselves, and lead their dependants to abstain, from their use: in that proportion the occasions of excess must be diminished, the temptations to it must disappear. It is objected, I know, that, if we begin to give up what others will abuse, we must give up every thing, because there is nothing which men will not abuse. I grant that it is not easy to define the limits at which concessions are to stop. Were we called on to relinquish an important comfort of life, because others were perverting it into an instrument of crime and woe, we should be bound to pause and deliberate before we act. But no such plea can be set up in the case before us. Ardent spirits are not an important comfort, and in no degree a comfort. They give no strength; they contribute nothing to health; they can be abandoned without the slightest evil. They aid men neither to bear the burden nor to discharge the duties of life; and in saying this, I stop short of the truth. It is not enough to say that they never do good; they generally injure. In their moderate use, they act, in general, unfavorably on body and mind. According to respectable physicians, they are not digested like food, but circulate unchanged like a poison through the system. Like other poisons, they may occasionally benefit as medicines; but when made a beverage by the healthy, they never do good; they generally are pernicious. They are no more intended by Providence for drink than opium is designed for food. Consider next, that ardent spirits are not only without benefit when moderately used, but that they instigate to immoderate use; that they beget a craving, a feverish thirst, which multitudes want power to resist; that in some classes of society great numbers become their victims, are bereft by them of reason, are destroyed in body and soul, destroyed here and hereafter; that families are thus made desolate, parents hurried to a premature grave, and children trained up to crime and shame. Consider all this, and then judge, as in the sight of God, whether you are not bound to use your whole influence in banishing the use of spirits, as one of the most pernicious habits, from the community. If you were to see, as a consequence of this beverage, a loathsome and mortal disease breaking out occasionally in all ranks, and sweeping away crowds in the most depressed portion of society, would you not lift up your voices against it? And is not an evil more terrible than pestilence the actual frequent result of the use of spirituous liquors? That use you are bound to discourage; and how? By abstaining wholly yourselves, by excluding ardent spirits wholly from your tables, by giving your whole weight and authority to abstinence. This practical, solemn testimony, borne by the good and respectable, cannot but spread a healthful public sentiment through the whole community. This is especially our duty at the present moment, when a great combined effort of religious and philanthropic men is directed against this evil, and when an impression has been made on the community surpassing the most sanguine hopes. At the present moment, he who uses ardent spirits, or introduces them into his hospitalities, virtually arrays himself against the cause of temperance and humanity. He not merely

gives an example to his children and his domestics, which he may one day bitterly rue; he withstands the good in their struggles for the virtue and happiness of mankind. He forsakes the standard of social reform, and throws himself into the ranks of its foes.

After these remarks, it will follow that we should discourage the sale of ardent spirits. What ought not to be used as a beverage, ought not to be sold as such. What the good of the community requires us to expel, no man has a moral right to supply. That intemperance is dreadfully multiplied by the number of licensed shops for the retailing of spirits, we all know. That these should be shut, every good man desires. Law, however, cannot shut them except in a limited extent, or only in a few favored parts of the country. Law is here the will of the people, and the legislature can do little unless sustained by the public voice. To form, then, an enlightened and vigorous public sentiment, which will demand the suppression of these licensed nurseries of intemperance, is a duty to which every good man is bound, and a service in which each may take a share. And not only should the vending of spirits in these impure haunts be discouraged; the vending of them by respectable men should be regarded as a great public evil. The retailer takes shelter under the wholesale dealer, from whom he purchases the pernicious draught; and has he not a right so to do? Can we expect that he should shrink from spreading on a small scale what others spread largely without rebuke? Can we expect his conscience to be sensitive, when he treads in the steps of men of reputation? Of the character of those who vend spirits I do not judge. They grew up in the belief of the innocence of the traffic, and this conviction they may sincerely retain. But error, though sincere, is error still. Right and wrong do not depend on human judgment or human will. Truth and duty may be hidden for ages; but they remain unshaken as God's throne; and when, in the course of His providence, they are made known to one or a few, they must be proclaimed, whoever may be opposed. Truth, truth, is the hope of the world. Let it be spoken in kindness, but with power.

Some of the means of withstanding intemperance have now been stated. Other topics, were there time, I should be glad to offer to your attention. But I must pause. — I will only add, that every lover of his race has strong encouragement to exert himself for the prevention of intemperance. The striking success of societies instituted for this end should give animation and hope. But even had these associations and these efforts failed, I should not despair. From the very terribleness of the evil, we may derive incitement and hope in our labors for its suppression. It cannot be that God has created moral beings to become brutes, or placed them in circumstances irresistibly impelling them to this utter renunciation of the proper good of their nature. There are, there must be, means of prevention or cure for this deadliest moral disease. The unhappiness is, that too many of us, who call ourselves the friends of temperance, have not virtue and love enough to use powerfully the weapons of the spirit for the succor of the tempted and fallen. We are ourselves too sensual to rescue others from sensuality. The difference between us and the intemperate man is too small to fit us for his deliverance. But that there are means of withstanding intemperance; that it is the design and tendency of Christianity to raise up men fit and worthy to wield these means; and that there are always some who are prepared to lead the way in this holy work, I cannot doubt. I see, indeed, a terrible energy in human appetites and passions. But I do not faint. Truth is mightier than error; virtue, than vice; God, than the evil man. In contending earnestly against intemperance, we have the help and friendship of Him who is Almighty. We have allies in all that is pure, rational, divine in the human soul, in the progressive intelligence of the age, in whatever elevates public sentiment, in religion, in legislation, in philosophy, in the yearnings of the parent, in the prayers of the Christian, in the teaching of God's house, in the influences of God's Spirit. With these allies, friends, helpers, let good men not despair, but be strong in the faith that, in due time, they shall reap, if they faint not.

NOTES.

I have spoken of the causes of intemperance which are found in our state of society. I should wrong, however, the community to which I belong were I to leave the impression that our social condition offers nothing but incitements to this vice. It presents obstacles as well as affords facilities to it. And this ought to be understood, as an encouragement to the efforts which, according to the preceding remarks, we are bound to make for its suppression. The growth of intelligence among us is a powerful antagonist to intemperance. In proportion as we awaken and invigorate men's faculties, we help them to rise above a brutal life; we take them out of the power of the present moment, enlarge their foresight, give them the means of success in life, open to them sources of innocent pleasure, and prepare them to bear part in respectable society. It is true, that intelligence or knowledge is not virtue. It may not overcome selfishness; but it makes our self-love wiser and more reflecting, gives us a better understanding of our own interests, teaches prudence if not generosity, and, in this way, is a powerful guardian against ruinous excess. We have another defence against intemperance in our freedom. Freedom nourishes self-respect, and, by removing all obstructions to exertion, by opening to men the means of bettering their lot, favors an animated, hopeful industry, thus rescuing a people from depression, despondence, and languor, which are among the chief temptations to brutalizing excess. It is indeed said that freedom generates all forms of licentiousness, and, consequently, intemperance. But it is, I believe, a well established fact that this vice has decreased since our struggle for independence. The habits and manners of the last generation were more perilous to temperance than our own. Social intercourse was more deformed by excess. Men in mature life visited taverns, and the young could not meet without the danger of drowning reason in wine. It is a false notion that we are wholly indebted for our present reform in this particular to temperance societies. These have done great good, and deserve great praise; but the influence which is now carrying us on preceded them. They are its effects, not causes. An important change of habits had commenced before their institution, and this seems to me an important view, and one of the chief encouragements to joint and individual exertion for the suppression of this vice. Did I believe that our present social condition offered nothing but materials to intemperance, that it excluded all contrary influences, and that our whole hope for stemming this evil rested on the temperance societies, I should be tempted to despond. Such societies can avail little, except when they act in concurrence with causes in the condition of society. Such causes exist, and one great use of temperance societies is to bring them into more energetic and extensive action.

I have not insisted on one of the means of temperance on which great stress has been laid, — that is, the influence of public opinion. To bring this to bear against intemperance has been regarded by not a few as the chief method of subduing the evil. Too much, I think, is hoped from it. One obvious remark is, that the classes most exposed to intemperance are removed very much from the power of public opinion. But, passing over this, I think we generally look to this influence for more than it can accomplish. We lay upon it a greater weight than it can bear. Public opinion may even work against the cause which it is meant to support when made a substitute for individual exertion. A man, temperate because public opinion exacts it, has not the virtue of temperance, nor a stable ground of temperance habits. The remark is especially applicable to these times. Opinion, in former days, was more permanent than at present. There were few or no causes in operation to unsettle general conviction. Society was cast into fixed forms. Ages passed away, and slight changes were seen in manners and in modes of thinking. But the present is a revolutionary age. Society, breaking from its old moorings, is tossed on a restless and ever-stormy ocean. Opinion no longer affords that steady guidance which in former times supplied the place of private judgment and individual principle. There is no truth which sophistry does not now assail, no falsehood which may not become a party bond. The great work to which religion and benevolence are now called

is, not to sweep away multitudes by storm, not to lay on men the temporary, brittle chains of opinion, but to fix deep, rational conviction in individuals, to awaken the reason to eternal truth and the conscience to immutable duty. We are apt to labor to secure to virtue the power of fashion. We must secure to it the power of conviction. It is the essence of fashion to change. Nothing is sure but truth. No other foundation can sustain a permanent reform. The temperance which rests on other men's opinions and practice is not a man's own virtue, but a reflection of what exists around him. It lies on the surface. It has not penetrated the soul.

That opinion may exert a great and useful influence is not denied; but it must be enlightened opinion, appealing to the reason and the conscience of the individual; not to passion, interest, or fear, nor proscribing all who differ. We want public opinion to bear on temperance, but to act rationally, generously, not passionately, tyrannically, and with the spirit of persecution. Men cannot be driven into temperance. Let the temperate become a party, and breathe the violence of party, and they will raise up a party as violent as their own. The friends of truth must not call passion to their aid, for the erroneous and vicious have a greater stock of passion than they, and can wield this weapon to more effect. It is not by numbers or a louder cry that good men are to triumph over the bad. Their goodness, their consciousness of truth and universal love, must be manifested in clear, strong, benevolent appeals to the reason and heart. They must speak in the tone of the friend of their race. This will do infinitely more than the clamor of hosts.

It seems to me an important remark that public opinion cannot do for virtue what it does for vice. It is the essence of virtue to look above opinion. Vice is consistent with, and very often strengthened by, entire subserviency to it. It is a motive to be cautiously used, because the mind, which passively yields to it, will find it a debilitating rather than an invigorating influence. The moral independence which can withstand public sentiment is men's only safety. Whenever public sentiment shall be enlightened enough to promote this superiority to itself, it will be a noble spring. In proportion as it wars against this self-subsistence, it subverts the only foundation of substantial, enduring reform.

It is sometimes very hazardous to attempt to extirpate a common vice by making it disgraceful, and passing on it a sentence of outlawry. If, indeed, the vice be confined to the poor and obscure, the brand of infamy may easily be fixed on it; but when it spreads higher, and is taken under the protection of fashion, it can not only parry the weapon of disgrace in the hand of its adversaries, but turn this against them. Fashion is singularly expert in the use of ridicule. What it wants in reason it can supply in sneers and laughter. Sometimes it puts on indifference as a coat of mail. It has especially the art of attaching the idea of vulgarity to a good cause; and what virtue has courage to encounter this most dreaded form of opinion?

REMARKS ON EDUCATION.

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THE work, of which we have placed the title at the head of this article, is devoted to what is generally acknowledged to be the most important interest of families and of the state. It has, therefore, no ordinary claims to patronage, especially as it is the only work of the kind published in the country. We learn, however, that the support now given it not only falls short of its just claims, but is so insufficient that, unless its circulation can be extended, it must be abandoned. We are not only grieved at this, but somewhat disappointed; for, although we knew the ruling passion in the community for light and amusing reading, we did hope that the acknowledged importance of

education, and the necessity laid on every parent to watch over and guide the young, would overcome the repugnance to mental labor, and would communicate an interest to details which, separate from their end, would be dry and repulsive. It seems, however, that the community are more disposed to talk of education in general than to enter patiently and minutely into its principles and methods, — more disposed to laud it than to labor for it; and on this account we feel ourselves bound to say something, however briefly and rapidly, of the obligation of regarding it as the paramount object of society, and of giving encouragement to those who make it their task, or who devote themselves to its promotion. We know that we are repeating a thrice-told tale, are inviting attention to principles which the multitude most courteously acknowledge, and as readily forget. But all great truths are apt to grow trite; and if the moral teacher should fail to enforce them, because they are worn by repetition, religious and moral teaching would well nigh cease.

One excellence of the periodical work before us is, that it is pledged to no particular system of education, but starts with the acknowledgment of the great defects of all systems, and with the disposition to receive new lights, come from what quarter they may. It is no partisan. It is the instrument of no sect. It is designed to improve our modes of training the young; to give more generous views of the objects of education and of the discipline by which they may be attained; to increase the efficiency of existing institutions, and to aid in forming new ones more suited to our age and country; to unfold and diffuse those great universal principles in which men of all parties may be expected to agree, and to point out the application of them in our families and schools. Its pages are open to original suggestions, to discoveries, to the zealous reformer, and even to the too sanguine innovator. Its aim is to be a medium of communication for all who think on the subject of education, to furnish new facts to the philosopher, and to make known the results of successful experiments. Its liberality gives it one strong claim to support.

Perhaps, if it were more confined in its views, if it were designed to answer the purposes of a party or sect, it would be better sustained. Were it to proscribe one class, and to pander to the bad passions of another, it would not perhaps be obliged to sue for more generous patronage. But is it true that a work on education cannot find readers without assuming the badge of party? Cannot the greatness of its object secure attention to its teachings? In what class of society ought it not to find friends? What parent has not a deep interest in the improvement of public and private education? What philanthropist does not see in this the chief preparation of a people for his schemes of usefulness? What patriot does not see in this the main security of free institutions? This cause is commended alike to our private and public affections; and must the only periodical devoted to it die through neglect?

We are aware that there are some who take an attitude of defence when pressed with earnest applications on the subject of education. They think its importance overrated. They say that circumstances chiefly determine the young mind, that the influence of parents and teachers is very narrow, and that they sometimes dwarf and distort, instead of improving the child, by taking the work out of the hand of nature. These remarks are not wholly unfounded. The power of parents is often exaggerated. To strengthen their sense of responsibility, they are often taught that they are competent to effects which are not within their reach, and are often discouraged by the greatness of the task to which they are summoned. Nothing is gained by exaggeration. It is true, and the truth need not be disguised, that parents cannot operate at pleasure on the minds and characters of the young. Their influence is limited by their own ignorance and imperfection, by the strength and freedom of the will of the child, and by its connection, from its breath, with other objects and beings. Parents are not the only educators of their offspring, but must divide the work with other and numerous agents. And in this we rejoice; for, were the young confined to domestic influences, each generation would be a copy of the preceding, and the progress of society would cease. The child is not put into the

hands of parents alone. It is not born to hear but a few voices. It is brought at birth into a vast, we may say an infinite, school. The universe is charged with the office of its education. Innumerable voices come to it from all that it meets, sees, feels. It is not confined to a few books anxiously selected for it by parental care. Nature, society, experience, are volumes opened everywhere and perpetually before its eyes. It takes lessons from every object within the sphere of its senses and its activity, from the sun and stars, from the flowers of spring and the fruits of autumn, from every associate, from every smiling and frowning countenance, from the pursuits, trades, professions of the community in which it moves, from its plays, friendships, and dislikes, from the varieties of human character, and from the consequences of its actions. All these, and more than these, are appointed to teach, awaken, develop the mind of the child. It is plunged amidst friendly and hostile influences, to grow by co-operating with the first, and by resisting the last. The circumstances in which we are placed form, indeed, a most important school, and by their help some men have risen to distinction in knowledge and virtue, with little aid from parents, teachers, and books.

Still, the influence of parents and teachers is great. On them it very much depends whether the circumstances which surround the child shall operate to his good. They must help him to read, interpret, and use wisely the great volumes of nature, society, and experience. They must fix his volatile glance, arrest his precipitate judgment, guide his observation, teach him to link together cause and effect in the outward world, and turn his thoughts inward on his own more mysterious nature. The young, left to the education of circumstances, — left without teaching, guidance, restraint, — will, in all probability, grow up ignorant, torpid in intellect, strangers to their own powers, and slaves to their passions. The fact that some children, without aid from parents or schools, have struggled into eminence, no more proves such aid to be useless than the fact that some have grown strong under physical exposures which would destroy the majority of the race, would prove the worthlessness of the ordinary precautions which are taken for the security of health.

We have spoken of parents as possessing, and as bound to exert, an important influence on the young. But they cannot do the whole work of education. Their daily occupation, the necessity of labors for the support of their families, household cares, the duty of watching over the health of their children, and other social relations, render it almost impossible for parents to qualify themselves for much of the teaching which the young require, and often deny them time and opportunity for giving instruction to which they are competent. Hence the need of a class of persons who shall devote themselves exclusively to the work of education. In all societies, ancient and modern, this want has been felt; the profession of teachers has been known: and to secure the best helps of this kind to children is one of the first duties of parents, for on these the progress of their children very much depends.

One of the discouraging views of society at the present moment is, that whilst much is said of education, hardly any seem to feel the necessity of securing to it the best minds in the community, and of securing them at any price. A juster estimate of this office begins to be made in our great cities; but, generally, it seems to be thought that anybody may become a teacher. The most moderate ability is thought to be competent to the most important profession in society. Strange, too, as it may seem, on this point parents incline to be economical. They who squander thousands on dress, furniture, amusements, think it hard to pay comparatively small sums to the instructor: and through this ruinous economy, and this ignorance of the dignity of a teacher's vocation, they rob their children of aid for which the treasures of worlds can afford no compensation.

There is no office higher than that of a teacher of youth, for there is nothing on earth so precious as the mind, soul, character of the child. No office should be regarded with greater respect. The first minds in the community should be encouraged to assume it. Parents should do all but impover-

ish themselves to induce such to become the guardians and guides of their children. To this good, all their show and luxury should be sacrificed. Here they should be lavish, whilst they straiten themselves in every thing else. They should wear the cheapest clothes, live on the plainest food, if they can in no other way secure to their families the best instruction. They should have no anxiety to accumulate property for their children, provided they can place them under influences which will awaken their faculties, inspire them with pure and high principles, and fit them to bear a manly, useful, and honorable part in the world. No language can express the cruelty or folly of that economy which, to leave a fortune to a child, starves his intellect, impoverishes his heart. There should be no economy in education. Money should never be weighed against the soul of a child. It should be poured out like water for the child's intellectual and moral life.

Parents should seek an educator for the young of their families who will become to them a hearty and efficient friend, counsellor, coadjutor, in their work. If their circumstances will allow it, they should so limit the school that the instructor may know intimately every child, may become the friend of each, and may converse frequently with them in regard to each. He should be worthy of their confidence, should find their doors always open, should be among their most welcome guests, and should study with them the discipline which the peculiarities of each pupil may require. He should give the parents warning of the least obliquity of mind which he discovers at school, should receive in return their suggestions as to the injudiciousness of his own methods in regard to one or another child, and should concert with them the means of arresting every evil at its first manifestation. Such is the teacher we need, and his value cannot be paid in gold. A man of distinguished ability and virtue, whose mind should be concentrated in the work of training as many children as he can thoroughly understand and guide, would shed a light on the path of parents for which they often sigh, and would give an impulse to the young little comprehended under our present modes of teaching. No profession should receive so liberal remuneration. We need not say how far the community fall short of this estimate of the teacher's office. Very many send their children to school, and seldom or never see the instructor who is operating daily and deeply on their minds and characters. With a blind confidence, perhaps they do not ask how that work is advancing on which the dearest interests of the family depend. Perhaps they put the children under the daily control of one with whom they do not care to associate. Perhaps, were they told what they ought to pay for teaching, they would stare as if a project for robbing them were on foot, or would suspect the sanity of the friend who should counsel them to throw away so much money in purchasing that cheapest of all articles, that drug in every market, instruction for their children.

We know not how society can be aided more than by the formation of a body of wise and efficient educators. We know not any class which would contribute so much to the stability of the state, and to domestic happiness. Much as we respect the ministry of the gospel, we believe that it must yield in importance to the office of training the young. In truth, the ministry now accomplishes little for want of that early intellectual and moral discipline by which alone a community can be prepared to distinguish truth from falsehood, to comprehend the instructions of the pulpit, to receive higher and broader views of duty, and to apply general principles to the diversified details of life. A body of cultivated men, devoted, with their whole hearts, to the improvement of education, and to the most effectual training of the young, would work a fundamental revolution in society. They would leaven the community with just principles. Their influence would penetrate our families. Our domestic discipline would no longer be left to accident and impulse. What parent has not felt the need of this aid, has not often been depressed, heart-sick, under the consciousness of ignorance in the great work of swaying the youthful mind!

We have spoken of the office of the education of human beings as the noblest on earth, and have spoken deliberately. It is more important than that

of the statesman. The statesman may set fences round our property and dwellings; but how much more are we indebted to him who calls forth the powers and affections of those for whom our property is earned, and our dwellings are reared, and who renders our children objects of increasing love and respect! We go farther. We maintain that higher ability is required for the office of an educator of the young than for that of a statesman. The highest ability is that which penetrates farthest into human nature, comprehends the mind in all its capacities, traces out the laws of thought and moral action, understands the perfection of human nature and how it may be approached, understands the springs, motives, applications, by which the child is to be roused to the most vigorous and harmonious action of all its faculties, understands its perils, and knows how to blend and modify the influences which outward circumstances exert on the youthful mind. The speculations of statesmen are shallow compared with these. It is the chief function of the statesman to watch over the outward interests of a people, — that of the educator to quicken its soul. The statesman must study and manage the passions and prejudices of the community; the educator must study the essential, the deepest, the loftiest principles of human nature. The statesman works with coarse instruments for coarse ends; the educator is to work by the most refined influences on that delicate, ethereal essence, the immortal soul.

Nothing is more common than mistakes as to the comparative importance of the different vocations of life. Noisy, showy agency, which is spread over a great surface, and therefore seldom penetrates beneath the surface, is called glory. Multitudes are blinded by official dignity, and stand wondering at a pygmy, because he happens to be perched on some eminence in church or state. So the declaimer, who can electrify a crowd by passionate appeals, or splendid images, which give no clear perceptions to the intellect, which develop no general truth, which breathe no firm, disinterested purpose, passes for a great man. How few reflect, that the greater man is he who, without noise or show, is wisely fixing in a few minds broad, pregnant, generous principles of judgment and action, and giving an impulse which will carry them on for ever! Jesus, with that divine wisdom which separates him from all other teachers, declared that the first requisite for becoming "great in his kingdom," which was another phrase for exerting a great moral influence, was humility; by which he meant a spirit opposed to that passion for conspicuous station with which he saw his disciples inflamed, — a spirit of deep, unpretending philanthropy, manifested in sympathy with the wants of the mind, and in condescension to any efforts by which the ignorant and tempted might be brought to truth and virtue. According to these views, we think it a greater work to educate a child, in the true and large sense of that phrase, than to rule a state.

Perhaps the direction which benevolence is taking at the present day has some influence in turning from the office of education the high honor which is its due. Benevolence is now directing itself very much to public objects, to the alleviation of misery on a grand scale, to the conversion of whole nations, to the instruction of large bodies, and in this form it draws the chief notice and admiration of multitudes. Now we are far from wishing to confine this action of charity. We respect it, and recognize in it one of the distinctive fruits of Christianity. But it must not be forgotten that the purest benevolence is that which acts on individuals, and is manifested in our particular social domestic relations. It requires no great improvement in charity to sympathize with the degradation and misery into which the millions of India are sunk by the worship of Juggernaut, and other superstitions. It is a higher action of the intellect and heart to study and understand thoroughly the character of an individual who is near us, to enter into his mind, to trace his defects and sufferings to their true spring, to bear quietly and gently with his frowardness and relapses, and to apply to him patiently and encouragingly the means of intellectual and moral elevation. It is not the highest attainment to be benevolent to those who are thousands of miles from us, whose miseries make striking pictures for the imagination, who never cross our paths, never interfere with our interests, never try us by their waywardness, never

shock us by their coarse manners, and whom we are to assist by an act of bounty which sends a missionary to their aid. The truest mode of enlarging our benevolence is not to quicken our sensibility towards great masses or widespread evils, but to approach, comprehend, sympathize with, and act upon, a continually increasing number of individuals. It is the glory of God to know, love, and act on every individual in his infinite creation. Let us, if we can, do good far and wide. Let us send light and joy, if we can, to the ends of the earth. The charity which is now active for distant objects is noble. We only wish to say that it ranks behind the obscurer philanthropy which, while it sympathizes with the race, enters deeply into the minds, wants, interests of the individuals within its reach, and devotes itself patiently and wisely to the task of bringing them to a higher standard of intellectual and moral worth.

We would suggest it to those who are anxious to do good on a grand and imposing scale, that *they* should be the last to cast into the shade the labors of the retired teacher of the young; because education is the germ of all other improvements, and because all their schemes for the progress of society must fail without it. How often have the efforts of the philanthropist been foiled by the prejudices and brutal ignorance of the community which he has hoped to serve, by their incapacity of understanding him, of entering into and co-operating with his views! He has cast his seed on the barren sand, and of course reaped no fruit but disappointment. Philanthropists are too apt to imagine that they can accomplish particular reformations, or work particular changes in a society, although no foundation for these improvements has been laid in its intellectual and moral culture. They expect a people to think and act wisely in special cases, although generally wanting in intelligence, sound judgment, and the capacity of understanding and applying the principles of reason. But this partial improvement is a vain hope. The physician who should spend his skill on a diseased limb whilst all the functions were deranged, and the principle of life almost extinguished, would get no credit for skill. To do men permanent good, we must act on their whole nature, and especially must aid, foster, and guide their highest faculties at the first period of their development. If left in early life to sink into intellectual and moral torpor, — if suffered to grow up unconscious of their powers, unused to steady and wise exertion of the understanding, and strangers to the motives which ought to stir and guide human activity, — they will be poor subjects for the efforts of the philanthropist. Benevolence is short-sighted, indeed, and must blame itself for failure, if it do not see in education the chief interest of the human race.

One great cause of the low estimation in which the teacher is now held may be found in narrow views of education. The multitude think that to educate a child is to crowd into its mind a given amount of knowledge, to teach the mechanism of reading and writing, to load the memory with words, to prepare a boy for the routine of a trade. No wonder, then, that they think almost everybody fit to teach. The true end of education, as we have again and again suggested, is to unfold and direct aright our whole nature. Its office is to call forth power of every kind, — power of thought, affection, will, and outward action; power to observe, to reason, to judge, to contrive; power to adopt good ends firmly, and to pursue them efficiently; power to govern ourselves, and to influence others; power to gain and to spread happiness. Reading is but an instrument, — education is to teach its best use. The intellect was created not to receive passively a few words, dates, facts, but to be active for the acquisition of truth. Accordingly, education should labor to inspire a profound love of truth, and to teach the processes of investigation. A sound logic — by which we mean the science or art which instructs us in the laws of reasoning and evidence, in the true methods of inquiry, and in the sources of false judgments — is an essential part of a good education. And yet how little is done to teach the right use of the intellect in the common modes of training either rich or poor! As a general rule, the young are to be made, as far as possible, their own teachers, the discoverers of truth, the interpreters of nature, the framers of science. They are to be helped to help themselves. They should

be taught to observe and study the world in which they live, to trace the connections of events, to rise from particular facts to general principles, and then to apply these in explaining new phenomena. Such is a rapid outline of the intellectual education which, as far as possible, should be given to all human beings; and with this moral education should go hand in hand. In proportion as the child gains knowledge, he should be taught how to use it well, how to turn it to the good of mankind. He should study the world as God's world, and as the sphere in which he is to form interesting connections with his fellow-creatures. A spirit of humanity should be breathed into him from all his studies. In teaching geography, the physical and moral condition, the wants, advantages, and striking peculiarities of different nations, and the relations of climates, seas, rivers, mountains, to their characters and pursuits, should be pointed out, so as to awaken an interest in man wherever he dwells. History should be constantly used to exercise the moral judgment of the young, to call forth sympathy with the fortunes of the human race, and to expose to indignation and abhorrence that selfish ambition, that passion for dominion, which has so long deluged the earth with blood and woe. And not only should the excitement of just moral feeling be proposed in every study. The science of morals should form an important part of every child's instruction. One branch of ethics should be particularly insisted on by the government. Every school, established by law, should be specially bound to teach the duties of the citizen to the state, to unfold the principles of free institutions, and to train the young to an enlightened patriotism. From these brief and imperfect views of the nature and ends of a wise education, we learn the dignity of the profession to which it is intrusted, and the importance of securing to it the best minds of the community.

On reviewing these hints on the extent of education, we see that one important topic has been omitted. We have said that it is the office of the teacher to call into vigorous action the mind of the child. He must do more. He must strive to create a thirst, an insatiable craving for knowledge, — to give animation to study and make it a pleasure, and thus to communicate an impulse which will endure when the instructions of the school are closed. The mark of a good teacher is, not only that he produces great effort in his pupils, but that he dismisses them from his care conscious of having only laid the foundation of knowledge, and anxious and resolved to improve themselves. One of the sure signs of the low state of instruction among us is, that the young, on leaving school, feel as if the work of intellectual culture were done, and give up steady, vigorous effort for higher truth and wider knowledge. Our daughters at sixteen and our sons at eighteen or twenty have *finished* their education. The true use of a school is, to enable and dispose the pupil to learn through life; and if so, who does not see that the office of teacher requires men of enlarged and liberal minds, and of winning manners, — in other words, that it requires as cultivated men as can be found in society. If to drive and to drill were the chief duties of an instructor; if to force into the mind an amount of lifeless knowledge, to make the child a machine, to create a repugnance to books, to mental labor, to the acquisition of knowledge, were the great objects of the school-room, then the teacher might be chosen on the principles which now govern the school-committees in no small part of our country. Then the man who can read, write, cipher, and whip, and will exercise his gifts at the lowest price, deserves the precedence which he now too often enjoys. But if the human being be something more than a block or a brute; if he have powers which proclaim him a child of God, and which were given for noble action and perpetual progress, then a better order of things should begin among us, and truly enlightened men should be summoned to the work of education.

Leaving the subject of instruction, we observe that there is another duty of teachers which requires that they should be taken from the class of improved, wise, virtuous men. They are to govern as well as teach. They must preserve order, and for this end must inflict punishment in some of its forms. We know that some philanthropists wish to banish all punishment from the school

We would not discourage their efforts and hopes; but we fear that the time for this reform is not yet come, and that as long as the want of a wise discipline at home supplies the teacher with so many lawless subjects, he will be compelled to use other restraints than kindness and reason. Punishment, we fear, cannot be dispensed with; but that it ought to be administered most deliberately, righteously, judiciously, and with a wise adaptation to the character of the child, we all feel; and can it then be safely intrusted, as is too much the case, to teachers undisciplined in mind and heart? Corporal punishment at present has a place in almost all our schools for boys, and perhaps in some for girls. It may be necessary. But ought not every parent to have some security that his child shall not receive a blow unless inflicted in wisdom, justice, and kindness? And what security can he have for this but in the improved character of the instructor? We have known mournful effects of injudicious corporal punishment. We have known a blow to alienate a child from his father, to stir up bitter hatred towards his teacher, and to indispose him to study and the pursuit of knowledge. We cannot be too unwilling to place our children under the care of passionate teachers, who, having no rule over their own spirits, cannot of course rule others, or of weak and unskilful teachers, who are obliged to supply by severity the want of a wise firmness. It is wonderful how thoughtlessly parents expose their children to corporal punishment. Our laws have expunged whipping from the penal code, and the felon is exempted from this indignity. But how many boys are subjected to a whipper in the shape of a schoolmaster, whose whole mystery of discipline lies in the ferule! The discipline of a school is of vast importance in its moral influence. A boy compelled for six hours each day to see the countenance and hear the voice of an unfeeling, petulant, passionate, unjust teacher, is placed in a school of vice. He is all the time learning lessons of inhumanity, hard-heartedness, and injustice. The English are considered by the rest of Europe as inclined to cruelty. Their common people are said to be wanting in mercy to the inferior animals and to be ferocious in their quarrels; and their planters enjoy the bad pre-eminence of being the worst masters in the West Indies, with the exception of the Dutch. It is worth consideration, whether these vices, if they really exist, may not be ascribed in part to the unrestrained, barbarous use of whipping in their schools. Of one thing we are sure, that the discipline of a school has an important influence on the character of a child; and that a just, mild, benevolent teacher, who procures order by methods which the moral sense of his pupils approves, is perpetually spreading around him his own virtues. Should not our teachers, then, be sought from the class of the most enlightened and excellent men?

Our limits allow us to add but one more remark on the qualifications of teachers. It is important that they should be able to co-operate with parents in awakening the religious principle in the young. We would not of course admit into schools the peculiarities of the denominations which divide the Christian world. But religion in its broadest sense should be taught. It should indirectly mix with all teaching. The young mind should be guided through nature and human history to the Creator and Disposer of the universe; and, still more, the practical principles and spirit of Christianity should be matters of direct inculcation. We know no office requiring greater wisdom, and none but the wise and good should be invited to discharge it.

We know that it will be objected to the views now given, that few, very few, will be able to pay for such teachers as we recommend. We believe, however, that there is a large class who, if they had the will, and would deny themselves as they ought, might procure excellent instructors for their children; and as for the rest, let them do their best, let them but throw their hearts into this cause and improvements will be effected which have not been anticipated, perhaps not conceived. We acknowledge, however, that our remarks have been intended chiefly for the opulent. Let an interest in education be awakened in this class, and let more generous means for its promotion be employed, and we are satisfied that the teaching of all classes will be advanced, the talent of the country will be more and more directed to the office of instruction, and the benefit will spread through the whole community.

REMARKS ON NATIONAL LITERATURE.

[Review of a Discourse concerning the Influence of America on the Mind; being the Annual Oration delivered before the American Philosophical Society, at the University in Philadelphia, October 18, 1823. By C. J. Ingersoll.]

WE shall use the work prefixed to this article as ministers are sometimes said to use their texts. We shall make it a point to start from, — not the subject of our remarks. Our purpose is to treat of the importance and means of a National Literature. The topic seems to us a great one, and to have intimate connections with morals and religion, as well as with all our public interests. Our views will be given with great freedom; and if they serve no other purpose than to recommend the subject to more general attention, one of our principal objects will be accomplished.

We begin with stating what we mean by national literature. We mean the expression of a nation's mind in writing. We mean the production among a people of important works in philosophy, and in the departments of imagination and taste. We mean the contributions of new truths to the stock of human knowledge. We mean the thoughts of profound and original minds, elaborated by the toil of composition, and fixed and made immortal in books. We mean the manifestation of a nation's intellect in the only forms by which it can multiply itself at home, and send itself abroad. We mean that a nation shall take a place, by its authors, among the lights of the world. It will be seen that we include under literature all the writings of superior minds, be the subjects what they may. We are aware that the term is often confined to compositions which relate to human nature and human life; that it is not generally extended to physical science; that mind, not matter, is regarded as its main subject and sphere. But the worlds of matter and mind are too intimately connected to admit of exact partition. All the objects of human thought flow into one another. Moral and physical truths have many bonds and analogies, and, whilst the former are the chosen and noblest themes of literature, we are not anxious to divorce them from the latter, or to shut them up in a separate department. The expression of superior mind in writing we regard, then as a nation's literature. We regard its gifted men, whether devoted to the exact sciences, to mental and ethical philosophy, to history and legislation, or to fiction and poetry, as forming a noble intellectual brotherhood; and it is for the purpose of quickening all to join their labors for the public good that we offer the present plea in behalf of a national literature.

To show the importance which we attach to the subject, we begin with some remarks on what we deem the distinction which a nation should most earnestly covet. We believe that more distinct apprehensions on this point are needed, and that, for want of them, the work of improvement is carried on with less energy, consistency, and wisdom, than may and should be brought to bear upon it. The great distinction of a country, then, is, that it produces superior men. Its natural advantages are not to be disdained. But they are of secondary importance. No matter what races of animals a country breeds, the great question is, Does it breed a noble race of men? No matter what its soil may be, the great question is, How far is it prolific of moral and intellectual power? No matter how stern its climate is, if it nourish force of thought and virtuous purpose. These are the products by which a country is to be tried, and institutions have value only by the impulse which they give to the mind. It has sometimes been said that the noblest men grow where nothing else will grow. This we do not believe, for mind is not the creature of climate or soil. But were it true, we should say that it were better to live among rocks and sands than in the most genial and productive region on the face of the earth.

As yet, the great distinction of a nation on which we have insisted has been scarcely recognized. The idea of forming a superior race of men has entered little into schemes of policy. Invention and effort have been expended on matter much more than on mind. Lofty piles have been reared; the earth has groaned under pyramids and palaces. The thought of building up a nobler order of intellect and character has hardly crossed the most adventurous statesman. We beg that we may not be misapprehended. We offer these remarks to correct what we deem a disproportioned attention to physical good, and not at all to condemn the expenditure of ingenuity and strength on the outward world. There is a harmony between all our great interests, between inward and outward improvements; and by establishing among them a wise order, all will be secured. We have no desire to shut up man in his own spiritual nature. The mind was made to act on matter, and it grows by expressing itself in material forms. We believe, too, that in proportion as it shall gain intellectual and moral power, it will exert itself with increased energy and delight on the outward creation; will pour itself forth more freely in useful and ornamental arts; will rear more magnificent structures, and will call forth new beauties in nature. An intelligent and resolute spirit in a community perpetually extends its triumphs over matter. It can even subject to itself the most unpromising region. Holland, diked from the ocean, — Venice, rising amidst the waves, — and New England, bleak and rock-bound New England, converted by a few generations from a wilderness into smiling fields and opulent cities, — point us to the mind as the great source of physical good, and teach us that, in making the culture of man our highest end, we shall not retard but advance the cultivation of nature.

The question which we most solicitously ask about this country is, what race of men it is likely to produce. We consider its liberty of value only as far as it favors the growth of men. What is liberty? The removal of restraint from human powers. Its benefit is, that it opens new fields for action and a wider range for the mind. The only freedom worth possessing is that which gives enlargement to a people's energy, intellect, and virtues. The savage makes his boast of freedom. But what is its worth? Free as he is, he continues for ages in the same ignorance, leads the same comfortless life, sees the same untamed wilderness spread around him. He is indeed free from what he calls the yoke of civil institutions. But other and worse chains bind him. The very privation of civil government is in effect a chain; for, by withholding protection from property, it virtually shackles the arm of industry, and forbids exertion for the melioration of his lot. Progress, the growth of power, is the end and boon of liberty; and, without this, a people may have the name, but want the substance and spirit of freedom.

We are the more earnest in enlarging on these views, because we feel that our attachment to our country must be very much proportioned to what we deem its tendency to form a generous race of men. We pretend not to have thrown off national feeling; but we have some stronger feelings. We love our country much, but mankind more. As men and Christians, our first desire is to see the improvement of human nature. We desire to see the soul of man wiser, firmer, nobler, more conscious of its imperishable treasures, more beneficent and powerful, more alive to its connection with God, more able to use pleasure and prosperity aright, and more victorious over poverty, adversity, and pain. In our survey of our own and other countries, the great question which comes to us is this, Where and under what institutions are men most likely to advance? Where are the soundest minds and the purest hearts formed? What nation possesses, in its history, its traditions, its government, its religion, its manners, its pursuits, its relations to other communities, and especially in its private and public means of education, the instruments and pledges of a more resolute virtue and devotion to truth, than we now witness? Such a nation, be it where it may, will engage our warmest interest. We love our country, but not blindly. In all nations we recognize one great family, and our chief wish for our native land is, that it may take the first rank among the lights and benefactors of the human race.

These views will explain the vast importance which we attach to a national

literature. By this, as we have said, we understand the expression of a nation's mind in writing. It is the action of the most gifted understandings on the community. It throws into circulation through a wide sphere the most quickening and beautiful thoughts which have grown up in men of laborious study or creative genius. It is a much higher work than the communication of a gifted intellect in discourse. It is the mind giving to multitudes, whom no voice can reach, its compressed and selected thoughts in the most lucid order and attractive forms which it is capable of inventing. In other words, literature is the concentration of intellect for the purpose of spreading itself abroad and multiplying its energy.

Such being the nature of literature, it is plainly among the most powerful methods of exalting the character of a nation, of forming a better race of men; in truth, we apprehend that it may claim the first rank among the means of improvement. We know nothing so fitted to the advancement of society as to bring its higher minds to bear upon the multitude; as to establish close connections between the more or less gifted; as to spread far and wide the light which springs up in meditative, profound, and sublime understandings. It is the ordinance of God, and one of his most benevolent laws, that the human race should be carried forward by impulses which originate in a few minds, perhaps in an individual; and in this way the most interesting relations and dependencies of life are framed. When a great truth is to be revealed, it does not flash at once on the race, but dawns and brightens on a superior understanding, from which it is to emanate and to illumine future ages. On the faithfulness of great minds to this awful function, the progress and happiness of men chiefly depend. The most illustrious benefactors of the race have been men who, having risen to great truths, have held them as a sacred trust for their kind, and have borne witness to them amid general darkness, under scorn and persecution, perhaps in the face of death. Such men, indeed, have not always made contributions to literature, for their condition has not allowed them to be authors: but we owe the transmission, perpetuity, and immortal power of their new and high thoughts to kindred spirits, which have concentrated and fixed them in books.

The quickening influences of literature need not be urged on those who are familiar with the history of modern Europe, and who of course know the spring given to the human mind by the revival of ancient learning. Through their writings, the great men of antiquity have exercised a sovereignty over these later ages not enjoyed in their own. It is more important to observe that the influence of literature is perpetually increasing; for, through the press and the spread of education, its sphere is indefinitely enlarged. Reading, once the privilege of a few, is now the occupation of multitudes, and is to become one of the chief gratifications of all. Books penetrate everywhere, and some of the works of genius find their way to obscure dwellings which, a little while ago, seemed barred against all intellectual light. Writing is now the mightiest instrument on earth. Through this the mind has acquired a kind of omnipresence. To literature we then look, as the chief means of forming a better race of human beings. To superior minds, which may act through this, we look for the impulses by which their country is to be carried forward. We would teach them that they are the depositaries of the highest power on earth, and that on them the best hopes of society rest.

We are aware that some may think that we are exalting intellectual above moral and religious influence. They may tell us that the teaching of moral and religious truth, not by philosophers and boasters of wisdom, but by the comparatively weak and foolish, is the great means of renovating the world. This truth we indeed regard as "the power of God unto salvation." But let none imagine that its chosen temple is an uncultivated mind, and that it selects, as its chief organs, the lips of the unlearned. Religious and moral truth is indeed appointed to carry forward mankind; but not as conceived and expounded by narrow minds, not as darkened by the ignorant, not as debased by the superstitious, not as subtilized by the visionary, not as thundered out by the intolerant fanatic, not as turned into a drivelling cant by the hypocrite. Like all other truths, it re-

quires for its full reception and powerful communication a free and vigorous intellect. Indeed, its grandeur and infinite connections demand a more earnest and various use of our faculties than any other subject. As a single illustration of this remark, we may observe that all moral and religious truth may be reduced to one great and central thought, perfection of mind, — a thought which comprehends all that is glorious in the divine nature, and which reveals to us the end and happiness of our own existence. This perfection has as yet only dawned on the most gifted human beings, and the great purpose of our present and future existence is to enlarge our conceptions of it without end, and to embody and make them manifest in character and life. And is this sublime thought to grow within us, to refine itself from error and impure mixture, to receive perpetual accessions of brightness from the study of God, man, and nature, and especially to be communicated powerfully to others, without the vigorous exertion of our intellectual nature? Religion has been wronged by nothing more than by being separated from intellect; than by being removed from the province of reason and free research into that of mystery and authority, of impulse and feeling. Hence it is that the prevalent forms or exhibitions of Christianity are comparatively inert, and that most which is written on the subject is of little or no worth. Christianity was given, not to contradict and degrade the rational nature, but to call it forth, to enlarge its range and its powers. It admits of endless development. It is the last truth which should remain stationary. It ought to be so explored and so expressed as to take the highest place in a nation's literature, as to exalt and purify all other literature. From these remarks it will be seen that the efficacy which we have ascribed to literary or intellectual influence in the work of human improvement, is consistent with the supreme importance of moral and religious truth.

If we have succeeded in conveying the impressions which we have aimed to make, our readers are now prepared to inquire with interest into the condition and prospects of literature among ourselves. Do we possess, indeed, what may be called a national literature? Have we produced eminent writers in the various departments of intellectual effort? Are our chief resources of instruction and literary enjoyment furnished from ourselves? We regret that the reply to these questions is so obvious. The few standard works which we have produced, and which promise to live, can hardly, by any courtesy, be denominated a national literature. On this point, if marks and proofs of our real condition were needed, we should find them in the current apologies for our deficiencies. Our writers are accustomed to plead in our excuse our youth, the necessities of a newly settled country, and the direction of our best talents to practical life. Be the pleas sufficient or not, one thing they prove, and that is, our consciousness of having failed to make important contributions to the interests of the intellect. We have few names to place by the side of the great names in science and literature on the other side of the ocean. We want those lights which make a country conspicuous at a distance. Let it not be said that European envy denies our just claims. In an age like this, when the literary world forms a great family, and the products of mind are circulated more rapidly than those of machinery, it is a nation's own fault if its name be not pronounced with honor beyond itself. We have ourselves heard, and delighted to hear, beyond the Alps, our country designated as the land of Franklin. This name had scaled that mighty barrier, and made us known where our institutions and modes of life were hardly better understood than those of the natives of our forests.

We are accustomed to console ourselves for the absence of a commanding literature by urging our superiority to other nations in our institutions for the diffusion of elementary knowledge through all classes of the community, We have here just cause for boasting, though perhaps less than we imagine. That there are gross deficiencies in our common schools, and that the amount of knowledge which they communicate, when compared with the time spent in its acquisition, is lamentably small, the community begin to feel. There is a crying need for a higher and more

quickening kind of instruction than the laboring part of society have yet received, and we rejoice that the cry begins to be heard. But, allowing our elementary institutions to be ever so perfect, we confess that they do not satisfy us. We want something more. A dead level of intellect, even if it should rise above what is common in other nations, would not answer our wishes and hopes for our country. We want great minds to be formed among us, — minds which shall be felt afar, and through which we may act on the world. We want the human intellect to do its utmost here. We want this people to obtain a claim on the gratitude of the human race, by adding strength to the foundation, and fulness and splendor to the development, of moral and religious truth; by originality of thought, by discoveries of science, and by contributions to the refining pleasures of taste and imagination.

With these views, we do and must lament that, however we surpass other nations in providing for, and spreading elementary instruction, we fall behind many in provision for the liberal training of the intellect, for forming great scholars, for communicating that profound knowledge, and that thirst for higher truths, which can alone originate a commanding literature. The truth ought to be known. There is among us much superficial knowledge, but little severe, persevering research; little of that consuming passion for new truth which makes outward things worthless; little resolute devotion to a high intellectual culture. There is nowhere a literary atmosphere, or such an accumulation of literary influence, as determines the whole strength of the mind to its own enlargement, and to the manifestation of itself in enduring forms. Few among us can be said to have followed out any great subject of thought patiently, laboriously, so as to know thoroughly what others have discovered and taught concerning it, and thus to occupy a ground from which new views may be gained. Of course, exceptions are to be found. This country has produced original and profound thinkers. We have named Franklin, and we may name Edwards, one of the greatest men of his age, though unhappily his mind was lost, in a great degree, to literature, and we fear to religion, by vassalage to a false theology. His work on the Will throws, indeed, no light on human nature, and, notwithstanding the nobleness of the subject, gives no great or elevated thoughts; but, as a specimen of logical acuteness and controversial power, it certainly ranks in the very highest class of metaphysical writings. We might also name living authors who do honor to their country. Still, we may say we chiefly prize what has been done among us as a promise of higher and more extensive effort. Patriotism, as well as virtue, forbids us to burn incense to national vanity. The truth should be seen and felt. In an age of great intellectual activity, we rely chiefly for intellectual excitement and enjoyment on foreign minds; nor is our own mind felt abroad. Whilst clamoring against dependence on European manufactures, we contentedly rely on Europe for the nobler and more important fabrics of the intellect. We boast of our political institutions, and receive our chief teachings, books, impressions, from the school of monarchy. True, we labor under disadvantages. But, if our liberty deserves the praise which it receives, it is more than a balance for these. We believe that it is. We believe that it does open to us an indefinite intellectual progress. Did we not so regard it, we should value it little. If hereditary governments minister most to the growth of the mind, it were better to restore them than to cling to a barren freedom. Let us not expose liberty to this reproach. Let us prove, by more generous provisions for the diffusion of elementary knowledge, for the training of great minds, and for the joint culture of the moral and intellectual powers, that we are more and more instructed by freedom in the worth and greatness of human nature, and in the obligation of contributing to its strength and glory.

We have spoken of the condition of our literature. We now proceed to the consideration of the causes which obstruct its advancement; and we are immediately struck by one so prevalent as to deserve distinct notice. We refer to the common doctrine that we need, in this country, useful knowledge, rather than profound, extensive, and elegant literature, and that this last, if we covet it, may be imported from abroad in such variety and abundance as to save us the

necessity of producing it among ourselves. How far are these opinions just? This question we purpose to answer.

That useful knowledge should receive our first and chief care we mean not to dispute. But in our views of utility we may differ from some who take this position. There are those who confine this term to the necessaries and comforts of life, and to the means of producing them. And is it true that we need no knowledge but that which clothes and feeds us? Is it true that all studies may be dispensed with but such as teach us to act on matter, and to turn it to our use? Happily, human nature is too stubborn to yield to this narrow utility. It is interesting to observe how the very mechanical arts, which are especially designed to minister to the necessities and comforts of life, are perpetually passing these limits, — how they disdain to stop at mere convenience. A large and increasing proportion of mechanical labor is given to the gratification of an elegant taste. How simple would be the art of building, if it limited itself to the construction of a comfortable shelter! How many ships should we dismantle, and how many busy trades put to rest, were dress and furniture reduced to the standard of convenience! This "utility" would work a great change in town and country, would level to the dust the wonders of architecture, would annihilate the fine arts, and blot out innumerable beauties which the hand of taste has spread over the face of the earth. Happily, human nature is too strong for the ultilitarian. It cannot satisfy itself with the convenient. No passion unfolds itself sooner than the love of the ornamental. The savage decorates his person, and the child is more struck with the beauty than the uses of its raiment. So far from limiting ourselves to convenient food and raiment, we enjoy but little a repast which is not arranged with some degree of order and taste; and a man who should consult comfort alone in his wardrobe, would find himself an unwelcome guest in circles which he would very reluctantly forego. We are aware that the propensity to which we have referred often breaks out in extravagance and ruinous luxury. We know that the love of ornament is often vitiated by vanity, and that, when so perverted, it impairs, sometimes destroys, the soundness and simplicity of the mind and the relish for true glory. Still it teaches, even in its excesses, that the idea of beauty is an indestructible principle of our nature, and this single truth is enough to put us on our guard against vulgar notions of utility.

We have said that we prize, as highly as any, useful knowledge. But by this we mean knowledge which answers and ministers to our complex and various nature; we mean that which is useful, not only to the animal man, but to the intellectual, moral, and religious man, — useful to a being of spiritual faculties, whose happiness is to be found in their free and harmonious exercise. We grant that there is primary necessity for that information and skill by which subsistence is earned and life is preserved; for it is plain that we must live in order to act and improve. But life is the means; action and improvement the end; and who will deny that the noblest utility belongs to that knowledge by which the chief purpose of our creation is accomplished? According to these views, a people should honor and cultivate, as unspeakably useful, that literature which corresponds to, and calls forth, the highest faculties; which expresses and communicates energy of thought, fruitfulness of invention, force of moral purpose, a thirst for the true, and a delight in the beautiful. According to these views, we attach special importance to those branches of literature which relate to human nature, and which give it a consciousness of its own powers. History has a noble use, for it shows us human beings in various and opposite conditions, in their strength and weakness, in their progress and relapses, and thus reveals the causes and means by which the happiness and virtue of the race may be enlarged. Poetry is useful, by touching deep springs in the human soul; by giving voice to its more delicate feelings; by breathing out, and making more intelligible, the sympathy which subsists between the mind and the outward universe; by creating beautiful forms of manifestations for great moral truths. Above all, that higher philosophy, which treats of the intellectual and moral constitution of man, of the foundation of knowledge, of duty, of perfection, of our relations

to the spiritual world, and especially to God; this has a usefulness so peculiar as to throw other departments of knowledge into obscurity; and a people among whom this does not find honor has little ground to boast of its superiority to uncivilized tribes. It will be seen from these remarks that utility, with us, has a broad meaning. In truth, we are slow to condemn as useless any researches or discoveries of original and strong minds, even when we discern in them no bearing on any interests of mankind; for all truth is of a prolific nature, and has connections not immediately perceived; and it may be that what we call vain speculations may, at no distant period, link themselves with some new facts or theories, and guide a profound thinker to the most important results. The ancient mathematician, when absorbed in solitary thought, little imagined that his theorems, after the lapse of ages, were to be applied by the mind of Newton to the solution of the mysteries of the universe, and not only to guide the astronomer through the heavens, but the navigator through the pathless ocean. For ourselves, we incline to hope much from truths which are particularly decried as useless; for the noblest and most useful truth is of an abstract or universal nature; and yet the abstract, though susceptible of infinite application, is generally, as we know, opposed to the practical.

We maintain that a people which has any serious purpose of taking a place among improved communities, should studiously promote within itself every variety of intellectual exertion. It should resolve strenuously to be surpassed by none. It should feel that mind is the creative power through which all the resources of nature are to be turned to account, and by which a people is to spread its influence, and establish the noblest form of empire. It should train within itself men able to understand and to use whatever is thought and discovered over the whole earth. The whole mass of human knowledge should exist among a people, not in neglected libraries, but in its higher minds. Among its most cherished institutions should be those which will ensure to it ripe scholars, explorers of ancient learning, profound historians and mathematicians, intellectual laborers devoted to physical and moral science, and to the creation of a refined and beautiful literature.

Let us not be misunderstood. We have no desire to rear in our country a race of pedants, of solemn triflers, of laborious commentators on the mysteries of a Greek accent or a rusty coin. We would have men explore antiquity, not to bury themselves in its dust, but to learn its spirit, and so to commune with its superior minds as to accumulate on the present age the influences of whatever was great and wise in former times. What we want is, that those among us whom God has gifted to comprehend whatever is now known, and to rise to new truths, may find aids and institutions to fit them for their high calling, and may become at once springs of a higher intellectual life to their own country, and joint workers with the great of all nations and times in carrying forward their race.

We know that it will be said that foreign scholars, bred under institutions which this country cannot support, may do our intellectual work, and send us books and learning to meet our wants. To this we have much to answer. In the first place, we reply that, to avail ourselves of the higher literature of other nations, we must place ourselves on a level with them. The products of foreign machinery we can use without any portion of the skill that produced them. But works of taste and genius, and profound investigations of philosophy, can only be estimated and enjoyed through a culture and power corresponding to that from which they sprung.

In the next place, we maintain that it is an immense gain to a people to have in its own bosom, among its own sons, men of distinguished intellect. Such men give a spring and life to a community by their presence, their society, their fame; and, what deserves remark, such men are nowhere so felt as in a republic like our own; for here the different classes of society flow together and act powerfully on each other, and a free communication, elsewhere unknown, is established between the gifted few and the many. It is one of the many good fruits of liberty that it increases the diffusiveness of intellect; and accordingly a free country is, above all others, false to itself in withholding

from its superior minds the means of enlargement.

We next observe — and we think the observation important — that the facility with which we receive the literature of foreign countries, instead of being a reason for neglecting our own, is a strong motive for its cultivation. We mean not to be paradoxical, but we believe that it would be better to admit no books from abroad than to make them substitutes for our own intellectual activity. The more we receive from other countries, the greater the need of an original literature. A people into whose minds the thoughts of foreigners are poured perpetually, needs an energy within itself to resist, to modify this mighty influence, and, without it, will inevitably sink under the worst bondage, will become intellectually tame and enslaved. We have certainly no desire to complete our restrictive system by adding to it a literary non-intercourse law. We rejoice in the increasing intellectual connection between this country and the Old World; but sooner would we rupture it than see our country sitting passively at the feet of foreign teachers. It were better to have no literature than form ourselves unresistingly on a foreign one. The true sovereigns of a country are those who determine its mind, its modes of thinking, its tastes, its principles; and we cannot consent to lodge this sovereignty in the hands of strangers. A country, like an individual, has dignity and power only in proportion as it is self-formed. There is a great stir to secure to ourselves the manufacturing of our own clothing. We say, let others spin and weave for us, but let them not think for us. A people whose government and laws are nothing but the embodying of public opinion, should jealously guard this opinion against foreign dictation. We need a literature to counteract, and to use wisely the literature which we import. We need an inward power proportionate to that which is exerted on us, as the means of self-subsistence. It is particularly true of a people whose institutions demand for their support a free and bold spirit, that they should be able to subject to a manly and independent criticism whatever comes from abroad. These views seem to us to deserve serious attention. We are more and more a reading people. Books are already among the most powerful influences here. The question is, shall Europe, through these, fashion us after its pleasure? Shall America be only an echo of what is thought and written under the aristocracies beyond the ocean?

Another view of the subject is this. A foreign literature will always, in a measure, be foreign. It has sprung from the soul of another people, which, however like, is still not our own soul. Every people has much in its own character and feelings which can only be embodied by its own writers, and which, when transfused through literature, makes it touching and true, like the voice of our earliest friend.

We now proceed to an argument in favor of native literature, which, if less obvious, is, we believe, not less sound than those now already adduced. We have hitherto spoken of literature as the expression, the communication, of the higher minds in a community. We now add that it does much more than is commonly supposed to *form* such minds, so that, without it, a people wants one of the chief means of educating or perfecting talent and genius. One of the great laws of our nature, and a law singularly important to social beings, is, that the intellect enlarges and strengthens itself by expressing worthily its best views. In this, as in other respects, it is more blessed to give than to receive. Superior minds are formed, not merely by solitary thought, but almost as much by communication. Great thoughts are never fully possessed till he who has conceived them has given them fit utterance. One of the noblest and most invigorating labors of genius is to clothe its conceptions in clear and glorious forms, to give them existence in other souls. Thus literature creates, as well as manifests, intellectual power, and, without it, the highest minds will never be summoned to the most invigorating action.

We doubt whether a man ever brings his faculties to bear with their whole force on a subject until he writes upon it for the instruction or gratification of others. To place it clearly before others, he feels the necessity of viewing it more vividly himself. By attempting to seize his thoughts, and fix them in an endur-

ing form, he finds them vague and unsatisfactory to a degree which he did not suspect, and toils for a precision and harmony of views of which he had never before felt the need. He places his subject in new lights, — submits it to a searching analysis, compares and connects with it his various knowledge, seeks for it new illustrations and analogies, weighs objections, and through these processes often arrives at higher truths than he at first aimed to illustrate. Dim conceptions grow bright. Glorious thoughts, which had darted as meteors through the mind, are arrested, and gradually shine with a sunlike splendor, with prolific energy, on the intellect and heart. It is one of the chief distinctions of a great mind that it is prone to rush into twilight regions, and to catch faint glimmerings of distant and unbounded prospects; and nothing perhaps aids it more to pierce the shadows which surround it than the labor to unfold to other minds the indistinct conceptions which have dawned on its own. Even where composition yields no such fruits, it is still a great intellectual help. It always favors comprehensive and systematical views. The laborious distribution of a great subject, so as to assign to each part or topic its just position and due proportion, is singularly fitted to give compass and persevering force of thought.

If we confine ourselves simply to the consideration of style, we shall have reason to think that a people among whom this is neglected wants one important intellectual aid. In this, great power is exerted, and by exertion increased. To the multitude, indeed, language seems so natural an instrument, that to use it with clearness and energy seems no great effort. It is framed, they think, to the writer's hand, and so continually employed as to need little thought or skill. But in nothing is the creative power of a gifted writer seen more than in his style. True, his words may be found in the dictionary. But there they lie disjointed and dead. What a wonderful life does he breathe into them by compacting them into his sentences! Perhaps he uses no term which has not yet been hackneyed by ordinary writers; and yet with these vulgar materials what miracles does he achieve! What a world of thought does he condense into a phrase! By new combinations of common words, what delicate hues or what a blaze of light does he pour over his subject! Power of style depends very little on the structure or copiousness of the language which the writer of genius employs, but chiefly, if not wholly, on his own mind. The words, arranged in his dictionary, are no more fitted to depict his thoughts than the block of marble in the sculptor's shop to show forth the conceptions which are dawning in his mind. Both are inert materials. The power which pervades them comes from the soul: and the same creative energy is manifested in the production of a noble style as in extracting beautiful forms from lifeless stone. How unfaithful, then, is a nation to its own intellect, in which grace and force of style receive no culture!

The remarks now made on the importance of literature as a means of educating talent and genius, we are aware, do not apply equally to all subjects or kinds of knowledge. In the exact or physical sciences, a man may acquire much without composition, and may make discoveries without registering them. Even here, however, we believe that, by a systematic development of his views in a luminous style, he will bring great aid to his own faculties, as well as to others'. It is on the vast subjects of morals and human nature that the mind especially strengthens itself by elaborate composition; and these, let it be remembered, form the staple of the highest literature. Moral truth, under which we include every thing relating to mind and character, is of a refined and subtile, as well as elevated nature, and requires the joint and full exercise of discrimination, invention, imagination, and sensibility, to give it effectual utterance. A writer who would make it visible and powerful, must strive to join an austere logic to a fervent eloquence; must place it in various lights; must create for it interesting forms; must wed it to beauty; must illuminate it by similitudes and contrasts; must show its correspondence with the outward world; perhaps must frame for it a vast machinery of fiction. How invigorating are these efforts! Yet it is only in writing, in elaborate composition, that they are deliberately called forth and sustained,

and without literature they would almost cease. It may be said of many truths, that greater intellectual energy is required to express them with effect than to conceive them; so that a nation which does not encourage this expression impoverishes so far its own mind. Take, for example, Shakspeare's Hamlet. This is a development of a singularly interesting view of human nature. It shows us a mind to which life is a burden; in which the powers of meditation and feeling are disproportioned to the active powers; which sinks under its own weight, under the consciousness of wanting energies commensurate with its visions of good, with its sore trials, and with the solemn task which is laid upon it. To conceive clearly this form of human nature, shows indeed the genius of the writer. But what a new power is required to bring it out in such a drama as Shakspeare's; to give it life and action; to invent for it circumstances and subordinate characters, fitted to call it forth; to give it tones of truth and nature; to show the hues which it casts over all the objects of thought! This intellectual energy we all perceive; and this was not merely *manifested* in Shakspeare's work, but, without such a work, it would not have been awakened. His invention would have slumbered, had he not desired to give forth his mind in a visible and enduring form. Thus literature is the nurse of genius. Through this, genius learns its own strength, and continually accumulates it; and of course, in a country without literature, genius, however liberally bestowed by the Creator, will languish, and will fail to fulfil its great duty of quickening the mass amidst which it lives.

We come now to our last — and what we deem a weighty — argument in favor of a native literature. We desire and would cherish it, because we hope from it important aids to the cause of truth and human nature. We believe that a literature, springing up in this new soil, would bear new fruits, and, in some respects, more precious fruits, than are elsewhere produced. We know that our hopes may be set down to the account of that national vanity which, with too much reason, is placed by foreigners among our besetting sins. But we speak from calm and deliberate conviction. We are inclined to believe that, as a people, we occupy a position from which the great subjects of literature may be viewed more justly than from those which most other nations hold. Undoubtedly we labor under disadvantages. We want the literary apparatus of Europe, — her libraries, her universities, her learned institutions, her race of professed scholars, her spots consecrated by the memory of sages, and a thousand stirring associations which hover over ancient nurseries of learning. But the mind is not a local power. Its spring is within itself, and, under the inspiration of liberal and high feeling, it may attain and worthily express nobler truth than outward helps could reveal.

The great distinction of our country is, that we enjoy some peculiar advantages for understanding our own nature. Man is the great subject of literature, and juster and profounder views of man may be expected here than elsewhere. In Europe, political and artificial distinctions have, more or less, triumphed over and obscured our common nature. In Europe, we meet kings, nobles, priests, peasants. How much rarer is it to meet *men;* by which we mean human beings conscious of their own nature, and conscious of the utter worthlessness of all outward distinctions compared with what is treasured up in their own souls. Man does not value himself as man. It is for his blood, his rank, or some artificial distinction, and not for the attributes of humanity, that he holds himself in respect. The institutions of the Old World all tend to throw obscurity over what we most need to know, and that is, the worth and claims of a human being. We know that great improvements in this respect are going on abroad. Still the many are too often postponed to the few. The mass of men are regarded as instruments to work with, as materials to be shaped for the use of their superiors. That consciousness of our own nature which contains, as a germ, all nobler thoughts, which teaches us at once self-respect and respect for others, and which binds us to God by filial sentiment and hope, — this has been repressed, kept down by establishments founded in force; and literature, in all its departments, bears, we think, the traces of this inward degrada-

tion. We conceive that our position favors a juster and profounder estimate of human nature. We mean not to boast, but there are fewer obstructions to that moral consciousness, that consciousness of humanity, of which we have spoken. Man is not hidden from us by so many disguises as in the Old World. The essential equality of all human beings, founded on the possession of a spiritual, progressive, immortal nature, is, we hope, better understood; and nothing more than this single conviction is needed to work the mightiest changes in every province of human life and of human thought.

We have stated what seems to us our most important distinction. But our position has other advantages. The mere circumstance of its being a new one gives reason to hope for some new intellectual activity, some fresher views of nature and life. We are not borne down by the weight of antiquated institutions, time-hallowed abuses, and the remnants of feudal barbarism. The absence of a religious establishment is an immense gain, as far as originality of mind is in question; for an establishment, however advantageous in other respects, is, by its nature, hostile to discovery and progress. To keep the mind where it is, to fasten the notions of one age on all future time, is its aim and proper business; and if it happened, as has generally been the case, to grow up in an age of strife and passion, when, as history demonstrates, the church was overrun with error, it cannot but perpetuate darkness and mental bondage. Among us, intellect, though far from being free, has broken some of the chains of other countries, and is more likely, we conceive, to propose to itself its legitimate object, truth, — everlasting and universal truth.

We have no thought of speaking contemptuously of the literature of the Old World. It is our daily nutriment. We feel our debt to be immense to the glorious company of pure and wise minds which in foreign lands have bequeathed us in writing their choicest thoughts and holiest feelings. Still, we feel that all existing literature has been produced under influences which have necessarily mixed with it much error and corruption; and that the whole of it ought to pass, and must pass, under rigorous review. For example, we think that the history of the human race is to be rewritten. Men imbued with the prejudices which thrive under aristocracies and state religions cannot understand it. Past ages, with their great events and great men, are to undergo, we think, a new trial, and to yield new results. It is plain that history is already viewed under new aspects, and we believe that the true principles for studying and writing it are to be unfolded here, at least as rapidly as in other countries. It seems to us that in literature an immense work is yet to be done. The most interesting questions to mankind are yet in debate. Great principles are yet to be settled in criticism, in morals, in politics: and, above all, the true character of religion is to be rescued from the disguises and corruptions of ages. We want a reformation. We want a literature, in which genius will pay supreme if not undivided homage to truth and virtue; in which the childish admiration of what has been called greatness will give place to a wise moral judgment; which will breathe reverence for the mind, and elevating thoughts of God. The part which this country is to bear in this great intellectual reform we presume not to predict. We feel, however, that, if true to itself, it will have the glory and happiness of giving new impulses to the human mind. This is our cherished hope. We should have no heart to encourage native literature, did we not hope that it would become instinct with a new spirit. We cannot admit the thought that this country is to be only a repetition of the Old World. We delight to believe that God, in the fulness of time, has brought a new continent to light, in order that the human mind should move here with a new freedom, should frame new social institutions, should explore new paths, and reap new harvests. We are accustomed to estimate nations by their creative energies: and we shall blush for our country if, in circumstances so peculiar, original, and creative, it shall satisfy itself with a passive reception and mechanical reiteration of the thoughts of strangers.

We have now completed our remarks on the importance of a native literature. The next great topic is, the means of producing it. And here our limits forbid us

to enlarge; yet we cannot pass it over in silence. A primary and essential means of the improvement of our literature is, that, as a people, we should feel its value, should desire it, should demand it, should encourage it, and should give it a hearty welcome. It will come if called for; and, under this conviction, we have now labored to create a want for it in the community. We say that we must call for it: by which we mean not merely that we must invite it by good wishes and kind words, but must make liberal provision for intellectual education. We must enlarge our literary institutions, secure more extensive and profound teaching, and furnish helps and resources to men of superior talent for continued laborious research. As yet, intellectual labor, devoted to a thorough investigation and a full development of great subjects, is almost unknown among us; and, without it, we shall certainly rear few lasting monuments of thought. We boast of our primary schools. We want universities worthy of the name, where a man of genius and literary zeal may possess himself of all that is yet known, and may strengthen himself by intercourse with kindred minds. We know it will be said that we cannot afford these. But it is not so. We are rich enough for ostentation, for intemperance, for luxury. We can lavish millions on fashion, on furniture, on dress, on our palaces, on our pleasures; but we have nothing to spend for the mind. Where lies our poverty? In the purse, or in the soul?

We have spoken of improved institutions as essential to an improved literature. We beg, however, not to be misunderstood, as if these were invested with a creating power, or would necessarily yield the results which we desire. They are the means, not causes, of advancement. Literature depends on individual genius, and this, though fostered, cannot be created by outward helps. No human mechanism can produce original thought. After all the attempts to explain by education the varieties of intellect, we are compelled to believe that minds, like all the other products of nature, have original and indestructible differences: that they are not exempted from that great and beautiful law which joins with strong resemblances as strong diversities; and, of consequence, we believe that the men who are to be the lights of the world bring with them their commission and power from God. Still, whilst institutions cannot create, they may and do unfold genius; and, for want of them, great minds often slumber or run to waste, whilst a still larger class, who want genius, but possess admirable powers, fail of that culture through which they might enjoy and approach their more gifted brethren.

A people, as we have said, are to give aid to literature by founding wise and enlarged institutions. They may do much more. They may exert a nobler patronage. By cherishing in their own breasts the love of truth, virtue, and freedom, they may do much to nurse and kindle genius in its favored possessors. There is a constant reaction between a community and the great minds which spring up within it, and they form one another. In truth, great minds are developed more by the spirit and character of the people to which they belong than by all other causes. Thus, a free spirit, a thirst for new and higher knowledge in a community, does infinitely more for literature than the most splendid benefactions under despotism. A nation under any powerful excitement becomes fruitful of talent. Among a people called to discuss great questions, to contend for great interests, to make great sacrifices for the public weal, we always find new and unsuspected energies of thought brought out. A mercenary, selfish, luxurious, sensual people, toiling only to secure the pleasures of sloth, will often communicate their own softness and baseness to the superior minds which dwell among them. In this impure atmosphere the celestial spark burns dim; and well will it be if God's great gift of genius be not impiously prostituted to lust and crime.

In conformity with the views now stated, we believe that literature is to be carried forward, here and elsewhere, chiefly by some new and powerful impulses communicated to society; and it is a question naturally suggested by this discussion, from what impulse, principle, excitement, the highest action of the mind may now be expected. When we look back, we see that literature has been originated and modified by a variety of principles: by patriotism and national feeling, by reverence for an-

tiquity, by the spirit of innovation, by enthusiasm, by scepticism, by the passion for fame, by romantic love, and by political and religious convulsions. Now, we do not expect from these causes any higher action of the mind than they have yet produced. Perhaps most of them have spent their force. The very improvements of society seem to forbid the manifestation of their former energy. For example, the patriotism of antiquity and the sexual love of chivalrous ages, which inspired so much of the old literature, are now seen to be feverish and vicious excesses of natural principles, and have gone, we trust, never to return.

Are we asked, then, to what impulse or power we look for a higher literature than has yet existed? We answer, to a new action or development of the religious principle. This remark will probably surprise not a few of our readers. It seems to us that the energy with which this principle is to act on the intellect is hardly suspected. Men identify religion with superstition, with fanaticism, with the common forms of Christianity; and seeing it arrayed against intellect, leagued with oppression, fettering inquiry, and incapable of being blended with the sacred dictates of reason and conscience, they see in its progress only new encroachments on free and enlightened thinking. Still man's relation to God is the great quickening truth, throwing all other truths into insignificance, and a truth which, however obscured and paralyzed by the many errors which ignorance and fraud have hitherto linked with it, has ever been a chief spring of human improvement. We look to it as the true life of the intellect. No man can be just to himself — can comprehend his own existence, can put forth all his powers with an heroic confidence, can deserve to be the guide and inspirer of other minds — till he has risen to communion with the Supreme Mind; till he feels his filial connection with the Universal Parent; till he regards himself as the recipient and minister of the Infinite Spirit; till he feels his consecration to the ends which religion unfolds; till he rises above human opinion, and is moved by a higher impulse than fame.

From these remarks it will be seen that our chief hopes of an improved literature rest on our hopes of an improved religion. From the prevalent theology which has come down to us from the dark ages, we hope nothing. It has done its best. All that can grow up under its sad shade has already been brought forth. It wraps the divine nature and human nature in impenetrable gloom. It overlays Christianity with technical, arbitrary dogmas. True faith is of another lineage. It comes from the same source with reason, conscience, and our best affections, and is in harmony with them all. True faith is essentially a moral conviction: a confidence in the reality and immutableness of moral distinctions; a confidence in disinterested virtue or in spiritual excellence as the supreme good; a confidence in God as its fountain and Almighty Friend, and in Jesus Christ as having lived and died to breathe it into the soul; a confidence in its power, triumphs, and immortality; a confidence, through which outward changes, obstructions, disasters, sufferings, are overcome, or rather made instruments of perfection. Such a faith, unfolded freely and powerfully, must "work mightily" on the intellect as well as on practice. By revealing to us the supreme purpose of the Creator, it places us, as it were, in the centre of the universe, from which the harmonies, true relations, and brightest aspect of things are discerned. It unites calmness and enthusiasm, and the concord of these seemingly hostile elements is essential to the full and healthy action of the creative powers of the soul. It opens the eye to beauty and the heart to love. Literature, under this influence, will become more ingenuous and single-hearted; will penetrate farther into the soul; will find new interpretations of nature and life; will breathe a martyr's love of truth, tempered with a never-failing charity; and, whilst sympathizing with all human suffering, will still be pervaded by a healthful cheerfulness, and will often break forth in tones of irrepressible joy, responsive to that happiness which fills God's universe.

We cannot close our remarks on the means of an improved literature without offering one suggestion. We earnestly recommend to our educated men a more extensive acquaintance with the intellectual labors of continental Europe.

Our reading is confined too much to English books, and especially to the more recent publications of Great Britain. In this we err. We ought to know the different modes of viewing and discussing great subjects in different nations. We should be able to compare the writings of the highest minds in a great variety of circumstances. Nothing can favor more our own intellectual independence and activity. Let English literature be ever so fruitful and profound, we should still impoverish ourselves by making it our sole nutriment. We fear, however, that at the present moment English books want much which we need. The intellect of that nation is turned now to what are called practical and useful subjects. Physical science goes forward, and, what is very encouraging, it is spread with unexampled zeal through all classes of the community. Abuses of government, of the police, of the penal code, of charity, of poor-laws, and corn-laws, are laboriously explored. General education is improved. Science is applied to the arts with brilliant success. We see much good in progress. But we find little profound or fervid thinking expressed in the higher forms of literature. The noblest subjects of the intellect receive little attention. We see an almost total indifference to intellectual and moral science. In England there is a great want of philosophy, in the true sense of that word. If we examine her reviews, in which much of the intellectual power of the nation is expended, we meet perpetually a jargon of criticism, which shows a singular want of great and general principles in estimating works of art. We have no ethical work of any living English writer to be compared with that of Degerando, entitled "Du Perfectionnement Moral;" and, although we have little respect for the rash generalizations of the bold and eloquent Cousin, yet the interest which his metaphysics awaken in Paris is, in our estimation, a better presage than the lethargy which prevails on such topics in England. In these remarks we have no desire to depreciate the literature of England, which, taken as a whole, we regard as the noblest monument of the human mind. We rejoice in our descent from England, and esteem our free access to her works of science and genius as among our high privileges. Nor do we feel as if her strength were spent. We see no wrinkles on her brow, no decrepitude in her step. At this moment she has authors, especially in poetry and fiction, whose names are "familiar in our mouths as household words," and who can never perish but with her language. Still, we think that at present her intellect is laboring more for herself than for mankind, and that our scholars, if they would improve our literature, should cultivate an intimacy not only with that of England, but of continental Europe.

We have now finished our remarks on the importance and means of an improved literature among ourselves. Are we asked what we hope in this particular? We answer, much. We see reasons for anticipating an increased and more efficient direction of talent to this object. But on these we cannot enlarge. There is, however, one ground of expectation, to which we will call a moment's attention. We apprehend that literature is to make progress through an important change in society, which civilization and good institutions are making more and more apparent. It seems to us that, through these causes, political life is less and less regarded as the only or chief sphere for superior minds, and that influence and honor are more and more accumulated in the hands of literary and thinking men. Of consequence, more and more of the intellect of communities is to be drawn to literature. The distinction between antiquity and the present times, in respect to the importance attached to political life, seems to us striking; and it is not an accidental difference, but founded on permanent causes which are to operate with increased power. In ancient times, every thing, abroad and at home, threw men upon the public, and generated an intense thirst for political power. On the contrary, the improvement of later periods inclines men to give importance to literature. For example, the instability of the ancient republics, the unsettled relations of different classes of society, the power of demagogues and orators, the intensity of factions, the want of moral and religious restraints, the want of some regular organ for expressing the public mind, the want of precedents and precise laws for the courts of justice,—

these and other circumstances gave to the ancient citizen a feeling as if revolutions and convulsions were inseparable from society, turned his mind with unremitting anxiety to public affairs, and made a participation of political power an important, if not an essential, means of personal safety. Again, the ancient citizen had no home, in our sense of the word. He lived in the market, the forum, the place of general resort, and of course his attention was very much engrossed by affairs of state. Again, religion, which now more than all things throws a man upon himself, was in ancient times a public concern, and turned men to political life. The religion of the heart and closet was unknown. The relation of the gods to particular states was their most prominent attribute; and to conciliate their favor to the community, the chief end of worship. Accordingly, religion consisted chiefly in public and national rites. In Rome, the highest men in the state presided at the altar, and, adding to their other titles that of Supreme Pontiff, performed the most solemn functions of the priesthood. Thus the whole strength of the religious principle was turned into political channels. The gods were thought to sustain no higher office than a political one, and of consequence this was esteemed the most glorious for men. Once more, in ancient times political rank was vastly more efficient, whether for good or for evil, than at present, and of consequence was the object of a more insatiable ambition. It was almost the only way of access to the multitude. The public man held a sway over opinion, over his country, perhaps over foreign states, now unknown. It is the influence of the press and of good institutions to reduce the importance of the man of office. In proportion as private individuals can act on the public mind; in proportion as a people read, think, and have the means of expressing and enforcing their opinions; in proportion as laws become fixed, known, and sanctioned by the moral sense of the community; in proportion as the interest of the state, the principles of administration, and all public measures are subjected to free and familiar discussion, government becomes a secondary influence. The power passes into the hands of those who think, write, and spread their minds far and wide. Accordingly, literature is to become more and more the instrument of swaying men, of doing good, of achieving fame. The contrast between ancient and modern times, in the particulars now stated, is too obvious to need illustration, and our great inference is equally clear. The vast improvements which, in the course of ages, have taken place in social order, in domestic life, in religion, in knowledge, all conspire to one result, all tend to introduce other and higher influences than political power, and to give to that form of intellectual effort which we call literature dominion over human affairs. Thus truth, we apprehend, is more and more felt: and from its influence, joined with our peculiar condition and free institutions, we hope for our country the happiness and glory of a pure, deep, rich, beautiful, and ennobling literature.

REMARKS ON ASSOCIATIONS.

[1. Fourth Annual Report to the American Unitarian Association, read and accepted May 26, 1829, with the Addresses at the Annual Meeting.
2. The Second Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance, presented January 28, 1829.
3. First Annual Report of the General Union for Promoting the Observance of the Christian Sabbath, adopted May 12, 1829.]

WE have affixed to this article the titles of several reports of societies, not so much for the purpose of discussing the merits of the several institutions whose labors they celebrate, as with the more general design of offering some remarks on the disposition which now prevails to form associations, and to accomplish all objects by organized masses. A difference of opinion on this point has begun to manifest itself, and murmurs against the countless societies which modestly solicit or authoritatively claim our aid, which now assail us with fair promises of the good which they pur-

pose, and now with rhetorical encomiums on the good they have done, begin to break forth from the judicious and well disposed, as well as from the querulous and selfish. These doubts and complaints, however, are most frequently excited by particular cases of unfair or injurious operations in societies. As yet no general principles have been established, by which the value of this mode of action may be determined, or the relative claims of different associations may be weighed. We will not promise to supply the deficiency, but we hope to furnish some help to a sounder judgment than yet prevails on the subject.

That the subject deserves attention, no man who observes the signs of the times can doubt. Its importance forces itself on the reflecting. In truth, one of the most remarkable circumstances or features of our age is the energy with which the principle of combination, or of action by joint forces, by associated numbers, is manifesting itself. It may be said, without much exaggeration, that every thing is done now by societies. Men have learned what wonders can be accomplished in certain cases by union, and seem to think that union is competent to every thing. You can scarcely name an object for which some institution has not been formed. Would men spread one set of opinions or crush another? They make a society. Would they improve the penal code, or relieve poor debtors? They make societies. Would they encourage agriculture, or manufactures, or science? They make societies. Would one class encourage horse-racing, and another discourage travelling on Sunday? They form societies. We have immense institutions spreading over the country, combining hosts for particular objects. We have minute ramifications of these societies, penetrating everywhere except through the poor-house, and conveying resources from the domestic, the laborer, and even the child, to the central treasury. This principle of association is worthy the attention of the philosopher, who simply aims to understand society and its most powerful springs. To the philanthropist and the Christian it is exceedingly interesting, for it is a mighty engine, and must act either for good or for evil, to an extent which no man can foresee or comprehend.

It is very easy, we conceive, to explain this great development of the principle of co-operation. The main cause is, the immense facility given to intercourse by modern improvements, by increased commerce and travelling, by the post-office, by the steam-boat, and especially by the press, — by newspapers, periodicals, tracts, and other publications. Through these means, men of one mind, through a whole country, easily understand one another, and easily act together. The grand manœuvre to which Napoleon owed his victories — we mean the concentration of great numbers on a single point — is now placed within the reach of all parties and sects. It may be said that, by facilities of intercourse, men are brought within one another's attraction, and become arranged according to their respective affinities. Those who have one great object find one another out through a vast extent of country, join their forces, settle their mode of operation, and act together with the uniformity of a disciplined army. So extensive have coalitions become, through the facilities now described, and so various and rapid are the means of communication, that, when a few leaders have agreed on an object, an impulse may be given in a month to the whole country, whole states may be deluged with tracts and other publications, and a voice like that of many waters be called forth from immense and widely separated multitudes. Here is a new power brought to bear on society, and it is a great moral question how it ought to be viewed, and what duties it imposes.

That this mode of action has advantages and recommendations is very obvious. The principal arguments in its favor may be stated in a few words. Men, it is justly said, can do jointly what they cannot do singly. The union of minds and hands works wonders. Men grow efficient by concentrating their powers. Joint effort conquers nature, hews through mountains, rears pyramids, dikes out the ocean. Man, left to himself, living without a fellow, — if he could indeed so live, — would be one of the weakest of creatures. Associated with his kind, he gains dominion over the strongest animals, over the earth and the sea, and, by his growing knowledge, may be said to obtain a kind of property in the universe.

Nor is this all. Men not only accumulate power by union, but gain warmth and earnestness. The heart is kindled. An electric communication is established between those who are brought nigh and bound to each other in common labors. Man droops in solitude. No sound excites him like the voice of his fellow-creature. The mere sight of a human countenance, brightened with strong and generous emotion, gives new strength to act or suffer. Union not only brings to a point forces which before existed, and which were ineffectual through separation, but, by the feeling and interest which it rouses, it becomes a creative principle, calls forth new forces, and gives the mind a consciousness of powers which would otherwise have been unknown.

We have here given the common arguments by which the disposition to association is justified and recommended. They may be summed up in a few words; namely, that our social principles and relations are the great springs of improvement, and of vigorous and efficient exertion. That there is much truth in this representation of the influences of society we at once feel. That, without impulses and excitements from abroad, without sympathies and communication with our fellow-creatures, we should gain nothing and accomplish nothing, we mean not to deny. Still, we apprehend that on this subject there is a want of accurate views and just discrimination. We apprehend that the true use of society is not sufficiently understood; that the chief benefit which it is intended to confer, and the chief danger to which it exposes us, are seldom weighed, and that errors or crude opinions on these points deprive us of many benefits of our social connections. These topics have an obvious bearing on the subject of this article. It is plain that the better we understand the true use, the chief benefit, and the chief peril of our social principles and relations, the better we shall be prepared to judge of associations which are offered to our patronage. On these topics, then, we propose first to give our views; and in so doing we shall allow ourselves a considerable latitude, because, in our judgment, the influences of society at present tend strongly to excess, and especially menace that individuality of character for which they can yield no adequate compensation.

The great principle from which we start in this preliminary discussion, and in which all our views of the topics above proposed are involved, may be briefly expressed. It is this: — Society is chiefly important as it ministers to, and calls forth, intellectual and moral energy and freedom. Its action on the individual is beneficial in proportion as it awakens in him a power to act on himself, and to control or withstand the social influences to which he is at first subjected. Society serves us by furnishing objects, occasions, materials, excitements, through which the whole soul may be brought into vigorous exercise, may acquire a consciousness of its free and responsible nature, may become a law to itself, and may rise to the happiness and dignity of framing and improving itself without limit or end. Inward, creative energy is the highest good which accrues to us from our social principles and connections. The mind is enriched, not by what it passively receives from others, but by its own action on what it receives. We would especially affirm of virtue that it does not consist in what we inherit, or what comes to us from abroad. It is of inward growth, and it grows by nothing so much as by resistance of foreign influences, by acting from our deliberate convictions, in opposition to the principles of sympathy and imitation. According to these views, our social nature and connections are means. Inward power is the end, — a power which is to triumph over and control the influence of society.

We are told that we owe to society our most valuable knowledge. And true it is, that were we cast from birth into solitude we should grow up in brutal ignorance. But it is also true that the knowledge which we receive is of little value any farther than it is food and excitement to intellectual action. Its worth is to be measured by the energy with which it is sought and employed. Knowledge is noble, in proportion as it is prolific, — in proportion as it quickens the mind to the acquisition of higher truth. Let it be rested in passively, and it profits us nothing. Let the judgment of others be our trust, so that we cease to judge for ourselves, and the intellect

is degraded into a worthless machine. The dignity of the mind is to be estimated by the energy of its efforts for its own enlargement. It becomes heroic when it reverences itself and asserts its freedom in a cowardly and servile age; when it withstands society through a calm but invincible love of truth, and a consciousness of the dignity and progressiveness of its powers.

The indispensable necessity of instruction from our fellow-creatures we in no degree question. But perhaps few are aware how imperfect are the conceptions received from the best instructor, and how much must be done by our own solitary thinking to give them consistency and vividness. It may be doubted whether a fellow-creature can ever impart to us apprehensions of a complex subject which are altogether just. Be the teacher ever so unerring, his language can hardly communicate his mind with entire precision; for few words awaken exactly the same thoughts in different men. The views which we receive from the most gifted beings are at best an approximation to truth. We have spoken of unerring teachers; but where are these to be found? Our daily intercourse is with fallible beings, most of whom are undisciplined in intellect, the slaves of prejudice, and unconscious of their own spiritual energies. The essential condition of intellectual progress in such a world is the resistance of social influences, or of impressions from our fellow-beings.

What we have said of intellectual is still more true of moral progress. No human being exists whose character can be proposed as a faultless model. But, could a perfect individual be found, we should only injure ourselves by indiscriminate, servile imitation; for much which is good in another is good in him alone, belongs to his peculiar constitution, has been the growth of his peculiar experience, is harmonious and beautiful only in combination with his other attributes, and would be unnatural, awkward, and forced in a servile imitator. The very strength of emotion which in one man is virtue in another would be defect; for virtue depends on the balance which exists between the various principles of the soul; and that intenseness of feeling which, when joined with force of thought and purpose, is healthful and invigorating, would prove a disease, or might approach insanity, in a weak and sensitive mind. No man should part with his individuality, and aim to become another. No process is so fatal as that which would cast all men into one mould. Every human being is intended to have a character of his own, to be what no other is, to do what no other can do. Our common nature is to be unfolded in unbounded diversities. It is rich enough for infinite manifestations. It is to wear innumerable forms of beauty and glory. Every human being has a work to carry on within, duties to perform abroad, influences to exert which are peculiarly his, and which no conscience but his own can teach. Let him not, then, enslave his conscience to others, but act with the freedom, strength, and dignity of one whose highest law is in his own breast.

We know that it may be replied to us, that Providence, by placing us at birth in entire subjection to social influences, has marked out society as the great instrument of determining the human mind. The child, it is said, is plainly designed to receive passively, and with unresisting simplicity, a host of impressions, thoughts, and feelings from those around him. This we know. But we know, too, that childhood is not to endure for ever. We know that the impressions, pleasures, pains, which throng and possess the infant mind, are intended to awaken in it an energy by which it is to subject them to itself; by which it is to separate from the crude mass what is true and pure; by which it is to act upon, and modify, and throw into new combinations, the materials forced upon it originally by sensation and society. It is only by putting forth this inward and self-forming power that we emerge from childhood. He who continues to be passively moulded prolongs his infancy to the tomb. There is deep wisdom in the declaration of Jesus, that, to be his disciple, we must "hate father and mother;" or, in other words, that we must surrender the prejudices of education to the new lights which God gives us; that the love of truth must triumph over the influences of our best and earliest friends; that, forsaking the maxims of society, we must frame ourselves according to the

standard of moral perfection set before us in the life, spirit, and teachings of Jesus Christ. It is interesting to observe how the Creator, who has subjected the child at first to social influences, has, even at that age, provided for its growing freedom, by inspiring it with an overflowing animation, an inexpressible joy, an impatience of limits, a thirst for novelty, a delight in adventure, an ardent fancy, all suited to balance the authority of the old, and gradually mingling with the credulity of infancy that questioning, doubting spirit, on which intellectual progress chiefly depends.

The common opinion is, that our danger from society arises wholly from its bad members, and that we cannot easily be too much influenced by the good. But, to our apprehension, there is a peril in the influence both of good and bad. What many of us have chiefly to dread from society is, not that we shall acquire a positive character of vice, but that it will impose on us a negative character; that we shall live and die passive beings; that the creative and self-forming energy of the soul will not be called forth in the work of our improvement. Our danger is, that we shall substitute the consciences of others for our own, that we shall paralyze our faculties through dependence on foreign guides, that we shall be moulded from abroad instead of determining ourselves. The pressure of society upon us is constant and almost immeasurable; now open and direct in the form of authority and menace, now subtile and silent in the guise of blandishment and promise. What mighty power is lodged in a frown or a smile, in the voice of praise and flattery, in scorn or neglect, in public opinion, in domestic habits and prejudices, in the state and spirit of the community to which we belong! Nothing escapes the cognizance of society. Its legislation extends even to our dress, movements, features; and the individual bears the traces, even in countenance, air, and voice, of the social influences amidst which he has been plunged. We are in great peril of growing up slaves to this exacting, arbitrary sovereign; of forgetting, or never learning, our true responsibility; of living in unconsciousness of that divine power with which we are invested over ourselves, and in which all the dignity of our nature is concentred; of overlooking the sacredness of our minds, and laying them open to impressions from any and all who surround us. Resistance of this foreign pressure is our only safeguard, and is essential to virtue. All virtue lies in individual action, in inward energy, in self-determination. There is no moral worth in being swept away by a crowd, even towards the best objects. We must act from an inward spring. The good as well as the bad may injure us, if through that intolerance which is a common infirmity of the good, they impose on us authoritatively their own convictions, and obstruct our own intellectual and moral activity. A state of society in which correct habits prevail, may produce in many a mechanical regularity and religion which is any thing but virtue. Nothing morally great or good springs from mere sympathy and imitation. These principles will only forge chains for us, and perpetuate our infancy, unless more and more controlled and subdued by that inward lawgiver and judge, whose authority is from God, and whose sway over our whole nature alone secures its free, glorious, and everlasting expansion.

The truth is, and we need to feel it most deeply, that our connection with society, as it is our greatest aid, so it is our greatest peril. We are in constant danger of being spoiled of our moral judgment, and of our power over ourselves; and, in losing these, we lose the chief prerogatives of spiritual beings. We sink, as far as mind can sink, into the world of matter, the chief distinction of which is, that it wants self-motion, or moves only from foreign impulse. The propensity in our fellow-creatures which we have most to dread is that which, though most severely condemned by Jesus, is yet the most frequent infirmity of his followers, — we mean the propensity to rule, to tyrannize, to war with the freedom of their equals, to make themselves standards for other minds, to be lawgivers, instead of brethren and friends, to their race. Our great and most difficult duty, as social beings, is, to derive constant aid from society without taking its yoke; to open our minds to the thoughts, reasonings, and persuasions of others, and yet to hold

fast the sacred right of private judgment; to receive impulses from our fellow-beings, and yet to act from our own souls; to sympathize with others, and yet to determine our own feelings; to act with others, and yet to follow our own consciences; to unite social deference and self-dominion; to join moral self-subsistence with social dependence; to respect others without losing self-respect; to love our friends and to reverence our superiors, whilst our supreme homage is given to that moral perfection which no friend and no superior has realized, and which, if faithfully pursued, will often demand separation from all around us. Such is our great work as social beings, and to perform it, we should look habitually to Jesus Christ, who was distinguished by nothing more than by moral independence, — than by resisting and overcoming the world.

The reverence for our own moral nature, on which we have now insisted, needs earnest and perpetual inculcation. This virtue finds few aids from abroad. All religions and governments have more or less warred with it. Even that religion which came from God to raise man to a moral empire over himself, has been seized on by the selfish and intolerant principles of human nature, and all its sanctions have been brought to bear against that free, independent action of thought and conscience which it was chiefly intended to promote. In truth, men need to be instructed in nothing more than in what they owe to their own spiritual faculties. The sacredness of the moral principle in every human breast; its divine right of dominion: the jealousy with which it ought to be protected against our own passions and the usurpations of society; the watchful care with which it should be unfolded, refined, and fortified, by communion with ourselves, with great and good minds, with that brightest manifestation of God, Jesus Christ, and with God Himself; the awe with which its deliberate dictates should be heard; the energy which it may and should put forth in opposition to pleasure and pain, to human frowns or smiles; the sublime tranquillity to which it may ascend; the conscious union with God which it may attain, and through which it seems to partake of his omnipotence, — these prerogatives of the moral nature, of that element and spark of divinity in the soul, are almost forgotten in the condition of servitude to which the multitude are reduced by the joint tyranny of the passions and of society.

It is interesting and encouraging to observe, that the enslaving power of society over the mind is decreasing, through what would seem at first to threaten its enlargement; — we mean, through the extension of social intercourse. This is a distinction of our age, and one of its chief means of improvement. Men are widening their bounds, exchanging thoughts and feelings with fellow-beings far and wide, with inhabitants of other countries, with subjects of other governments, with professors of other modes of faith. Distant nations are brought near, and are acting on one another with a new power; and the result is, that these differing and often hostile influences balance or neutralize one another, and almost compel the intellect to act, to compare, to judge, to frame itself. This we deem an immense benefit of the multiplication of books at the present day. The best books contain errors, and deserve a very limited trust. But wherever men of thought and genius publish freely, they will perpetually send forth new views, to keep alive the intellectual action of the world; will give a frequent shock to received opinions; will lead men to contemplate great subjects from new positions, and by thus awakening individual and independent energy, will work higher good than by the knowledge which they spread. The same effect is to be anticipated from the study of different languages, which occupies more and more space in our systems of education; and we believe this to be the happiest effect. A great man used to say that, in learning a new language, he had gained a new soul, so fresh and original were the views which it opened to him. A new language, considered in itself, or without reference to the writings which it contains, seems to us a valuable possession, on account of the new combinations of thought which its vocabulary presents; and when regarded as the key to the minds of a people whose institutions, education, climate, temperament, religion, and history differ from our own, and in whom, of consequence, our com-

mon nature is taking a new form, it is, to one who has power to understand its use, an invaluable acquisition. In truth, we cannot express too strongly the importance we attach to an enlarged intercourse with other minds, considered as the means of freeing and quickening our own. This is the chief good of extensive institutions for education. They place us under diversified social influences; connect us with the dead as well as with the living; accumulate for us the thoughts of all ages and nations; take us out of the narrow circle of a neighborhood, or church, or community; make us fellow-citizens with the friends of truth under the whole heaven, and, through these various and often hostile influences, aid and encourage us to that independent moral judgment and intellectual discrimination by which our views are more and more purified and enlarged.

We regret that religion has not done more to promote this enlarged intercourse of minds, — the great means, as we have seen, of reconciling social aids with personal independence. As yet, religion has generally assumed a sectarian form, and its disciples, making narrowness a matter of conscience, have too often shunned connection with men of different views as a pestilence, and yielded their minds to the exclusive influences of the leaders and teachers of their separate factions. Indeed, we fear that in no department of life has the social principle been perverted more into an instrument of intellectual thraldom than in religion. We could multiply proofs without end, but will content ourselves with a single illustration drawn from what are called "revivals of religion." We have many objections to these as commonly conducted; but nothing offends us more than their direct and striking tendency to everwhelm the mind with foreign influences, and to strip it of all self-direction. In these feverish seasons, religion, or what bears the name, is spread, as by contagion, and to escape it is almost as difficult as to avoid a raging epidemic. Whoever knows any thing of human nature, knows the effect of excitement in a crowd. When systematically prolonged and urged onward, it subverts deliberation and self-control. The individual is lost in the mass, and borne away as in a whirlwind. The prevalent emotion, be it love or hatred, terror or enthusiasm, masters every mind which is not fortified by a rare energy, or secured by a rare insensibility. In revivals, a multitude are subjected at once to strong emotions, which are swelled and perpetuated by the most skilful management. The individual is never suffered to escape the grasp of the leading or subordinate agents in the work.* A machinery of social influences, of "inquiry meetings," of "anxious meetings," of conferences, of prayer meetings, of perpetual private or public impulses, is brought to bear on the diseased subject, until, exhausted in body and mind, he becomes the passive, powerless recipient of whatever form or impressions it may be thought fit to give him. Happily for mankind, our nature loses its sensibility to perpetual stimulants, and of consequence a revival is succeeded by what is called "a dull, dead, stupid season." This dull time is a merciful repose granted by Providence to the overwrought and oppressed mind, and gives some chance for calm, deliberate, individual thought and action. Thus the kindness of nature is perpetually counterworking the excesses of men, and a religion which begins in partial insanity is often seen to attain by degrees to the calmness and dignity of reason.

In the preceding remarks we have stated, at greater length than we intended, our views of the true and highest benefits of society. These seem to us great, — unspeakably great. At the same time, like all other goods, they are accompanied with serious perils. Society too often oppresses the energy which it was meant to quicken and exalt. — We now pass to our principal subject; to the associations for public purposes, whether benevolent, moral, or religious, which are so multiplied in the present age. And here we must confine ourselves to two remarks; the first intended to assign to such associations their proper place or rank, and the second, to suggest a principle by which

* We recollect seeing the following direction gravely given for managing revivals, in the book of a minister experienced in this work: — "Be careful never to kindle more fires than you can tend." In other words, Do not awaken and alarm more persons than you can place under constant inspection, and beset with perpetual excitements. What a strange rule for persons who profess to believe that these "fires" are "kindled" supernaturally by the Holy Spirit!

useful societies may be distinguished from such as are pernicious, and by which we may be aided in distributing among them our favor and patronage.

Our first remark is, that we should beware of confounding together, as of equal importance, those associations which are formed by our Creator, which spring from our very constitution, and are inseparable from our being, and those of which we are now treating, which man invents for particular times and exigencies. Let us never place our weak, short-sighted contrivances on a level with the arrangements of God. We have acknowledged the infinite importance of society to the development of human powers and affections. But when we speak thus of society, we mean chiefly the relations in which God has placed us; we mean the connections of family, of neighborhood, of country, and the great bond of humanity, uniting us with our whole kind, and not missionary societies, peace societies, or charitable societies, which men have contrived. These last have their uses, and some do great good; but they are no more to be compared with the societies in which nature places us, than the torches which we kindle on earth in the darkness of night are to be paralleled with the all-pervading and all-glorifying light of the sun. We make these remarks, because nothing is more common than for men to forget the value of what is familiar, natural, and universal, and to ascribe undue importance to what is extraordinary, forced, and rare, and therefore striking. Artificial associations have their use, but are not be named with those of nature; and to these last, therefore, we are to give our chief regard.

We can easily illustrate by examples the inferiority of human associations. In Boston, there are two asylums for children, which deserve, we think, a high place among useful institutions. Not a little time is spent upon them. Hundreds conspire to carry them on, and we have anniversaries to collect crowds for their support. And what is the amount of good accomplished? Between one and two hundred children are provided for, a number worthy of all the care bestowed on these charities. But compare this number with all the children of this city, with the thousands who throng our streets and our schools. And how are these fed, clothed, educated? We hear of no subscriptions, no anniversaries for their benefit; yet how they flourish compared with the subjects of asylums! These are provided for by that unostentatious and unpraised society, which God has instituted, — a family. That shelter, home, which nature rears, protects them, and it is an establishment worth infinitely more than all the institutions, great or small, which man has devised. In truth, just as far as this is improved, as its duties are performed and its blessings prized, all artificial institutions are superseded. Here, then, is the sphere for the agency of the wise and good. Improve the family, strengthen and purify the relations of domestic life, and more is done for the happiness and progress of the race than by the most splendid charities. — Let us take another example, the hospital in the same metropolis; a noble institution, worthy of high praise. But where is it that the sick of our city are healed? Must you look for them in the hospital? You may find there, perhaps, and should rejoice to find there, fifty or sixty beds for the poor. The thousands who sicken and die among us are to be found in their homes, watched over by the nursing care of mothers and sisters, surrounded by that tenderness which grows up only at home. — Let us take another example, missionary societies. This whole country is thrown into excitement to support missions. The rich are taxed, and the poor burdened. We do not say that they are burdened without object; for Christianity is so infinite a blessing that we consent to any honest methods of sending it abroad. But what is the amount of good effected? A few missionaries, we know not the precise number, are supported, of whom most have hitherto brought little to pass. Who can compare associations for this object with churches, or those congregations of neighbors for regular worship which Christianity has instituted, and to which nature has always prompted the professors of the same faith? Through these, incalculable aid is given to the support and diffusion of Christianity; and yet, through the propensity of human nature to exaggerate what is forced and artificial, one missionary at a distance is thought of more importance than a hundred ministers

near, and the sending of him abroad is extolled as an incomparably greater exploit of piety than the support of our own places of worship. We mean not to discourage missionary societies; but the truth is, that Christianity is to be diffused incomparably more by caring for and promoting it in our natural relations, in our homes, in our common circles and churches, than by institutions endowed with the revenues of nations for sending it to distant lands. The great obstruction to Christianity among foreign nations is its inoperativeness among the nations which profess it. We offer others a religion which, in their apprehension, has done the givers no great good. The true course is to rely less on our machinery of cent societies and national societies, and to rely more on the connections and arrangements of nature or of God.

We beg not to be misunderstood. We would on no account discourage the asylum, the hospital, the missionary society. All receive our cheerful support. We only mean to say that our great sources of improvement and happiness are our natural relations and associations, and that to understand these better, and to attach ourselves more faithfully to their duties, are the great social means of carrying forward the world. A striking confirmation of these remarks may be found in the Romish Church. The probability is, that, under the Catholic religion in the dark ages, there were larger contributions to the relief of the distressed, in proportion to the wealth of communities, than at present, and contributions by associations which regarded almsgiving as one of their main duties, — we mean the monasteries. But the monks, who quitted the relations of nature, the society which God has instituted, in order to form new and artificial bonds, more favorable, as they thought, to doing good, made a sad mistake. Their own characters were injured, and the very charities doled out from convents increased the beggary which they hoped to relieve. So sacred is nature, that it cannot be trampled on with impunity. We fear that something similar to the error just noticed among Catholics is spreading among Protestants, — the error of exalting societies of human device above our natural relations. We have been told that cases occur among us, and are not rare, in which domestic claims on kindness are set aside for the sake of making contributions to our great societies, and especially to foreign missions. So possessed are the minds of multitudes with the supreme importance of this object, that there seems to them a piety in withholding what would otherwise have been thought due to a poor relative, that it may be sent across oceans to Pagan lands. We have heard that delicate kindnesses, which once flowed from the more prosperous to the less prosperous members of a large family, and which bound society together by that love which is worth all bonds, are diminished since the late excitement in favor of the heathen. And this we do not wonder at. In truth, we rather wonder that any thing is done for the temporal comfort of friends, where the doctrine on which modern missions chiefly rest is believed. We refer to the doctrine that the whole heathen world are on the brink of a bottomless and endless hell; that thousands every day, and millions every year, are sinking into this abyss of torture and woe: and that nothing can save them but sending them our religion. We see not how they who so believe can give their families or friends a single comfort, much less an ornament of life. They must be strongly tempted, one would think, to stint themselves and their dependants to necessaries, and to cast their whole remaining substance into the treasury of missionary societies.

We repeat it, let us not be misunderstood. Missionary societies, established on just principles, do honor to a Christian community. We regard them with any feeling but that of hostility. The readers of this work cannot have forgotten the earnestness with which we recommended the support of a mission in India, at a time when we thought that peculiar circumstances invited exertion in that quarter. We only oppose the preference of these institutions to the natural associations and connections of life. An individual who thinks that he is doing a more religious act in contributing to a missionary society than in doing a needful act of kindness to a relative, friend, or neighbor, is leaving a society of God's institution for

one of man's making. He shows a perverted judgment in regard to the duties of his religion and in regard to the best means of spreading it. All that has been done, or ever will or can be done, by associations for diffusing Christianity, is a mere drop of the bucket compared with what is done silently and secretly by the common daily duties of Christians in their families, neighborhoods, and business. The surest way of spreading Christianity is to improve Christian communities: and, accordingly, he who frees this religion from corruption, and makes it a more powerful instrument of virtue where it is already professed, is the most effectual contributor to the great work of its diffusion through the world.

We now proceed to our second remark, in which we proposed to suggest a principle by which the claims of different associations may be estimated. It is this: The value of associations is to be measured by the energy, the freedom, the activity, the moral power, which they encourage and diffuse. In truth, the great object of all benevolence is to give power, activity, and freedom to others. We cannot, in the strict sense of the word, *make* any being happy. We can give others the *means* of happiness, together with motives to the faithful use of them; but on this faithfulness, on the free and full exercise of their own powers, their happiness depends. There is thus a fixed, impassable limit to human benevolence. It can only make men happy through themselves, through their own freedom and energy. We go further. We believe that God has set the same limit to his own benevolence. He makes no being happy in any other sense than in that of giving him means, powers, motives, and a field for exertion. We have here, we think, the great consideration to guide us in judging of associations. Those are good which communicate power, moral and intellectual action, and the capacity of useful efforts to the persons who form them, or to the persons on whom they act. On the other hand, associations which in any degree impair or repress the free and full action of men's powers, are so far hurtful. On this principle, associations for restoring to men health, strength, the use of their limbs, the use of their senses, especially of sight and hearing, are highly to be approved, for such enlarge men's powers; whilst charitable associations, which weaken in men the motives to exertion, which offer a bounty to idleness, or make beggary as profitable as labor, are great calamities to society, and peculiarly calamitous to those whom they relieve. On the same principle, associations which are designed to awaken the human mind, to give to men of all classes a consciousness of their intellectual powers, to communicate knowledge of a useful and quickening character, to encourage men in thinking with freedom and vigor, to inspire an ardent love and pursuit of truth, — are most worthy of patronage; whilst such as are designed or adapted to depress the human intellect, to make it dependent and servile, to keep it where it is, to give a limited amount of knowledge, but not to give impulse and an onward motion to men's thoughts, — all such associations, however benevolent their professions, should be regarded as among the foes and obstructions to the best interests of society. On the same principle, associations aiming to purify and ennoble the character of a people, to promote true virtue, a rational piety, a disinterested charity, a wise temperance, and especially aiming to accomplish these ends by the only effectual means, that is, by calling forth men's own exertions for a higher knowledge of God and duty, and for a new and growing control of themselves, — such institutions are among the noblest; whilst no encouragement is due to such as aim to make men religious and virtuous by paralyzing their minds through terror, by fastening on them a yoke of opinions or practices, by pouring upon them influences from abroad which virtually annihilate their power over themselves, and make them instruments for others to speak through and to wield at pleasure. We beg our readers to carry with them the principle now laid down in judging of associations: to inquire how far they are fitted to call forth energy, active talent, religious inquiry, a free and manly virtue. We insist on these remarks, because not a few associations seem to us exceedingly exceptionable, on account of their tendency to fetter men, to repress energy, to injure the

free action of individuals and society, and because this tendency lurks, and is to be guarded against, even in good institutions. On this point we cannot but enlarge, for we deem it of the highest importance.

Associations often injure free action by a very plain and obvious operation. They accumulate power in a few hands, and this takes place just in proportion to the surface over which they spread. In a large institution, a few men rule, a few do every thing; and, if the institution happens to be directed to objects about which conflict and controversy exist, a few are able to excite in the mass strong and bitter passions, and by these to obtain an immense ascendency. Through such an association, widely spread, yet closely connected by party feeling, a few leaders can send their voices and spirit far and wide, and, where great funds are accumulated, can league a host of instruments, and by menace and appeals to interest can silence opposition. Accordingly, we fear that in this country an influence is growing up, through widely spread societies, altogether at war with the spirit of our institutions, and which, unless jealously watched, will gradually but surely encroach on freedom of thought, of speech, and of the press. It is very striking to observe how, by such combinations, the very means of encouraging a free action of men's minds may be turned against it. We all esteem the press as the safeguard of our liberties, as the power which is to quicken intellect by giving to all minds an opportunity to act on all. Now, by means of tract societies spread over a whole community, and acting under a central body, a few individuals, perhaps not more than twenty, may determine the chief reading for a great part of the children of the community, and for a majority of the adults, and may deluge our country with worthless sectarian writings, fitted only to pervert its taste, degrade its intellect, and madden it with intolerance. Let associations devoted to any objects which excite the passions be everywhere spread and leagued together for mutual support, and nothing is easier than to establish a control over newspapers. We are persuaded that, by an artful multiplication of societies, devoted apparently to different objects, but all swayed by the same leaders, and all intended to bear against a hated party, as cruel a persecution may be carried on in a free country as in a despotism. Public opinion may be so combined, and inflamed, and brought to bear on odious individuals or opinions, that it will be as perilous to think and speak with manly freedom as if an inquisition were open before us. It is now discovered that the way to rule in this country is by an array of numbers which a prudent man will not like to face. Of consequence, all associations aiming or tending to establish sway by numbers ought to be opposed. They create tyrants as effectually as standing armies. Let them be withstood from the beginning. No matter whether the opinions which they intend to put down be true or false. Let no opinion be put down by such means. Let no error be suppressed by an instrument which will be equally powerful against truth, and which must subvert that freedom of thought on which all truth depends. Let the best end fail if it cannot be accomplished by right and just means. For example, we would have criminals punished, but punished in the proper way, and by a proper authority. It were better that they should escape than be imprisoned or executed by any man who may think fit to assume the office; for sure we are that, by this summary justice, the innocent would soon suffer more than the guilty; and, on the same principle, we cannot consent that what we deem error should be crushed by the joint cries and denunciations of vast societies directed by the tyranny of a few; for truth has more to dread from such weapons than falsehood, and we know no truth against which they may not be successfully turned. In this country, few things are more to be dreaded than organizations or institutions by which public opinion may be brought to bear tyrannically against individuals or sects. From the nature of things, public opinion is often unjust; but, when it is not embodied and fixed by pledged societies, it easily relents, it may receive new impulses, it is opened to influences from the injured. On the contrary, when shackled and stimulated by vast associations, it is in danger of becoming a steady, unrelenting tyrant, brow-beating the timid, proscribing the resolute, silencing free

speech, and virtually denying the dearest religious and civil rights. We say not that all great associations *must* be thus abused. We know that some are useful. We know, too, that there are cases in which it is important that public opinion should be condensed, or act in a mass. We feel, however, that the danger of great associations is increased by the very fact that they are sometimes useful. They are perilous instruments. They ought to be suspected. They are a kind of irregular government created within our constitutional government. Let them be watched closely. As soon as we find them resolved or disposed to bear down a respectable man or set of men, or to force on the community measures about which wise and good men differ, let us feel that a dangerous engine is at work among us, and oppose to it our steady and stern disapprobation.

We have spoken of the tendency of great institutions to accumulate power in a few hands. These few they make more active; but they tend to produce dependence, and to destroy self-originated action in the vast multitudes who compose them, and this is a serious injury. Few comprehend the extent of this evil. Individual action is the highest good. What we want is, that men should do right more and more from their own minds, and less and less from imitation, from a foreign impulse, from sympathy with a crowd. This is the kind of action which we recommend. Would you do good according to the gospel? Do it secretly, silently; so silently, that the left hand will not know what the right hand doeth. This precept does not favor the clamorous and far-published efforts of a leagued multitude. We mean not to sever men from others in well-doing, for we have said there are many good objects which can only be accomplished by numbers. But, generally speaking, we can do most good by individual action, and our own virtue is incomparably more improved by it. It is vastly better, for example, that we should give our own money with our own hands, from our own judgment, and through personal interest in the distresses of others, than that we should send it by a substitute. Second-hand charity is not as good to the giver or receiver as immediate. There are, indeed, urgent cases where we cannot act immediately, or cannot alone do the good required. There let us join with others; but where we can do good secretly, and separately, or only with some dear friend, we shall almost certainly put forth in this way more of intellect and heart, more of sympathy and strenuous purpose, and shall awaken more of virtuous sensibility in those whom we relieve, than if we were to be parts of a multitude in accomplishing the same end. Individual action is the great point to be secured. That man alone understands the true use of society who learns from it to act more and more from his own deliberate conviction, to think more for himself, to be less swayed by numbers, to rely more on his own powers. One good action, springing from our own minds, performed from a principle within, performed without the excitement of an urging and approving voice from abroad, is worth more than hundreds which grow from mechanical imitation, or from the heat and impulse which numbers give us. In truth, all great actions are solitary ones. All the great works of genius come from deep, lonely thought. The writings which have quickened, electrified, regenerated the human mind, did not spring from associations. That is most valuable which is individual, — which is marked by what is peculiar and characteristic in him who accomplishes it. In truth, associations are chiefly useful by giving means and opportunities to gifted individuals to act out their own minds. A missionary society achieves little good, except when it can send forth an individual who wants no teaching or training from the society, but who carries his commission and chief power in his own soul. We urge this, for we feel that we are all in danger of sacrificing our individuality and independence to our social connections. We dread new social trammels. They are too numerous already. From these views we learn that there is cause to fear and to withstand great associations, as far as they interfere with, or restrain, individual action, personal independence, private judgment, free, self-originated effort. We do fear, from not a few associations which exist, that power is to be accumulated in the hands of a few, and a servile, tame, dependent spirit to be generated in the many. Such is the

danger of our times, and we are bound as Christians and freemen to withstand it.

We have now laid down the general principles which, as we think, are to be applied to associations for public objects. Another part of our work remains. We propose to offer some remarks on a few societies which at this time demand our patronage or excite particular attention. In doing this, we shall speak with our customary freedom; but we beg that we may not be understood as censuring the motives of those whose plans and modes of operation we condemn.

The associations for suppressing intemperance form an interesting feature of our times. Their object is of undoubted utility, and unites the hearts of all good men. They aim to suppress an undoubted and gross vice, to free its victims from the worst bondage, to raise them from brutal degradation to the liberty and happiness of men. There is one strong presumption in favor of the means which they have used. We have never heard of their awakening enmity and counteraction. In one particular, some of them may have erred. We refer to the compact formed by their members for abstaining from wine. When we consider that wine is universally acknowledged to be an innocent and often salutary beverage, that Jesus sanctioned its use by miraculously increasing it at the marriage feast, that the Scriptures teach us to thank God for it as a good gift, intended to "gladden the heart of man," and when to these considerations we add that wine countries are distinguished for temperance, we are obliged to regard this pledge as injudicious; and we regret it, because it may bring distrust and contempt on an excellent institution, and because its abandonment — for it cannot long continue — may be construed by some as a warrant for returning to inebriating liquors. In one view, the success of the efforts against intemperance affords us peculiar satisfaction. It demonstrates a truth, little felt, but infinitely precious; namely, the recoverableness of human nature from the lowest depths of vice. It teaches us never to despair of a human being. It teaches us that there is always something to work on, a germ to be unfolded, a spark which may be cherished, in the human soul. Intemperance is the most hopeless state into which a man can fall; and yet instances of recovery from this vice have rewarded the recent labors of the philanthropist. Let philanthropy then rejoice in the belief that the capacity of improvement is never lost, and let it convert this conviction into new and more strenuous efforts for the recovery of the most depraved.

We proceed now to Bible societies. These need no advocates. Their object is so simple, unexceptionable, beneficent, that all Protestants, at least, concur in their support. By spreading the Bible without note or comment, they especially assert the right of private judgment, and are thus free from the great reproach of trenching on Christian freedom. Perhaps they have not always been conducted with sufficient prudence. We have particularly feared that they might be open to the charge of indiscreet profusion. We believe it to be a good rule, that where the poor can give any thing for a Bible, no matter how little, they should be encouraged and incited to pay this part of the price. We believe that it will be more valued, and more carefully preserved, where it has cost something. We do not think of the Bible, as the superstitious among Catholics and heathens do of relics and charms as if its mere presence in a family were a necessary good. We wish some pledge that it will be treated with respect, and we fear that this respect has been diminished by the lavishness with which it has been bestowed. One cause of the evil is, that societies, like individuals, have a spice of vanity, and love to make a fair show in their annual reports; and accordingly they are apt to feel as if a favor were conferred when their books are taken off their hands. We think that to secure respect to the Bible is even more important than to distribute it widely. For this purpose, its exterior should be attractive. It should be printed in a fair, large type, should be well bound, and be provided with a firm case. This last provision seems to us especially important. The poor have no book-cases. Their Bibles too often lie on the same shelves with their domestic utensils: nor can it be doubted that, when soiled, torn, dishonored by this exposure, they are regarded with less respect than if protected with peculiar care.

We have a still more important remark to make in reference to Bible societies. In our last number we noticed an edition of the New Testament recently published in Boston, and differing from those in common use, by a new translation of those passages of the Greek original, of which the true reading was lost or neglected when the received English version was made. This edition of the New Testament we stated to be undoubtedly more correct, more conformed to the original, than our common editions. On this point we speak strongly, because we wish to call to it the attention of Bible societies, and of all conscientious Christians. To such we say, — Here is a translation undoubtedly more faithful to the original than that in common use. You have here in greater purity what Jesus Christ said, and what his apostles wrote: and, if so, you are bound by your allegiance to Christ to substitute this for the common translation. We know that uneducated Christians cannot settle this question. We therefore respectfully, and with solemnity, solicit for it the attention of learned men, of Christian ministers, of professors of theology of every sect and name. We ask for the calmest and most deliberate investigation, and if, as we believe, there shall be but one opinion as to the claims of the version which we have recommended; if all must acknowledge that it renders more faithfully the words of the inspired and authorized teachers of Christianity, then we see not how it can be denied the reception and diffusion which it deserves. We conceive that, to Bible societies, this is a great question, and not to be evaded without unfaithfulness to our common Master, and without disrespect to the Holy Scriptures. We fear that there is a want of conscientiousness on this subject. We fear that the British and Foreign Bible Society has forfeited, in a measure, its claims to the gratitude and admiration of the church, by neglecting to secure the greatest possible accuracy and fidelity to the new translations which they have set forth. We hear continual expressions of reverence for the Bible; but the most unambiguous proofs of it — we mean, unwearied efforts to purify it from human additions, mutilations, and corruptions — remain to be given.

Before leaving the consideration of Bible societies, we cannot but refer to a very singular transaction in relation to the Scriptures in which some of them are thought to be implicated. In some of our cities and villages, we are told that the rich as well as the poor have been visited for the purpose of ascertaining whether they own the Bible. The object of this domiciliary investigation we profess not to understand. We cannot suppose that it was intended to lavish on the rich the funds which were contributed for spreading the Scriptures among the poor. One thing we know, that a measure more likely to irritate and to be construed into an insult could not easily be contrived. As a sign of the times it deserves our notice. After this step, it ought not to surprise us should an inquisition be established, to ascertain who among us observe, and who neglect, the duties of private and family prayer. We might smile at this spirit, could we tell where it would stop. But it is essentially prying, restless, and encroaching, and its first movements ought to be withstood.

We now proceed to another class of associations, — those which are designed to promote the observance of the Sabbath. The motives which gave birth to these we respect. But we doubt the rectitude and usefulness of the object, and we fear that what has begun in conscientiousness may end in intolerance and oppression. We cannot say of these associations, as of those which we have just noticed, that they aim at an unquestionable good, about which all good men agree. Not a few of the wisest and best men dissent from the principle on which these societies are built; namely, that the Jewish Sabbath is binding on Christians. Not a few of the profoundest divines and most exemplary followers of Christ have believed, and still believe, that the Sabbath enjoined in the fourth commandment is a part of Judaism, and not of the gospel; that it is essentially different from the Lord's-day; and that to enforce it on Christians is to fall into that error which Paul withstood even unto death, — the error of adulterating Christianity by mixtures of a preparatory and very inferior religion. We beg to be understood. All Christians, whom we know, concur in the opinion and the desire that the Lord's-

day, or the first day of the week, should be separated to the commemoration of Christ's resurrection, to public worship, to public Christian instruction, and in general to what are called the means of religion. This we gratefully accept and honor as a Christian rite. But not a few believe that the Lord's-day and the ancient Sabbath are not the same institution, and ought not to be confounded; that the former is of a nobler character, and more important than the latter; and that the mode of observing it is to be determined by the spirit and purposes of Christianity, and not by any preceding law. This is a question about which Christians have differed for ages. We certainly wish that it may be debated till it is settled. But we grieve to see a questionable doctrine made the foundation of large societies, and to see Christians leagued to pass the sentence of irreligion on men equally virtuous with themselves, and who perhaps better understand the mind of Christ in regard to the Sabbath.

We know that it is confidently affirmed that God, at an earlier period than the Jewish law, enjoined the Sabbath as a perpetual, universal, irrepealable law for the whole human race. But can this position be sustained? For ourselves, we cannot see a trace of it in the Scriptures, — those only sure records of God's revelation to mankind. We do, indeed, incline to believe — what many wise men have questioned — that there are appearances of the institution of the Sabbath at the beginning of the human race. We know that these are faint and few; yet we attach importance to them, because nature and reason favor the supposition of a time having been set apart from the first as a religious memorial. Whilst, however, we incline to this view as most probable, we see no proofs of the perpetuity of the institution in the circumstance of its early origin. On the contrary, an ordinance or rite, given in the infancy of the human race, may be presumed to be temporary, unless its unchangeableness is expressly taught, or is necessarily implied in its very nature. The positive or ritual religion, which was adapted to the earlier, can hardly suit the maturer periods of the race. Man is a progressive being, and needs a progressive religion. It is one of the most interesting and beautiful features of the sacred writings, and one of the strong evidences of their truth, that they reveal religion as a growing light, and manifest the Divine Legislator as adapting himself to the various and successive conditions of the world. Allowing, then, the Sabbath to have been given to Adam, we could no more infer its perpetuity than we can infer the perpetuity of capital punishment, as an ordinance of God, because He said to Noah, the second parent of the human race, "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed."

Our opinion leans, as we have said, to the early institution of the Sabbath; but, we repeat it, the presumptions on which our judgments rest are too uncertain to authorize confidence, much less denunciation. The greater part of the early fathers of the church, according to Calmet, believed that the law of the Sabbath was not given before Moses; and this, as we have observed, is the opinion of some of the most judicious and pious Christians of later times. Whilst disposed to differ from these, we feel that the subject is to be left to the calm decision of individuals. We want no array of numbers to settle a doubtful question. One thing is plain, that, before Moses, not one precept is given in relation to the Sabbath, nor a hint of its unchangeableness to the end of the world. One thing is plain, that the question of the perpetuity of this institution is to be settled by the teachings of Jesus Christ, the great Prophet, who alone is authorized to determine how far the institutions of religion which preceded him are binding on his followers. For ourselves, we are followers of Christ, and not of Moses, or Noah, or Adam. We call ourselves Christians, and the gospel is our only rule. Nothing in the Old Testament binds us, any further than it is recognized by, or incorporated into, the New. The great and only question, then, is, Does the New Testament, does Christianity, impose on us the ancient Sabbath?

To aid us in settling this question, we may first inquire into the nature and design of this institution; and nothing can be plainer. Words cannot make it clearer. According to the Old Testament, the seventh, or last day of the week, was to be set apart, or sanc-

tified, as a day of rest, in commemoration of God's having rested on that day from the work of creation.* The distinguishing feature of the institution is rest. The word Sabbath means rest. The event to be commemorated was rest. The reason for selecting the seventh was, that this had been to the Creator a day of rest. The chief method prescribed for sanctifying the day was rest. The distinctive character of the institution could not have been more clearly expressed. Whoever reads the fourth commandment will see that no mode of setting apart the day to God is there prescribed, except in imitation of his rest. How far this constituted the sanctification of the Sabbath will be seen from such passages as the following: "You shall keep the Sabbath, for it is holy unto you. Every one that defileth it shall surely be put to death. For whosoever doeth any work therein, that soul shall be cut off from among his people."† A still more remarkable proof that the sanctification of the Sabbath consisted in resting after the example of God, is furnished by Christ, who says, that "on the Sabbath-days the priests in the Temple *profane* the Sabbath."‡ So essential was rest to the hallowing of that day, that the work of offering victims, though prescribed by God Himself, is said to profane it. There are, indeed, some expressions of Moses, indicating other methods of observing the day, for he calls it "a holy convocation;" but whether this phrase applies to other places besides the Temple is uncertain. It is not improbable, indeed, that the people resorted to the Levites and prophets on the Sabbath rather than other days; but we find no precept to this effect; and it is well known that no synagogues or places of worship were built through Judea until after the captivity. Rest, then, was the great distinction of the day. This constituted it a memorial, and gave it its name; and we conceive that the chief stress was laid on this circumstance, because the Sabbath was intended to answer a humane as well as religious end; that is, to give relief to persons in servitude, and to inferior animals, — a provision very much needed in an unrefined and semi-barbarous age, when slavery had no acknowledged rights, and when little mercy was shown to man or beast. In conformity to these views, we find the Jewish nation always regarding the Sabbath as a joyful day, — a festival. In the time of Christ, we find him bidden to a feast on the Sabbath-day, and accepting the invitation;* and our impression is, that now, as in past times, the Jews divide the day between the synagogue and social enjoyment.

The nature and end of the Sabbath cannot be easily misunderstood. It was the seventh or last day of the week, set apart by God as a day of rest, in imitation and in commemoration of his having rested on that day from the creation. That other religious observances were with great propriety introduced into the day, and that they were multiplied with the progress of the nation, we do not doubt. But the distinctive observance, and the only one expressly enjoined on the whole people, was rest. Now we ask, Is the dedication of the seventh or last day of the week to rest, in remembrance of God's resting on that day, a part of the Christian religion? The answer seems to us plain. We affirm, in the first place, what none will contradict, that this institution is not enjoined in the New Testament, even by the faintest hint or implication; and, in the next place, we maintain that the Christian world, so far from finding it there, have by their practice disowned its authority.

This last position may startle some of our readers. But it is not therefore less true. We maintain that the Christian

* We beg our readers to observe that we are now simply stating the account of the Sabbath which is given in the Old Testament. How this account is to be interpreted is a question not involved in our present subject. We would, however, observe that the rest here ascribed to God must be understood in a figurative sense. Properly speaking, God, who is incapable of fatigue, and whose almighty agency is unceasing, never rests. In finishing the work of creation, He did not sink into repose, or for a moment desist from the exercise of his omnipotence. A particular mode of his agency was discontinued; and, in accommodation to an uncultivated age, this discontinuance was called rest. It seems to us, that the Sabbath bears one mark of a temporary institution, in the fact of its being founded on a representation of God which is true only in a figurative or popular sense, and which gives something like a shock to a mind which has exalted its conceptions of the Divinity. Such an institution does not carry the impress of a perpetual and universal law.

† Exod. xxxi. 14; also Jer. xvii. 22.

‡ Matt. xii. 5.

* Luke xiv.

world have in practice disowned the obligation of the Sabbath established by the fourth commandment. There is, indeed, a body of Christians called Sabbatarians, who strictly and religiously observe the fourth commandment. But they are a handful; they are lost, swallowed up in the immense majority of Christians, who have for ages ceased to observe the Sabbath prescribed from Sinai. True, Christians have their sacred day, which they call a Sabbath. But is it in truth the ancient Sabbath? We say, no; and we call attention to this point. The ancient Sabbath, as we have seen, was the last day of the week, set apart for rest, in commemoration of God's resting on that day. And is the first day of the week, a day observed in remembrance of Christ's resurrection from the dead, the same institution with this? Can broader marks between two ordinances be conceived? Is it possible that they can be confounded? Is not the ancient Sabbath renounced by the Christian world? Have we not thus the testimony of the Christian world to its having passed away? Who of us can consistently plead for it as a universal and perpetual law?

We know that it is said that the ancient Sabbath remains untouched; that Christianity has only removed it from the last to the first day of the week, and that this is a slight, unessential change, leaving the old institution whole and unbroken. To this we have several replies. In the first place, this change of days, which Christianity is supposed to make, is not unessential, but vital, and subversive of the ancient institution. The end of the ancient Sabbath was the commemoration of God's resting from his works; and, for this end, the very day of the week on which He rested was most wisely selected. Now we maintain, that to select the first day of the week, the very day on which He began his works, and to select and separate this in commemoration of another event, — of Christ's resurrection, — is wholly to set aside the ancient Sabbath. We cannot conceive of a more essential departure from the original ordinance. This substitution, as it is called, is a literal as well as virtual abolition. Such is our first remark. — We say, secondly, that not a word is uttered in the New Testament of the first day being substituted for the seventh. Surely so striking a change would not have been made in a universal and perpetual law of God without some warning. We ask for some hint of this modification of the fourth commandment. We find not a syllable. We say, thirdly, that the first Christians knew nothing of this substitution. Our evidence here is complete. The first converts to Christianity were Jews, and these converts had at first no conception of the design of Christianity to supersede the law of Moses. This law they continued to observe for years, and to observe it as rigorously as ever. When Paul visited Jerusalem, after many labors among the Gentiles, the elders said unto him, "Thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are which believe, and they are all zealous of the law." * Of course they all observed the Jewish Sabbath, or seventh day of rest, the greatest of Jewish festivals, whilst, as we all believe, they honored also the first day, the remembrancer of Christ's resurrection. This state of things existed for years in the primitive church. The two days were observed together. Nothing more seems necessary to disprove unanswerably the common doctrine that the Apostles enjoined the substitution of the first for the seventh day. We will add one more argument. Paul commands the Colossian Christians to disregard the censures of those who judged or condemned them for not observing the Sabbath. "Let no man judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of an holy day, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath days." † This passage is very plain. It is evaded, however, by the plea that the word "Sabbath" was used to express not only the seventh day, but other festivals or days of rest. But when we recollect that the word is used by Paul in this place without any exception or limitation, and that it was employed at that time, most frequently and almost wholly, to express the seventh day, or weekly Sabbath, we shall see that we have the strongest reason for supposing this institution to be intended by the Apostle. That a Christian, after reading this passage, should "judge" or condemn his brethren for questioning or rejecting his

* Acts xxi. 20. † Col. ii. 16.

particular notion of the Sabbath, is a striking proof of the slow progress of tolerant and liberal principles among men. We need not add, after these remarks, how unjustifiable we deem it to enforce particular modes of observing this day by an array of associations.

Having thus stated what seem to us strong reasons against the perpetuity of the ancient Sabbath, perhaps some of our readers may wish to know our views of the Lord's-day; and, although the subject may seem foreign to the present article, we will give our opinion in a few words. We believe that the first day of the week is to be set apart for the public worship of God, and for the promotion of the knowledge and practice of Christianity, and that it was selected for this end in honor of the resurrection of Christ. To this view we are led by the following considerations: Wherever the gospel was preached, its professors were formed into churches or congregations, and ministers were appointed for their instruction or edification. Wherever Christianity was planted, societies for joint religious acts and improvement were instituted, as the chief means of establishing and diffusing it. Now it is plain that for these purposes regular times must have been prescribed; and, accordingly, we find that it was the custom of the primitive Christians to hold their religious assemblies on the first day of the week, — the day of Christ's resurrection. This we learn from the New Testament, and from the universal testimony of the earliest ages of the church. Wherever Christianity was spread, the first day was established as the season of Christian worship and instruction. Such are the grounds on which this institution rests. We regard it as altogether a *Christian institution*, — as having its origin in the gospel, — as peculiar to the new dispensation; and we conceive that the proper observation of it is to be determined wholly by the spirit of Christianity. We meet in the New Testament no precise rules as to the mode of spending the Lord's-day, as to the mode of worship and teaching, as to the distribution of the time not given to public services. And this is just what might be expected; for the gospel is not a religion of precise rules. It differs from Judaism in nothing more than in its free character. It gives great principles, broad views, general, prolific, all-comprehensive precepts, and intrusts the application of them to the individual. It sets before us the perfection of our nature, the spirit which we should cherish, the virtues which constitute "the kingdom of heaven within us," and leaves us to determine for ourselves, in a great measure, the discipline by which these noble ends are to be secured. Let no man, then, bind what Christ has left free. The modes of worship and teaching on the Lord's-day are not prescribed, and who will say that they cannot be improved? One reason of the neglect and limited influence of this institution is that, as now observed, it does not correspond sufficiently to the wants of our times; and we fear that it might even fall into contempt among the cultivated, should attempts be prosecuted to carry it back to the superstitious rigor by which it was degraded in a former age.

The associations for promoting the observance of the Sabbath propose several objects, in which, to a certain extent, we heartily concur, but which, from their nature, are not susceptible of precise definition or regulation, and which, therefore, ought to be left, where Christianity has left them, to the consciences of individuals. They undoubtedly intend to discountenance labor on Sunday. Now, generally speaking, abstinence from labor seems to us a plain duty of the day; for we see not how its ends can otherwise be accomplished to any considerable extent. We do not believe, indeed, that this abstinence was rigidly practised by the first Christians at Jerusalem, who, as we have seen, gave up the seventh day to entire rest, and whose social duties could hardly have admitted the same appropriation of the following day. Neither do we believe that the converts, who were made among the class of slaves in heathen countries, abstained from labor on the first day of the week; for, in so doing, they would have exposed themselves to the severest punishments, even to death, and we have no intimation that this portion of believers were regularly cut off by martyrdom. We know, however, that the early Christians, in proportion as they were relieved from the restrictions of heathenism and Juda-

ism, made the Lord's-day a season of abstinence from labor; and the arguments for so doing are so obvious and strong, that later Christians have concurred with them with hardly a dissenting voice. On this point there is, and can be, no difference. The change of Sunday into a working-day we should condemn as earnestly as any of our brethren. At the same time, we feel that, in this particular, a Jewish rigor is not to be imposed on Christians, and that there are exigencies justifying toil on the first day, which must be left to individual judgment. The great purposes of this festival may certainly be accomplished without that scrupulous, anxious shunning of every kind of work which marked a Jewish Sabbath, and which, however proper under a servile dispensation, and in an age of darkness, would be in us superstition. We do not, for example, think Christians bound to prepare on Saturday every meal for the following day, or to study through the week how to remove the necessity of every bodily exertion on the approaching Sunday. We think, too, that cases may occur which justify severe toil on this day; and we should judge a man unfaithful to himself and his family, ungrateful to Providence, and superstitious, who should lose a crop rather than harvest it during the portion of time ordinarily set apart for Christian worship. On these points, Christianity has left us free. The individual must be his own judge, and we deprecate the attempts of societies to legislate on this indefinite subject for their fellow-Christians.

Another purpose of the associations of which we speak is to stop the mail on Sunday. On this point a great difference of opinion prevails among the most conscientious men. It may be remembered that, in a former number of this work, there was an article on the Sabbath, discouraging this attempt to interrupt the mail. We think it right to say, that among the contributors to this work, and among its best friends, a diversity of sentiment exists in regard to this difficult question. In one respect, however, we all agree; and that is, in the inexpediency of organizing, in opposition to the Sunday mail, a vast association, which may be easily perverted to political purposes, which, from its very object, will be tempted to meddle with government, and which, by setting up a concerted and joint cry, may overpower and load with reproach the most conscientious men in the community.

Another purpose of these associations is to discourage travelling on the Lord's-day. Nothing can well be plainer than that unnecessary travelling on this day is repugnant to its duties and design, and is to be reproved in writing, preaching, and conversation. By unnecessary travelling, we mean that which is not required by some particular exigency. When we consider, however, that in such a community as ours, distinguished by extent and variety of intercourse, exigencies must continually occur, we feel that here is another point with which societies have no right to interfere, and which must be left to the conscience of the individual. In such a community as ours, how many persons may be found on every Sunday, the state of whose health, the state of whose families, the state of whose affairs, may require them to travel? It may happen that another's property confided to our care may be lost, that a good object may fail, that some dying or departing friend may go from us unseen, if on this day we will not begin or pursue a journey. How often is it difficult for the traveller to find an inn, the quiet and comforts of which make it a fit residence for Sunday? An association against travelling on Sunday seems to us a very hazardous expedient; and its members, we think, will be fortunate if they escape the guilt of censoriousness and dictation on a subject which Providence has plainly exempted from human legislation. We know that it will be said that the license which we give by these remarks will be abused; and of this we have no doubt. We know no truth, no privilege, no power, no blessing, no right, which is not abused. But is liberty to be denied to men because they often turn it into licentiousness? We have read of certain sects which have denounced indiscriminately all sports and relaxations, because these, if allowed, will be carried to excess; and of others, which have prescribed by laws the plainest, coarsest dress, because ornament, if in any measure tolerated, would certainly grow up

into extravagance and vanity. And is this degrading legislation never to end? Are men never to be trusted to themselves? Is it God's method to hem them in with precise prescriptions? Does Providence leave nothing to individual discretion? Does Providence withhold every privilege which may be abused? Does Christianity enjoin an exact, unvarying round of services, because reason and conscience, if allowed to judge of duty, will often be misguided by partiality and passion? How liberal, generous, confiding, are nature, Providence, and Christianity, in their dealings with men! And when will men learn to exercise towards one another the same liberal and confiding spirit?

We have thus considered some of the particular purposes of the association for promoting the observance of the Sabbath. We say their "particular purposes." We apprehend there is a general one, which lurks in a portion of their members, which few perhaps have stated very distinctly to themselves, but which is not therefore the less real, and of which it is well to be forewarned. We apprehend that some, and not a small party, have a vague instinctive feeling that the kind of Christianity which they embrace requires for its diffusion a gloomy Sabbath, the Puritan Sabbath; and we incline to believe that they are desirous to separate the Lord's-day as much as possible from all other days, to make it a season of rigid restraint, that it may be a preparation for a system of theology, which the mind, in a natural, free, and cheerful state, can never receive. The Sabbath of the Puritans and their Calvinistic peculiarities go together. Now we wish the return of neither. The Puritans, measured by their age, have indeed many claims on respect, especially those of them who came to this country, and who, through their fortunate exile, escaped the corruption which the civil war and the possession of power engendered in the Puritan body of England. But sincere respect for the men of early times may be joined with a clear perception of their weaknesses and errors; and it becomes us to remember, that errors, which in them were innocent, because inevitable, may deserve a harsher appellation if perpetuated in their posterity.

We have no desire, it will be seen, to create huge associations for enforcing or recommending the Lord's-day. We desire, however, that this interesting subject may engage more attention. We wish the Lord's-day to be more honored and more observed; and we believe that there is but one way for securing this good, and that is to make the day more useful, to turn it to better account, to introduce such changes into it as shall satisfy judicious men that it is adapted to great and happy results. The Sunday which has come down to us from our fathers seems to us exceedingly defective. The clergy have naturally taken it very much into their own hands, and we apprehend that as yet they have not discovered all the means of making it a blessing to mankind. It may well excite surprise how little knowledge has been communicated on the Lord's-day. We think that the present age admits and requires a more extensive teaching than formerly, — a teaching not only in sermons, but in more instructive exercises, which will promote a critical and growing acquaintance with the Scriptures; will unfold morality or duty, at once in its principles and vast details; will guide the common mind to larger views, and to a more religious use of nature and history; and will reveal to it its own godlike powers. We think, too, that this great intellectual activity may be relieved and cheered by a mixture of greater benevolent activity; by attention to public and private charities, and by domestic and social kindnesses.* It seems to us that we are waking up to understand the various uses to which Sunday may be applied. The present devotion of a considerable portion of it to the teaching of children makes an important era in the history of the institution. The teaching of the ignorant and poor, we trust, is to follow. On this subject we cannot enlarge, but enough has been said to show in what way Sunday is to be recommended to the understandings and consciences of men.

In these remarks we have expressed our reverence for the Lord's-day. To

* Would not the business of our public charities be done more effectually on the Lord's-day than on any other, and would not such an appropriation of a part of this time accord peculiarly with the spirit of Christianity?

us it is a more important day, and consecrated to nobler purposes, than the ancient Sabbath. We are bound, however, to state that we cannot acquiesce in the distinctions which are often made between this and other days, for they seem to us at once ungrounded and pernicious. We sometimes hear, for example, that the Lord's-day is set apart from our common lives to religion? What! Are not all days equally set apart to religion? Has religion more to do with Sunday than with any other portion of time? Is there any season over which piety should not preside? So the day is sometimes distinguished as "holy." What! Is there stronger obligation to holiness on one day than on another? Is it more holy to pray in the church than to pray in the closet, or than to withstand temptation in common life? The true distinction of Sunday is, that it is consecrated to certain means or direct acts of religion. But these are not holier than other duties. They are certainly not more important than their end, which is a virtuous life. There is, we fear, a superstition on this point, unworthy of the illumination of Christianity. We earnestly recommend the Lord's-day, but we dare not esteem its duties above those of other days. We prize and recommend it as an institution through which our whole lives are to be sanctified and ennobled; and, without this fruit, vain, and worse than vain, are the most rigid observances, the most costly sacrifices, the loudest and most earnest prayers. We would on no account disparage the offices of the Lord's-day. We delight in this peaceful season, so fitted to allay the feverish heat and anxieties of active life, to cherish self-communion, and communion with God and with the world to come. It is good to meet, as brethren, in the church to pray together, to hear the word of God, to retire for a time from ordinary labors, that we may meditate on great truths more deliberately, and with more continuous attention. In these duties we see a fitness, excellence, and happiness; but still, if a comparison must be made, they seem to us less striking proofs of piety and virtue than are found in the disinterestedness, the self-control, the love of truth, the scorn of ill-gotten wealth, the unshaken trust in God, the temperate and grateful enjoyment, the calm and courageous sufferings for duty, to which the Christian is called in daily life. It is right to adore God's goodness in the hour of prayer; but does it not seem more excellent to carry in our souls the conviction of this goodness, as our spring and pattern, and to breathe it forth in acts conformed to the beneficence of our Maker? It is good to seek strength from God in the church; but does it not seem more excellent to use well this strength in the sore conflicts of life, and to rise through it to a magnanimous and victorious virtue? Such comparisons, however, we have no pleasure in making, and they are obviously exposed to error. The enlightened Christian "esteemeth every day alike." To him all days bring noble duties; bring occasions of a celestial piety and virtue; bring trials, in wrestling with which he may grow strong; bring aids and incitements, through which he may rise above himself. All days may be holy, and the holiest is that in which he yields himself, with the most single-hearted, unshrinking, uncompromising purpose, to the will of God.

We intended to add remarks on some other associations, particularly on the Peace society. But we have exceeded our limits, and must forbear. Our remarks have been free, but, we trust, will not be misunderstood. We look with interest and hope on the spirit of association which characterizes our times. We rejoice in this, as in every manifestation of a desire for the improvement of mankind. We have done what we could to secure this powerful instrument against perversion. Through a wise and jealous care, we doubt not that it will minister to that only sure good, the intellectual and moral progress of the human race.

THE PRESENT AGE:

An Address delivered before the Mercantile Library Company of Philadelphia, May 11, 1841.

[To my venerable Friend, John Vaughan, Esq., who has made the past generation and the present his debtors by unwearied well-doing, this Address is affectionately and respectfully inscribed. — W. E. C.]

GENTLEMEN OF THE MERCANTILE LIBRARY COMPANY, — I beg you to consider my appearance in this place as an expression of my interest in this and in kindred institutions. I welcome them as signs of the times, as promises and means of increased intellectual activity. I shall be glad, if a good word or a friendly effort on my part can serve them. I know that the lectures delivered before such societies are called superficial; but this does not discourage me. All human productions, even those of genius, are very superficial, compared with the unfathomable depths of truth. The simple question is, Do these lectures rouse the mind to new action? Do they give it new objects of thought, and excite a thirst for knowledge? I am sure that they do; and therefore, though the field is sometimes called humble, I enter it with pleasure. — Will you allow me to observe, that to render lectures useful one condition is necessary; they must be frank, honest, free. He who speaks must speak what he thinks, — speak courteously, but uncompromisingly. What makes our communications unprofitable in this country is, the dread of giving offence, now to the majority, and now to the fashionable or refined. We speak without force because not true to our convictions. A lecturer will, of course, desire to wound no man's prejudices or feelings; but his first duty is to truth; his chief power lies in simple, natural, strong utterance of what he believes; and he should put confidence in his hearers that the tone of manly sincerity will be responded to by candor and good-will.

The subject to which I call your attention is the Present Age, — a vast theme, demanding volumes. An age is needed to expound an age; and, of course, little is to be expected in a brief hour. I profess no great understanding of the subject, though I have given it much thought. In truth, it cannot be grasped, as yet, by the highest intellect. This age is the result, issue, of all former ages. All are pouring themselves into it. The struggles, passions, discoveries, revolutions of all former time survive in their influences on the present moment. To interpret the present thoroughly we must understand and unfold all the past. This work I shall not undertake. I am not now to be a historian. Do not fear that I shall compel you to journey backward to the Deluge or to Paradise. I shall look only at the present; nor do I think of unfolding all the present. I shall seize on a single characteristic of our age, if not the profoundest, yet the most prominent, and the best fitted to an address like the present. In performing this task my aim will be to speak the simple truth. I wish to say what the age is, not to be its advocate; and yet I hope to lead you to look tenderly and trustfully on it, to love it, and to resolve, with generous, stout hearts, that you will serve it, as far as God may give you ability.

In looking at our age I am struck immediately with one commanding characteristic, and that is, the tendency in all its movements to expansion, to diffusion, to universality. To this I ask your attention. This tendency is directly opposed to the spirit of exclusiveness, restriction, narrowness, monopoly, which has prevailed in past ages. Human action is now freer, more unconfined. All goods, advantages, helps,

are more open to all. The privileged, petted individual is becoming less, and the human race are becoming more. The multitude is rising from the dust. Once we heard of the few, now we hear of the many; once of the prerogatives of a part, now of the rights of all. We are looking as never before through the disguises, envelopments of ranks and classes to the common nature which lies below them, and are beginning to learn that every being who partakes of it has noble powers to cultivate, solemn duties to perform, inalienable rights to assert, a vast destiny to accomplish. The grand idea of humanity, of the importance of man as man, is spreading silently but surely. Not that the worth of the human being is at all understood as it should be; but the truth is glimmering through the darkness. A faint consciousness of it has seized on the public mind. Even the most abject portions of society are visited by some dreams of a better condition for which they were designed. The grand doctrine, that every human being should have the means of self-culture, — of progress in knowledge and virtue, of health, comfort, and happiness, of exercising the powers and affections of a man, — this is slowly taking its place as the highest social truth. That the world was made for all, and not for a few; that society is to care for all; that no human being shall perish but through his own fault; that the great end of government is to spread a shield over the rights of all, — these propositions are growing into axioms, and the spirit of them is coming forth in all the departments of life.

If we look at the various movements of our age, we shall see in them this tendency to universality and diffusion. Look first at science and literature. Where is science now? Locked up in a few colleges, or royal societies, or inaccessible volumes? Are its experiments mysteries for a few privileged eyes? Are its portals guarded by a dark phraseology which to the multitude is a foreign tongue? No; science has now left her retreats, her shades, her selected company of votaries, and with familiar tone begun the work of instructing the race. Through the press, discoveries and theories, once the monopoly of philosophers, have become the property of the multitude. Its professors, heard not long ago in the university or some narrow school, now speak in the mechanic institute. The doctrine that the laborer should understand the principles of his art, should be able to explain the laws and processes which he turns to account, that, instead of working as a machine, he should join intelligence to his toil, is no longer listened to as a dream. Science, once the greatest of distinctions, is becoming popular. A lady gives us Conversations on Chemistry, revealing to the minds of our youth vast laws of the universe which fifty years ago had not dawned on the greatest minds. The school-books of our children contain grand views of the creation. There are parts of our country in which lyceums spring up in almost every village for the purpose of mutual aid in the study of natural science. The characteristic of our age, then, is not the improvement of science, rapid as this is, so much as its extension to all men.

The same characteristic will appear, if we inquire into the use now made of science. Is it simply a matter of speculation, a topic of discourse, an employment of the intellect? In this case, the multitude, with all their means of instruction, would find in it only a hurried gratification. But one of the distinctions of our time is, that science has passed from speculation into life. Indeed, it is not pursued enough for its intellectual and contemplative uses. It is sought as a mighty power, by which nature is not only to be opened to thought, but to be subjected to our needs. It is conferring on us that dominion over earth, sea, and air, which was prophesied in the first command given to man by his Maker; and this dominion is now employed, not to exalt a few, but to multiply the comforts and ornaments of life for the multitude of men. Science has become an inexhaustible mechanician; and by her forges, and mills, and steam-cars, and printer's presses, is bestowing on millions, not only comforts, but luxuries which were once the distinction of a few.

Another illustration of the tendency of science to expansion and universality may be found in its aims and objects. Science has burst all bounds and is aiming to comprehend the universe, and thus it multiplies fields of inquiry for

all orders of minds. There is no province of nature which it does not invade. Not content with exploring the darkest periods of human history, it goes behind the birth of the human race, and studies the stupendous changes which our globe experienced for hundreds of centuries, to become prepared for man's abode. Not content with researches into visible nature, it is putting forth all its energies to detect the laws of invisible and imponderable matter. Difficulties only provoke it to new efforts. It would lay open the secrets of the polar ocean and of untrodden barbarous lands. Above all, it investigates the laws of social progress, of arts and institutions of government and political economy, proposing as its great end the alleviation of all human burdens, the weal of all the members of the human race. In truth, nothing is more characteristic of our age than the vast range of inquiry which is opening more and more to the multitude of men. Thought frees the old bounds to which men used to confine themselves. It holds nothing too sacred for investigation. It calls the past to account; and treats hoary opinions as if they were of yesterday's growth. No reverence drives it back. No great name terrifies it. The foundations of what seems most settled must be explored. Undoubtedly this is a perilous tendency. Men forget the limits of their powers. They question the infinite, the unsearchable, with an audacious self-reliance. They shock pious and revering minds, and rush into an extravagance of doubt more unphilosophical and foolish than the weakest credulity. Still, in this dangerous wildness we see what I am stating, the tendency to expansion in the movements of thought.

I have hitherto spoken of science; and what is true of science is still more true of literature. Books are now placed within reach of all. Works once too costly except for the opulent are now to be found on the laborer's shelf. Genius sends its light into cottages. The great names of literature are become household words among the crowd. Every party, religious or political, scatters its sheets on all the winds. We may lament, and too justly, the small comparative benefit as yet accomplished by this agency; but this ought not to surprise or discourage us. In our present stage of improvement, books of little worth, deficient in taste and judgment, and ministering to men's prejudices and passions, will almost certainly be circulated too freely. Men are never very wise and select in the exercise of a new power. Mistake, error, is the discipline through which we advance. It is an undoubted fact that, silently, books of a higher order are taking place of the worthless. Happily, the instability of the human mind works sometimes for good as well as evil. Men grow tired at length even of amusements. Works of fiction cease to interest them; and they turn from novels to books which, having their origin in deep principles of our nature, retain their hold of the human mind for ages. At any rate, we see in the present diffusion of literature the tendency to universality of which I have spoken.

The same tendency will appear, if we consider the kind of literature which is obtaining the widest favor. The works of genius of our age breathe a spirit of universal sympathy. The great poet of our times, Wordsworth, — one of the few who are to live, — has gone to common life, to the feelings of our universal nature, to the obscure and neglected portions of society, for beautiful and touching themes. Nor ought it to be said that he has shed over these the charms of his genius, as if in themselves they had nothing grand or lovely. Genius is not a creator, in the sense of fancying or feigning what does not exist. Its distinction is to discern more of truth than common minds. It sees under disguises and humble forms everlasting beauty. This it is the prerogative of Wordsworth to discern and reveal in the ordinary walks of life, in the common human heart. He has revealed the loveliness of the primitive feelings, of the universal affections of the human soul. The grand truth which pervades his poetry is, that the beautiful is not confined to the rare, the new, the distant, — to scenery and modes of life open only to the few; but that it is poured forth profusely on the common earth and sky, that it gleams from the loneliest flower, that it lights up the humblest sphere, that the sweetest affections lodge in lowly hearts, that there is sacredness, dignity, and loveliness in lives which few eyes rest on; that, even in the absence of all intellect-

ual culture, the domestic relations can quietly nourish that disinterestedness which is the element of all greatness, and without which intellectual power is a splendid deformity. Wordsworth is the poet of humanity; he teaches reverence for our universal nature; he breaks down the factitious barriers between human hearts.

The same is true, in an inferior degree, of Scott, whose tastes, however, were more aristocratic. Scott had a childish love of rank, titles, show, pageants, and, in general, looked with keener eye on the outward life than into the soul. Still, he had a human heart, and sympathized with his race. With few exceptions, he was just to all his human brethren. A reconciling spirit breathes through his writings. He seizes on the interesting and beautiful features in all conditions of life; gives us bursts of tender and noble feelings even from rude natures; and continually knits some new tie between the reader and the vast varieties of human nature which start up under his teeming pen. He delighted, indeed, in Highland chiefs, in border thieves and murderers, in fierce men and fierce encounters. But he had an eye to catch the stream of sweet affections as it wound its way through humble life. What light has Jeanie Deans shed on the path of the obscure! He was too wanting in the religious sentiment to comprehend the solemn bearing, the stern grandeur of the Puritans. But we must not charge with narrowness a writer who embodied in a Jewish maiden his highest conceptions of female nobleness.

Another writer illustrating the liberalizing, all-harmonizing tendency of our times is Dickens, whose genius has sought and found subjects of thrilling interest in the passions, sufferings, virtues of the mass of the people. He shows that life in its rudest forms may wear a tragic grandeur; that, amidst follies and sensual excesses provoking laughter or scorn, the moral feelings do not wholly die; and that the haunts of the blackest crimes are sometimes lighted up by the presence and influence of the noblest souls. He has, indeed, greatly erred in turning so often the degradation of humanity into matter of sport; but the tendency of his dark pictures is to awaken sympathy with our race, to change the unfeeling indifference which has prevailed towards the depressed multitude into sorrowful and indignant sensibility to their wrongs and woes.

The remarks now made on literature might be extended to the fine arts. In these we see, too, the tendency to universality. It is said that the spirit of the great artists has died out; but the taste for their works is spreading. By the improvements of engraving, and the invention of casts, the genius of the great masters is going abroad. Their conceptions are no longer pent up in galleries open to but few, but meet us in our homes, and are the household pleasures of millions. Works designed for the halls and eyes of emperors, popes, and nobles, find their way, in no poor representations, into humble dwellings, and sometimes give a consciousness of kindred powers to the child of poverty. The art of drawing, which lies at the foundation of most of the fine arts, and is the best education of the eye for nature, is becoming a branch of common education, and in some countries is taught in schools to which all classes are admitted.

I am reminded by this remark of the most striking feature of our times, and showing its tendency to universality, and that is, the unparalleled and constantly accelerated diffusion of education. This greatest of arts, as yet little understood, is making sure progress, because its principles are more and more sought in the common nature of man; and the great truth is spreading, that every man has a right to its aid. Accordingly education is becoming the work of nations. Even in the despotic governments of Europe, schools are open for every child without distinction; and not only the elements of reading and writing, but music and drawing are taught, and a foundation is laid for future progress in history, geography, and physical science. The greatest minds are at work on popular education. The revenues of states are applied most liberally, not to the universities for the few, but to the common schools. Undoubtedly much remains to be done; especially a new rank in society is to be given to the teacher; but even in this respect a revolution has commenced, and we are beginning to

look on the guides of the young as the chief benefactors of mankind.

I thought that I had finished my illustrations on this point; but there has suddenly occurred to me another sign of the tendency to universal intellectual action in this country, — a sign which we are prone to smile at, but which is yet worthy of notice. I refer to the commonness among us of public speaking. If we may trust our newspapers, we are a nation of orators. Every meeting overflows with eloquence. Men of all conditions find a tongue for public debate. Undoubtedly there is more sound than sense in our endless speeches before all kinds of assemblies and societies. But no man, I think, can attend our public meetings without being struck with the force and propriety of expression in multitudes whose condition has confined them to a very imperfect culture. This exercise of the intellect, which has almost become a national characteristic, is not to be undervalued. Speech is not merely the dress, as it is often called, but the very body of thought. It is to the intellect what the muscles are to the principle of physical life. The mind acts and strengthens itself through words. It is a chaos till defined, organized by language. The attempt to give clear, precise utterance to thought is one of the most effectual processes of mental discipline. It is, therefore, no doubtful sign of the growing intelligence of a people when the power of expression is cultivated extensively for the purpose of acting on multitudes. We have here one invaluable influence of popular institutions. They present at the same moment to a whole people great subjects of thought, and bring multitudes to the earnest discussion of them. Here are, indeed, moral dangers; but still, strong incitements to general intellectual action. It is in such stirring schools, after all, that the mind of a people is chiefly formed. Events of deep general interest quicken us more than formal teaching; and by these the civilized world is to be more and more trained to thought.

Thus we see in the intellectual movements of our times the tendency to expansion, to universality; and this must continue. It is not an accident, or an inexplicable result, or a violence on nature; it is founded in eternal truth. Every mind was made for growth, for knowledge; and its nature is sinned against when it is doomed to ignorance. The divine gift of intelligence was bestowed for higher uses than bodily labor, than to make hewers of wood, drawers of water, ploughmen, or servants. Every being so gifted is intended to acquaint himself with God and his works, and to perform wisely and disinterestedly the duties of life. Accordingly, when we see the multitude of men beginning to thirst for knowledge, for intellectual action, for something more than an animal life, we see the great design of nature about to be accomplished; and society, having received this impulse, will never rest till it shall have taken such a form as will place within every man's reach the means of intellectual culture. This is the revolution to which we are tending; and without this all outward political changes would be but children's play, leaving the great work of society yet to be done.

I have now viewed the age in its intellectual aspects. If we look next at its religious movements, we shall see in these the same tendency to universality. It is more and more understood that religious truth is every man's property and right; that it is committed to no order or individual, to no priest, minister, student, or sage, to be given or kept back at will; but that every man may and should seek it for himself; that every man is to see with his own mind, as well as with his own eyes; and that God's illuminating spirit is alike promised to every honest and humble seeker after truth. This recognition of every man's right of judgment appears in the teachings of all denominations of Christians. In all, the tone of authority is giving place to that of reason and persuasion. Men of all ranks are more and more addressed as those who must weigh and settle for themselves the grandest truths of religion.

The same tendency to universality is seen in the generous toleration which marks our times, in comparison with the past. Men, in general, cannot now endure to think that their own narrow church holds all the goodness on the earth. Religion is less and less regarded as a name, a form, a creed, a church, and more and more as the spirit of Christ, which works under all forms

and all sects. True, much intolerance remains; its separating walls are not fallen; but, with a few exceptions, they no longer reach to the clouds. Many of them have crumbled away, till the men whom they sever can shake hands, and exchange words of fellowship, and recognize in one another's faces the features of brethren.

At the present day the grand truth of religion is more and more brought out, — I mean the truth, that God is the Universal Father, that every soul is infinitely precious to Him, that He has no favorites, no partial attachments, no respect of persons, that He desires alike the virtue and everlasting good of all. In the city of Penn I cannot but remember the testimony to this truth borne by George Fox and his followers, who planted themselves on the grand principle that God's illuminating spirit is shed on every soul, not only within the bounds of Christendom, but through the whole earth. This universal, impartial love of God is manifested to us more and more by science, which reveals to us vast, all-pervading laws of nature, administered with no favoritism, and designed for the good of all. I know that this principle is not universally received. Men have always been inclined to frame a local, partial, national, or sectarian God, to shut up the Infinite One in some petty enclosure; but at this moment larger views of God are so far extended that they illustrate the spirit of the age.

If we next consider by whom religion is taught, we shall see the same tendency to diffusion and universality. Religious teaching is passing into all hands. It has ceased to be a monopoly. For example, what an immense amount of instruction is communicated in Sunday-schools! These are spreading over the Christian world, and through these the door of teaching is open to crowds, — to almost all, indeed, who would bear a part in spreading religion. In like manner, associations of vast extent are springing up in our cities for the teaching of the poor. By these means woman, especially, is becoming an evangelist. She is not only a priestess in her own home, instilling with sweet, loving voice the first truths of religion into the opening mind, but she goes abroad on missions of piety. Woman, in one age made man's drudge, and in another his toy, is now sharing more and more with him the highest labors. Through the press, especially, she is heard far and wide. The press is a mightier power than the pulpit. Books outstrip the voice; and woman, availing herself of this agency, becomes the teacher of nations. In churches, where she may not speak, her hymns are sung; the inspirations of her genius are felt. Thus our age is breaking down the monopolies of the past.

But a more striking illustration remains. One of the great distinctions of our times is found in the more clear and vital perception of the truth, that the universal, impartial love which is the glory of God is the characteristic spirit and glory of Christianity. To this we owe the extension of philanthropic and religious effort beyond all former experience. How much we are better on the whole than former times I do not say; but that benevolence is acting on a larger scale, in more various forms, to more distant objects, this we cannot deny. Call it pretension, or enthusiasm, or what you will, the fact remains; and it attests the diffusive tendencies of our times. Benevolence now gathers together her armies. Vast associations are spread over whole countries for assailing evils which it is thought cannot be met by the single-handed. There is hardly a form of evil which has not awakened some antagonist effort. Associated benevolence gives eyes to the blind and ears to the deaf, and is achieving even greater wonders; that is, it approaches the mind without the avenues of eye and ear, and gives to the hopelessly blind and deaf the invaluable knowledge which these senses afford to others. Benevolence now shuts out no human being, however low, from its regard. It goes to the cell of the criminal with words of hope, and is laboring to mitigate public punishment, — to make it the instrument, not of vengeance, but reform. It remembers the slave, pleads his cause with God and man, recognizes in him a human brother, respects in him the sacred rights of humanity, and claims for him, not as a boon, but as a right, that freedom without which humanity withers and God's child is degraded into a tool or a brute. Still

more, benevolence now is passing all limits of country and ocean. It would send our own best blessing to the ends of the earth. It would make the wilderness of heathenism bloom, and join all nations in the bonds of one holy and loving faith. Thus, if we look at the religious movements of the age, we see in them that tendency to diffusion and universality which I have named as its most striking characteristic.

Let me briefly point out this same tendency in government. Here, indeed, it is too obvious for illustration. To what is the civilized world tending? To popular institutions, or, what is the same thing, to the influence of the people, of the mass of men, over public affairs. A little while ago, and the people were unknown as a power in the state. Now they are getting all power into their hands. Even in despotisms, where they cannot act through institutions, they act through public opinion. Intelligence is strength; and in proportion as the many grow intelligent they must guide the world. Kings and nobles fill less and less place in history; and the names of men who once were lost amidst the glare of courts and titles are now written there imperishably. Once history did not know that the multitude existed, except when they were gathered together on the field of battle to be sabred and shot down for the glory of their masters. Now they are coming forward into the foreground of her picture. It is now understood that government exists for one end, and one alone; and that is, not the glory of the governor, not the pomp and pleasure of a few, but the good, the safety, the rights of all. Once government was an inherited monopoly, guarded by the doctrine of divine right, of an exclusive commission from the Most High. Now office and dignity are thrown open as common things, and nations are convulsed by the multitude of competitors for the prize of public power. Once the policy of governments had no higher end than to concentrate property into a few hands, and to confirm the relation of dependant and lord. Now it aims to give to each the means of acquiring property, and of carving out his fortune for himself. Such is the political current of our times. Many look on it with dark forebodings, as on a desolating torrent; while others hail it as a fertilizing stream. But in one thing both agree; whether torrent or stream, the mighty current exists, and overflows, and cannot be confined; and it shows us in the political, as in the other movements of our age, the tendency to universality, to diffusion.

I shall notice but one more movement of the age as indicating the tendency to universality, and this is, its industry. How numberless are the forms which this takes! Into how many channels is human labor pouring itself forth! How widely spread is the passion for acquisition, not for simple means of subsistence, but for wealth! What vast enterprises agitate the community! What a rush into all the departments of trade! How next to universal the insanity of speculation! What new arts spring up! Industry pierces the forests, and startles with her axe the everlasting silence. To you, gentlemen, commerce is the commanding interest; and this has no limits but the habitable world. It no longer creeps along the shore, or lingers in accustomed tracks; but penetrates into every inlet, plunges into the heart of uncivilized lands, sends its steam-ships up unexplored rivers, girdles the earth with railroads, and thus breaks down the estrangements of nations. Commerce is a noble calling. It mediates between distant nations, and makes men's wants, not, as formerly, stimulants to war, but bonds of peace. The universal intellectual activity of which I have spoken is due, in no small degree, to commerce, which spreads the thoughts, inventions, and writings of great men over the earth, and gathers scientific and literary men everywhere into an intellectual republic. So it carries abroad the missionary, the Bible, the Cross, and is giving universality to true religion. Gentlemen, allow me to express an earnest desire and hope that the merchants of this country will carry on their calling with these generous views. Let them not pursue it for themselves alone Let them rejoice to spread improvements far and wide, and to unite men in more friendly ties. Let them adopt maxims of trade which will establish general confidence. Especially, in their inter-

course with less cultivated tribes, let them feel themselves bound to be harbingers of civilization. Let their voyages be missions of humanity, useful arts, science, and religion. It is a painful thought that commerce, instead of enlightening and purifying less privileged communities, has too often made the name of Christian hateful to them, has carried to the savage, not our useful arts and mild faith, but weapons of war and the intoxicating draught. I call not on God to smite with his lightnings, to overwhelm with his storms, the accursed ship which goes to the ignorant, rude native, freighted with poison and death; which goes to add new ferocity to savage life, new licentiousness to savage sensuality. I have learned not to call down fire from heaven. But, in the name of humanity, of religion, of God, I implore the merchants of this country not to use the light of a higher civilization to corrupt, to destroy our uncivilized brethren. Brethren they are, in those rude huts, in that wild attire. Establish with them an intercourse of usefulness, justice, and charity. Before they can understand the name of Christ, let them see his spirit in those by whom it is borne. It has been said that the commerce of our country is not only corrupting uncivilized countries, but that it wears a deeper, more damning stain; that, in spite of the laws of the land and the protest of nations, it sometimes lends itself to the slave-trade; that, by its capital and accommodations, and swift sailers, and false papers, and prostituted flag, it takes part in tearing the African from his home and native shore, and in dooming him, first to the horrors of the middle passage, and then to the hopelessness of perpetual bondage. Even on men so fallen I call down no curse. May they find forgiveness from God through the pains of sincere repentance! but, continuing what they are, can I help shrinking from them as among the most infamous of their race?

Allow me to say a word to the merchants of our country on another subject. The time is come when they are particularly called to take yet more generous views of their vocation, and to give commerce a universality as yet unknown. I refer to the juster principles which are gaining ground on the subject of free trade, and to the growing disposition of nations to promote it. Free trade! — this is the plain duty and plain interest of the human race. To level all barriers to free exchange; to cut up the system of restriction, root and branch; to open every port on earth to every product; this is the office of enlightened humanity. To this a free nation should especially pledge itself. Freedom of the seas: freedom of harbors; an intercourse of nations, free as the winds; — this is not a dream of philanthropists. We are tending towards it, and let us hasten it Under a wiser and more Christian civilization we shall look back on our present restrictions as we do on the swaddling bands by which in darker times the human body was compressed. The growing freedom of trade is another and glorious illustration of the tendency of our age to universality.

I have thus aimed to show in the principal movements of our time the character of diffusion and universality, and in doing this I have used language implying my joy in this great feature of our age. But you will not suppose that I see in it nothing but good. Human affairs admit no unmixed good. This very tendency has its perils and evils. To take but one example: the opening of vast prospects of wealth to the multitude of men has stirred up a fierce competition, a wild spirit of speculation, a feverish, insatiable cupidity, under which fraud, bankruptcy, distrust, distress are fearfully multiplied, so that the name of American has become a by-word beyond the ocean. I see the danger of the present state of society, perhaps as clearly as any one. But still I rejoice to have been born in this age. It is still true that human nature was made for growth, expansion; this is its proper life, and this must not be checked because it has perils. The child, when it shoots up into youth, exchanges its early repose and security for new passions, for strong emotions, which are full of danger; but would we keep him for ever a child? Danger we cannot avoid. It is a grand element of human life. We always walk on precipices. It is unmanly, unwise, it shows a want of faith in God and humanity, to deny to others and ourselves

free scope and the expansion of our best powers because of the possible collisions and pains to be feared from extending activity. Many, indeed, sigh for security as the supreme good. But God intends us for something better, for effort, conflict, and progress. And is it not well to live in a stirring and mighty world, even though we suffer from it? If we look at outward nature, we find ourselves surrounded with vast and fearful elements, — air, sea, and fire, — which sometimes burst all bounds, and overwhelm man and his labors in ruin. But who of us would annihilate these awful forces, would make the ocean a standing pool, and put to silence the loud blast, in order that life may escape every peril? This mysterious, infinite, irresistible might of nature, breaking out in countless forms and motions, makes nature the true school for man, and gives it all its interest. In the soul still mightier forces are pent up, and their expansion has its perils. But all are from God, who has blended with them checks, restraints, balances, reactions, by which all work together for good. Let us never forget that, amidst this fearful stir, there is a paternal Providence, under which the education of our race has gone on, and a higher condition of humanity has been achieved.

There are, however, not a few who have painful fears of evil from the restless, earnest action which we have seen spreading itself more and more through all departments of society. They call the age wild, lawless, presumptuous, without reverence. All men, they tell us, are bursting their spheres, quitting their ranks, aspiring selfishly after gain and pre-eminence. The blind multitude are forsaking their natural leaders. The poor, who are the majority, are contriving against the rich. Still more, a dangerous fanaticism threatens destruction to the world under the name of reform; society totters: property is shaken; and the universal freedom of thought and action, of which so many boast, is the precursor of social storms which only despotism can calm. Such are the alarms of not a few; and it is right that fear should utter its prophecies, as well as hope. But it is the true office of fear to give a wise direction to human effort, not to chill or destroy it. To despair of the race, even in the worst times, is unmanly, unchristian. How much more so in times like the present! What I most lament in these apprehensions is the utter distrust of human nature which they discover. Its highest powers are thought to be given only to be restrained. They are thought to be safe only when in fetters. To me, there is an approach to impiety in thinking so meanly of God's greatest work. Human nature is not a tiger which needs a constant chain. In this case it is the chain which makes the tiger. It is the oppressor who has made man fit only for a yoke.

When I look into the great movements of the age, particularly as manifested in our own country, they seem to me to justify no overwhelming fear. True, they are earnest and wide spreading; but the objects to which they are directed are pledges against extensive harm. For example, ought the general diffusion of science and literature and thought to strike dread? Do habits of reading breed revolt? Does the astronomer traverse the skies, or the geologist pierce the earth, to gather materials for assault on the social state? Does the study of nature stir up rebellion against its Author? Is it the lesson which men learn from history, that they are to better their condition by disturbing the state? Does the reading of poetry train us to insurrection? Does the diffusion of a sense of beauty through a people incline them to tumult? Are not works of genius and the fine arts soothing influences? Is not a shelf of books in a poor man's house some pledge of his keeping the peace? It is not denied that thought, in its freedom, questions and assails the holiest truth. But is truth so weak, so puny, as to need to be guarded by bayonets from assault? Has truth no beauty, no might? Has the human soul no power to weigh its evidence, to reverence its grandeur? Besides, does not freedom of thought, when most unrestrained, carry a conservative power in itself? In such a state of things the erring do not all embrace the same error. Whilst truth is one and the same, falsehood is infinitely various. It is a house divided against itself, and cannot stand. Error soon

passes away, unless upheld by restraint on thought. History tells us, and the lesson is invaluable, that the physical force which has put down free inquiry has been the main bulwark of the superstitions and illusions of past ages.

In the next place, if we look at the chief direction of the universal activity of the age, we shall find that it is a conservative one, so as to render social convulsion next to impossible. On what, after all, are the main energies of this restlessness spent? On property, on wealth. High and low, rich and poor, are running the race of accumulation. Property is the prize for which all strain their nerves; and the vast majority compass in some measure this end. And is such a society in danger of convulsion? Is tumult the way to wealth? Is a state of insecurity coveted by men who own something and hope for more? Are civil laws, which, after all, have property for their chief concern, very likely to be trodden under foot by its worshippers? Of all the dreams of fear, few seem to me more baseless than the dread of anarchy among a people who are possessed almost to a man with the passion for gain. I am especially amused when, among such a people, I sometimes hear of danger to property and society from enthusiastic, romantic reformers who preach levelling doctrines, equality of wealth, quaker plainness of dress, vegetable food, and community-systems where all are to toil and divide earnings alike. What! Danger from romance and enthusiasm in this money-getting, self-seeking, self-indulging, self-displaying land? I confess that to me it is a comfort to see some outbreak of enthusiasm, whether transcendental, philanthropic, or religious, as a proof that the human spirit is not wholly engulfed in matter and business, that it can lift up a little the mountains of worldliness and sense with which it is so borne down. It will be time enough to fear when we shall see fanaticism of any kind stopping, ever so little, the wheels of business or pleasure, driving, ever so little, from man's mind the idea of gain, or from woman's the love of display. Are any of you dreading an innovating enthusiasm? You need only to step into the streets to be assured that property and the world are standing their ground against the spirit of reform as stoutly as the most worldly man could desire.

Another view which quiets my fear as to social order, from the universal activity of the times, is the fact that this activity appears so much in the form of steady labor. It is one distinction of modern over ancient times, that we have grown more patient of toil. Our danger is from habits of drudgery. The citizens of Greece and Rome were above work. We seem to work with something of the instinct of the ant and the bee; and this is no mean security against lawlessness and revolt.

Another circumstance of our times which favors a quiet state of things is the love of comforts which the progress of arts and industry has spread over the community. In feudal ages and ancient times the mass of the population had no such pleasant homes, no such defences against cold and storms, no such decent apparel, no such abundant and savory meals, as fall to the lot of our population. Now it must be confessed, though not very flattering to human nature, that men are very slow to part with these comforts even in defence of a good cause, much less to throw them away in wild and senseless civil broils.

Another element of security in the present is the strength of domestic affection. Christianity has given new sacredness to home, new tenderness to love, new force to the ties of husband and wife, parent and child. Social order is dear to us all, as encircling and sheltering our homes. In ancient and rude times the family bond was comparatively no restraint. We should all pause before we put in peril beings whom we hold most dear.

Once more: Christianity is a pledge of social order which none of us sufficiently prize. Weak as its influence seems to be, there are vast numbers into whom it has infused sentiments of justice, of kindness, of reverence for God, and of deep concern for the peace and order of the state. Rapine and bloodshed would awaken now a horror altogether unknown in ages in which this mild and divine truth had not exerted its power.

With all these influences in favor of social influence, have we much to fear from the free, earnest, universal movements of our times? I believe that the

very extension of human powers is to bring with it new checks against their abuse.

The prosperous part of society are, of course, particularly liable to the fear of which I have spoken. They see danger especially in the extension of power and freedom of all kinds to the laboring classes of society. They look with a jealous eye on attempts to elevate these, though one would think that to improve a man was the surest way to disarm his violence. They talk of agrarianism. They dread a system of universal pillage. They dread a conspiracy of the needy against the rich. Now the manual laborer has burdens enough to bear without the load of groundless suspicion or reproach. It ought to be understood that the great enemies to society are not found in its poorer ranks. The mass may, indeed, be used as tools; but the stirring and guiding powers of insurrection are found above. Communities fall by the vices of the prosperous ranks. We are referred to Rome, which was robbed of her liberties and reduced to the most degrading vassalage by the lawlessness of the Plebeians, who sold themselves to demagogues, and gave the republic into the hands of a dictator. But what made the Plebeians an idle, dissolute, rapacious horde? It was the system of universal rapine which, under the name of conquest, had been carried on for ages by Patricians, by all the powers of the state, — a system which glutted Rome with the spoils of the pillaged world; which fed her population without labor, from the public treasures, and corrupted them by public shows. It was this which helped to make the metropolis of the earth a sink of crime and pollution such as the world had never known. It was time that the grand robber-state should be cast down from her guilty eminence. Her brutish populace, which followed Cæsar's car with shouts, was not worse than the venal, crouching senate which registered his decrees. Let not the poor bear the burden of the rich. At this moment we are groaning over the depressed and dishonored state of our country; and who, let me ask, have shaken its credit, and made so many of its institutions bankrupt? The poor or the rich? Whence is it that the incomes of the widow, the orphan, the aged, have been narrowed, and multitudes on both sides of the ocean brought to the brink of want? Is it from an outbreak of popular fury? Is it from gangs of thieves sprung from the mob? We know the truth, and it shows us where the great danger to property lies.

Communities fall by the vices of the great, not the small. The French Revolution is perpetually sounded in our ears as a warning against the lawlessness of the people. But whence came this Revolution? Who were the regicides? Who beheaded Louis the Sixteenth? You tell me the Jacobins; but history tells a different tale. I will show you the beheaders of Louis the Sixteenth. They were Louis the Fourteenth, and the Regent who followed him, and Louis the Fifteenth. These brought their descendant to the guillotine. The priesthood who revoked the edict of Nantz, and drove from France the skill and industry and virtue and piety which were the sinews of her strength; the statesmen who intoxicated Louis the Fourteenth with the scheme of universal empire; the profligate, prodigal, shameless Orleans; and the still more brutalized Louis the Fifteenth, with his court of panders and prostitutes; — these made the nation bankrupt, broke asunder the bond of loyalty, and overwhelmed the throne and altar in ruins. We hear of the horrors of the Revolution; but in this, as in other things, we recollect the effect without thinking of the guiltier cause. The Revolution was indeed a scene of horror; but when I look back on the reigns which preceded it, and which made Paris almost one great stew and gaming-house, and when I see altar and throne desecrated by a licentiousness unsurpassed in any former age, I look on scenes as shocking to the calm and searching eye of reason and virtue as the tenth of August and the massacre of September. Bloodshed is indeed a terrible spectacle: but there are other things almost as fearful as blood. There are crimes that do not make us start and turn pale like the guillotine, but are deadlier in their workings. God forbid that I should say a word to weaken the thrill of horror with which we contemplate the outrages of the French Revolution! But when I hear that Revolution quoted to

frighten us from reform, to show us the danger of lifting up the depressed and ignorant mass, I must ask whence it came; and the answer is, that it came from the intolerable weight of misgovernment and tyranny, from the utter want of culture among the mass of the people, and from a corruption of the great too deep to be purged away except by destruction. I am also compelled to remember that the people, in this their singular madness, wrought far less woe than kings and priests have wrought, as a familiar thing, in all ages of the world. All the murders of the French Revolution did not amount, I think, by one-fifth, to those of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's. The priesthood and the throne, in one short night and day, shed more blood, and that the best blood of France, than was spilled by Jacobinism and all other forms of violence during the whole Revolution. Even the atheism and infidelity of France were due chiefly to a licentious priesthood and a licentious court. It was religion, so called, that dug her own grave. In offering this plea for the multitude I have no desire to transfer to the multitude uncontrolled political power. I look at power in all hands with jealousy. I wish neither rich nor poor to be my masters. What I wish is, the improvement, the elevation of all classes, and especially of the most numerous class, because the most numerous, because, the many are mankind, and because no social progress can be hoped but from influences which penetrate and raise the mass of men. The mass must not be confined and kept down through a vague dread of revolutions. A social order requiring such a sacrifice would be too dearly bought. No order should satisfy us but that which is in harmony with universal improvement and freedom.

In the general tone of this discourse it may be thought that I have proposed to vindicate the present age. I have no such thought. I would improve, not laud it. I feel its imperfections and corruptions as deeply as any, though I may be most shocked by features that give others little pain. The saddest aspect of the age, to me, is that which undoubtedly contributes to social order. It is the absorption of the multitude of men in outward, material interests; it is the selfish prudence which is never tired of the labor of accumulation, and which keeps men steady, regular, respectable drudges from morning to night. The cases of a few murders, great crimes, lead multitudes to exclaim, How wicked this age! But the worst sign is the chaining down of almost all the minds of a community to low, perishable interests. It is a sad thought, that the infinite energies of the soul have no higher end than to cover the back, and fill the belly, and keep caste in society. A few nerves, hardly visible, on the surface of the tongue, create most of the endless stir around us. Undoubtedly, eating and drinking, dressing, house-building, and caste-keeping, are matters not to be despised; most of them are essential. But surely life has a higher use than to adorn this body which is so soon to be wrapped in grave-clothes, than to keep warm and flowing the blood which is so soon to be cold and stagnant in the tomb. I rejoice in the boundless activity of the age, and I expect much of it to be given to our outward wants. But over all this activity there should preside the great idea of that which is alone ourselves, — of our inward, spiritual nature; of the thinking, immortal soul; of our supreme good, our chief end, which is to bring out, cultivate, and perfect our highest powers, to become wise, holy, disinterested, noble beings, to unite ourselves to God by love and adoration, and to revere his image in his children. The vast activity of this age, of which I have spoken, is too much confined to the sensual and material, to gain and pleasure and show. Could this activity be swayed and purified by a noble aim, not a single comfort of life would be retrenched, whilst its beauty and grace and interest would be unspeakably increased.

There is another dark feature of this age. It is the spirit of collision, contention, discord, which breaks forth in religion, in politics, in business, in private affairs, — a result and necessary issue of the selfishness which prompts the endless activity of life. The mighty forces which are this moment acting in society are not and cannot be in harmony, for they are not governed by love. They jar; they are discordant. Life now has little music in it. It is

not only on the field of battle that men fight. They fight on the exchange. Business is war, a conflict of skill, management, and, too often, fraud; to snatch the prey from our neighbor is the end of all this stir. Religion is war; Christians, forsaking their one Lord, gather under various standards to gain victory for their sects. Politics are war, breaking the whole people into fierce and unscrupulous parties, which forget their country in conflicts for office and power. The age needs nothing more than peace-makers, men of serene, commanding virtue, to preach in life and word the gospel of human brotherhood, to allay the fires of jealousy and hate.

I have named discouraging aspects of our time to show that I am not blind to the world I live in. But I still hope for the human race. Indeed, I could not live without hope. Were I to look on the world as many do, were I to see in it a maze without a plan, a whirl of changes without aim, a stage for good and evil to fight without an issue, an endless motion without progress, a world where sin and idolatry are to triumph for ever, and the oppressor's rod never to be broken, I should turn from it with sickness of heart, and care not how soon the sentence of its destruction were fulfilled. History and philosophy plainly show to me in human nature the foundation and promise of a better era, and Christianity concurs with these. The thought of a higher condition of the world was the secret fire which burned in the soul of the great Founder of our religion, and in his first followers. That he was to act on all future generations, that he was sowing a seed which was to grow up and spread its branches over all nations, — this great thought never forsook him in life and death. That under Christianity a civilization has grown up containing in itself nobler elements than are found in earlier forms of society, who can deny? Great ideas and feelings, derived from this source, are now at work. Amidst the prevalence of crime and selfishness, there has sprung up in the human heart a sentiment or principle unknown in earlier ages, an enlarged and trustful philanthropy, which recognizes the right of every human being, which is stirred by the terrible oppressions and corruptions of the world, and which does not shrink from conflict with evil in its worst forms. There has sprung up, too, a faith, of which antiquity knew nothing, in the final victory of truth and right, in the elevation of men to a clearer intelligence, to more fraternal union, and to a purer worship. This faith is taking its place among the great springs of human action, is becoming even a passion in more fervent spirits. I hail it as a prophecy which is to fulfil itself. A nature capable of such an aspiration cannot be degraded for ever. Ages rolled away before it was learned that this world of matter which we tread on is in constant motion. We are beginning to learn that the intellectual, moral, social world has its motion too, not fixed and immutable like that of matter, but one which the free will of men is to carry on, and which, instead of returning into itself like the earth's orbit, is to stretch forward for ever. This hope lightens the mystery and burden of life. It is a star which shines on me in the darkest night; and I should rejoice to reveal it to the eyes of my fellow-creatures.

I have thus spoken of the present age. In these brief words what a world of thought is comprehended! what infinite movements! what joys and sorrows! what hope and despair! what faith and doubt! what silent grief and loud lament! what fierce conflicts and subtle schemes of policy! what private and public revolutions! In the period through which many of us have passed what thrones have been shaken! what hearts have bled! what millions have been butchered by their fellow-creatures! what hopes of philanthropy have been blighted! And, at the same time, what magnificent enterprises have been achieved! what new provinces won to science and art! what rights and liberties secured to nations! It is a privilege to have lived in an age so stirring, so pregnant, so eventful. It is an age never to be forgotten. Its voice of warning and encouragement is never to die. Its impression on history is indelible. Amidst its events, the American Revolution, the first distinct, solemn assertion of the rights of men, and the French Revolution, that volcanic force which shook the earth to its centre, are never to pass from men's minds. Over

this age the night will, indeed, gather more and more as time rolls away; but in that night two forms will appear, Washington and Napoleon, the one a lurid meteor, the other a benign, serene, and undecaying star. Another American name will live in history, your Franklin; and the kite which brought lightning from heaven will be seen sailing in the clouds by remote posterity, when the city where he dwelt may be known only by its ruins. There is, however, something greater in the age than its greatest men; it is the appearance of a new power in the world, the appearance of the multitude of men on that stage where as yet the few have acted their parts alone. This influence is to endure to the end of time. What more of the present is to survive? Perhaps much, of which we now take no note. The glory of an age is often hidden from itself. Perhaps some word has been spoken in our day which we have not deigned to hear, but which is to grow clearer and louder through all ages. Perhaps some silent thinker among us is at work in his closet whose name is to fill the earth. Perhaps there sleeps in his cradle some reformer who is to move the church and the world, who is to open a new era in history, who is to fire the human soul with new hope and new daring. What else is to survive the age? That which the age has little thought of, but which is living in us all, — I mean the soul, the immortal spirit. Of this all ages are the unfoldings, and it is greater than all. We must not feel, in the contemplation of the vast movements of our own and former times, as if we ourselves were nothing. I repeat it, we are greater than all. We are to survive our age, to comprehend it, and to pronounce its sentence. As yet, however, we are encompassed with darkness. The issues of our time how obscure! The future into which it opens who of us can foresee? To the Father of all ages I commit this future with humble, yet courageous and unfaltering hope.

SPIRITUAL FREEDOM:

Discourse preached at the Annual Election, May 26, 1830.

JOHN viii. 31, 32, 36: "Then said Jesus to those Jews which believed on him, If ye continue in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed; and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." "If the Son therefore shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed."

THE Scriptures continually borrow from nature and social life illustrations and emblems of spiritual truth. The character, religion, and blessings of Jesus Christ are often placed before us by sensible images. His influences on the mind are shadowed forth by the light of the sun, by the vital union of the head with the members, by the shepherd bringing back the wandering flock, by the vine which nourishes and fructifies the branches, by the foundation sustaining the edifice, by bread and wine invigorating the animal frame. In our text we have a figurative illustration of his influence on religion, peculiarly intelligible and dear to this community. He speaks of himself as giving freedom, that great good of individuals and states; and by this similitude he undoubtedly intended to place before men, in a strong and attractive light, that spiritual and inward liberty which his truth confers on its obedient disciples. Inward spiritual liberty, this is the great gift of Jesus Christ. This will be the chief topic of the present discourse. I wish to show that this is the supreme good of men, and that civil and political liberty has but little worth but as it springs from and invigorates this.

From what I have now said the general tone of this discourse may be easily anticipated. I shall maintain that the highest interest of communities, as well as individuals, is a spiritual interest;

that outward and earthly goods are of little worth but as bearing on the mind, and tending to its liberation, strength, and glory. And I am fully aware that in taking that course I lay myself open to objection. I shall be told that I show my ignorance of human nature in attempting to interest men by such refined views of society; that I am too speculative; that spiritual liberty is too unsubstantial and visionary to be proposed to statesmen as an end in legislation: that the dreams of the closet should not be obtruded on practical men; that gross and tangible realities can alone move the multitude; and that to talk to politicians of the spiritual interests of society as of supreme importance, is as idle as to try to stay with a breath the force of the whirlwind.

I anticipate such objections. But they do not move me. I firmly believe that the only truth which is to do men lasting good is that which relates to the soul, which carries them into its depths, which reveals to them its powers and the purposes of its creation. The progress of society is retarded by nothing more than by the low views which its leaders are accustomed to take of human nature. Man has a mind as well as a body, and this he ought to know; and till he knows it, feels it, and is deeply penetrated by it, he knows nothing aright. His body should, in a sense, vanish away before his mind: or, in the language of Christ, he should hate his animal life in comparison with the intellectual and moral life which is to endure for ever. This doctrine, however, is pronounced too refined. Useful and practical truth, according to its most improved expositors, consists in knowing that we have an animal nature, and in making this our chief care; in knowing that we have mouths to be filled, and limbs to be clothed; that we live on the earth, which it is our business to till; that we have a power of accumulating wealth, and that this power is the measure of the greatness of the community! For such doctrines I have no respect. I know no wisdom but that which reveals man to himself, and which teaches him to regard all social institutions, and his whole life, as the means of unfolding and exalting the spirit within him. All policy which does not recognize this truth seems to me shallow. The statesman who does not look at the bearing of his measures on the mind of a nation is unfit to touch one of men's great interests. Unhappily, statesmen have seldom understood the sacredness of human nature and human society. Hence policy has become almost a contaminated word. Hence government has so often been the scourge of mankind.

I mean not to disparage political science. The best constitution and the best administration of a state are subjects worthy of the profoundest thought. But there are deeper foundations of public prosperity than these. The statesman who would substitute these for that virtue which they ought to subserve and exalt will only add his name to the long catalogue which history preserves of baffled politicians. It is idle to hope, by our short-sighted contrivances, to insure to a people a happiness which their own character has not earned. The everlasting laws of God's moral government we cannot repeal; and parchment constitutions, however wise, will prove no shelter from the retributions which fall on a degraded community.

With these convictions, I feel that no teaching is so practical as that which impresses on a people the importance of their spiritual interests. With these convictions, I feel that I cannot better meet the demands of this occasion than by leading you to prize, above all other rights and liberties, that inward freedom which Christ came to confer. To this topic I now solicit your attention.

And first, I may be asked what I mean by inward spiritual freedom. The common and true answer is, that it is freedom from sin. I apprehend, however, that to many, if not to most, these words are too vague to convey a full and deep sense of the greatness of the blessing. Let me, then, offer a brief explanation; and the most important remark in illustrating this freedom is, that it is not a negative state, not the mere absence of sin; for such a freedom may be ascribed to inferior animals, or to children before becoming moral agents. Spiritual freedom is the attribute of a mind in which reason and conscience have begun to act, and which is free through its own energy, through

fidelity to the truth, through resistance of temptation. I cannot, therefore, better give my views of spiritual freedom, than by saying that it is moral energy or force of holy purpose put forth against the senses, against the passions, against the world, and thus liberating the intellect, conscience, and will, so that they may act with strength and unfold themselves for ever. The essence of spiritual freedom is power. A man liberated from sensual lusts by a palsy would not therefore be free. He only is free who, through self-conflict and moral resolution, sustained by trust in God, subdues the passions which have debased him, and, escaping the thraldom of low objects, binds himself to pure and lofty ones. That mind alone is free which, looking to God as the inspirer and rewarder of virtue, adopts his law, written on the heart and in his word, as its supreme rule, and which, in obedience to this, governs itself, reveres itself, exerts faithfully its best powers, and unfolds itself by well-doing in whatever sphere God's providence assigns.

It has pleased the All-wise Disposer to encompass us from our birth by difficulty and allurement, to place us in a world where wrong-doing is often gainful, and duty rough and perilous, where many vices oppose the dictates of the inward monitor, where the body presses as a weight on the mind, and matter, by its perpetual agency on the senses, becomes a barrier between us and the spiritual world. We are in the midst of influences which menace the intellect and heart; and to be free is to withstand and conquer these.

I call that mind free which masters the senses, which protects itself against animal appetites, which contemns pleasure and pain in comparison with its own energy, which penetrates beneath the body and recognizes its own reality and greatness, which passes life, not in asking what it shall eat or drink, but in hungering, thirsting, and seeking after righteousness.

I call that mind free which escapes the bondage of matter, which, instead of stopping at the material universe and making it a prison wall, passes beyond it to its Author, and finds in the radiant signatures which it everywhere bears of the Infinite Spirit, helps to its own spiritual enlargement.

I call that mind free which jealously guards its intellectual rights and powers, which calls no man master, which does not content itself with a passive or hereditary faith, which opens itself to light whencesoever it may come, which receives new truth as an angel from heaven, which, whilst consulting others, inquires still more of the oracle within itself, and uses instructions from abroad not to supersede but to quicken and exalt its own energies.

I call that mind free which sets no bounds to its love, which is not imprisoned in itself or in a sect, which recognizes in all human beings the image of God and the rights of his children, which delights in virtue and sympathizes with suffering wherever they are seen, which conquers pride, anger, and sloth, and offers itself up a willing victim to the cause of mankind.

I call that mind free which is not passively framed by outward circumstances, which is not swept away by the torrent of events, which is not the creature of accidental impulse, but which bends events to its own improvement, and acts from an inward spring, from immutable principles which it has deliberately espoused.

I call that mind free which protects itself against the usurpations of society, which does not cower to human opinion, which feels itself accountable to a higher tribunal than man's, which respects a higher law than fashion, which respects itself too much to be the slave or tool of the many or the few.

I call that mind free which, through confidence in God and in the power of virtue, has cast off all fear but that of wrong-doing, which no menace or peril can enthrall, which is calm in the midst of tumults, and possesses itself though all else be lost.

I call that mind free which resists the bondage of habit, which does not mechanically repeat itself and copy the past, which does not live on its old virtues, which does not enslave itself to precise rules, but which forgets what is behind, listens for new and higher monitions of conscience, and rejoices to pour itself forth in fresh and higher exertions.

I call that mind free which is jealous of its own freedom, which guards itself from being merged in others, which

guards its empire over itself as nobler than the empire of the world.

In fine, I call that mind free which, conscious of its affinity with God, and confiding in his promises by Jesus Christ, devotes itself faithfully to the unfolding of all its powers, which passes the bounds of time and death, which hopes to advance for ever, and which finds inexhaustible power, both for action and suffering, in the prospect of immortality.

Such is the spiritual freedom which Christ came to give. It consists in moral force, in self-control, in the enlargement of thought and affection, and in the unrestrained action of our best powers. This is the great good of Christianity, nor can we conceive a greater within the gift of God. I know that to many this will seem too refined a good to be proposed as the great end of society and government. But our scepticism cannot change the nature of things. I know how little this freedom is understood or enjoyed, how enslaved men are to sense, and passion, and the world: and I know, too, that through this slavery they are wretched, and that while it lasts no social institution can give them happiness.

I now proceed, as I proposed, to show that civil or political liberty is of little worth but as it springs from, expresses, and invigorates this spiritual freedom. I account civil liberty as the chief good of states, because it accords with, and ministers to, energy and elevation of mind. Nor is this a truth so remote or obscure as to need laborious proof or illustration. For consider what civil liberty means. It consists in the removal of all restraint but such as the public weal demands. And what is the end and benefit of removing restraint? It is that men may put forth their powers and act from themselves. Vigorous and invigorating action is the chief fruit of all outward freedom. Why break the chains from the captive but that he may bring into play his liberated limbs? Why open his prison but that he may go forth and open his eyes on a wide prospect, and exert and enjoy his various energies? Liberty, which does not minister to action and the growth of power, is only a name, is no better than slavery.

The chief benefit of free institutions is clear and unutterably precious. Their chief benefit is that they aid freedom of mind, that they give scope to man's faculties, that they throw him on his own resources, and summon him to work out his own happiness. It is that, by removing restraint from intellect, they favor force, originality, and enlargement of thought. It is that, by removing restraint from worship, they favor the ascent of the soul to God. It is that, by removing restraint from industry, they stir up invention and enterprise to explore and subdue the material world, and thus rescue the race from those sore physical wants and pains which narrow and blight the mind. It is that they cherish noble sentiments, frankness, courage, and self-respect.

Free institutions contribute in no small degree to freedom and force of mind, by teaching the essential equality of men, and their right and duty to govern themselves: and I cannot but consider the superiority of an elective government as consisting very much in the testimony which it bears to these ennobling truths. It has often been said that a good code of laws, and not the form of government, is what determines a people's happiness. But good laws, if not springing from the community, if imposed by a master, would lose much of their value. The best code is that which has its origin in the will of the people who obey it; which, whilst it speaks with authority, still recognizes self-government as the primary right and duty of a rational being; and which thus cherishes in the individual, be his condition what it may, a just self-respect.

We may learn that the chief good and the most precious fruit of civil liberty is spiritual freedom and power, by considering what is the chief evil of tyranny. I know that tyranny does evil by invading men's outward interests, by making property and life insecure, by robbing the laborer to pamper the noble and king. But its worst influence is *within*. Its chief curse is that it breaks and tames the spirit, sinks man in his own eyes, takes away vigor of thought and action, substitutes for conscience an outward rule, makes him abject, cowardly, a parasite, and a cringing slave. This is the curse of tyranny. It wars with the soul, and

thus it wars with God. We read in theologians and poets of angels fighting against the Creator, of battles in heaven. But God's throne in heaven is unassailable. The only war against God is against his image, against the divine principle in the soul, and this is waged by tyranny in all its forms. We here see the chief curse of tyranny; and this should teach us that civil freedom is a blessing, chiefly as it reverences the human soul and ministers to its growth and power.

Without this inward spiritual freedom outward liberty is of little worth. What boots it that I am crushed by no foreign yoke if, through ignorance and vice, through selfishness and fear, I want the command of my own mind? The worst tyrants are those which establish themselves in our own breast. The man who wants force of principle and purpose is a slave, however free the air he breathes. The mind, after all, is our only possession, or, in other words, we possess all things through its energy and enlargement; and civil institutions are to be estimated by the free and pure minds to which they give birth.

It will be seen from these remarks, that I consider the freedom or moral strength of the individual mind as the supreme good, and the highest end of government. I am aware that other views are often taken. It is said that government is intended for the public, for the community, not for the individual. The idea of a national interest prevails in the minds of statesmen, and to this it is thought that the individual may be sacrificed. But I would maintain, that the individual is not made for the state so much as the state for the individual. A man is not created for political relations as his highest end, but for indefinite spiritual progress, and is placed in political relations as the means of his progress. The human soul is greater, more sacred, than the state, and must never be sacrificed to it. The human soul is to outlive all earthly institutions. The distinction of nations is to pass away. Thrones, which have stood for ages, are to meet the doom pronounced upon all man's works. But the individual mind survives, and the obscurest subject, if true to God, will rise to a power never wielded by earthly potentates.

A human being is a member of the community, not as a limb is a member of the body, or as a wheel is a part of a machine, intended only to contribute to some general, joint result. He was created, not to be merged in the whole, as a drop in the ocean, or as a particle of sand on the sea-shore, and to aid only in composing a mass. He is an ultimate being, made for his own perfection as the highest end, made to maintain an individual existence, and to serve others only as far as consists with his own virtue and progress. Hitherto governments have tended greatly to obscure this importance of the individual, to depress him in his own eyes, to give him the idea of an outward interest more important than the invisible soul, and of an outward authority more sacred than the voice of God in his own secret conscience. Rulers have called the private man the property of the state, meaning generally by the state themselves, and thus the many have been immolated to the few, and have even believed that this was their highest destination. These views cannot be too earnestly withstood. Nothing seems to me so needful as to give to the mind the consciousness, which governments have done so much to suppress, of its own separate worth. Let the individual feel that, through his immortality, he may concentrate in his own being a greater good than that of nations. Let him feel that he is placed in the community, not to part with his individuality or to become a tool, but that he should find a sphere for his various powers, and a preparation for immortal glory. To me, the progress of society consists in nothing more than in bringing out the individual, in giving him a consciousness of his own being, and in quickening him to strengthen and elevate his own mind.

In thus maintaining that the individual is the end of social institutions, I may be thought to discourage public efforts and the sacrifice of private interests to the state. Far from it. No man, I affirm, will serve his fellow-beings so effectually, so fervently, as he who is not their slave, — as he who, casting off every other yoke, subjects himself to the law of duty in his own mind. For this law enjoins a disinterested and generous spirit as man's glory

and likeness to his Maker. Individuality, or moral self-subsistence, is the surest foundation of an all-comprehending love. No man so multiplies his bonds with the community as he who watches most jealously over his own perfection. There is a beautiful harmony between the good of the state and the moral freedom and dignity of the individual. Were it not so, were these interests in any case discordant, were an individual ever called to serve his country by acts debasing his own mind, he ought not to waver a moment as to the good which he should prefer. Property, life, he should joyfully surrender to the state. But his soul he must never stain or enslave. From poverty, pain, the rack, the gibbet, he should not recoil; but for no good of others ought he to part with self-control or violate the inward law. We speak of the patriot as sacrificing himself to the public weal. Do we mean that he sacrifices what is most properly himself, the principle of piety and virtue? Do we not feel that, however great may be the good which, through his sufferings, accrues to the state, a greater and purer glory redounds to himself, and that the most precious fruit of his disinterested services is the strength of resolution and philanthropy which is accumulated in his own soul?

I have thus endeavored to illustrate and support the doctrine that spiritual freedom, or force and elevation of soul, is the great good to which civil freedom is subordinate, and which all social institutions should propose as their supreme end.

I proceed to point out some of the means by which this spiritual liberty may be advanced: and, passing over a great variety of topics, I shall confine myself to two, — religion and government.

I begin with religion, the mightiest agent in human affairs. To this belongs pre-eminently the work of freeing and elevating the mind. All other means are comparatively impotent. The sense of God is the only spring by which the crushing weight of sense, of the world, and temptation, can be withstood. Without a consciousness of our relation to God, all other relations will prove adverse to spiritual life and progress. I have spoken of the religious sentiment as the mightiest agent on earth. It has accomplished more — it has strengthened men to do and suffer more — than all other principles. It can sustain the mind against all other powers. Of all principles it is the deepest, the most ineradicable. In its perversion, indeed, it has been fruitful of crime and woe; but the very energy which it has given to the passions, when they have mixed with, and corrupted it, teaches us the omnipotence with which it is imbued.

Religion gives life, strength, elevation to the mind, by connecting it with the Infinite Mind: by teaching it to regard itself as the offspring and care of the Infinite Father, who created it that He might communicate to it his own spirit and perfections, who framed it for truth and virtue, who framed it for himself, who subjects it to sore trials, that by conflict and endurance it may grow strong, and who has sent his Son to purify it from every sin, and to clothe it with immortality. It is religion alone which nourishes patient, resolute hopes and efforts for our own souls. Without it we can hardly escape self-contempt and the contempt of our race. Without God our existence has no support, our life no aim, our improvements no permanence, our best labors no sure and enduring results, our spiritual weakness no power to lean upon, and our noblest aspirations and desires no pledge of being realized in a better state. Struggling virtue has no friend; suffering virtue no promise of victory. Take away God, and life becomes mean, and man poorer than the brute. I am accustomed to speak of the greatness of human nature: but it is great only through its parentage; great, because descended from God, because connected with a goodness and power from which it is to be enriched for ever: and nothing but the consciousness of this connection can give that hope of elevation through which alone the mind is to rise to true strength and liberty.

All the truths of religion conspire to one end, — spiritual liberty. All the objects which it offers to our thoughts are sublime, kindling, exalting. Its fundamental truth is the existence of one God, one Infinite and Everlasting Father: and it teaches us to look on the universe as pervaded, quickened, and vitally joined into one harmonious and beneficent

whole, by his ever-present and omnipotent love. By this truth it breaks the power of matter and sense, of present pleasure and pain, of anxiety and fear. It turns the mind from the visible, the outward and perishable, to the Unseen, Spiritual, and Eternal, and, allying it with pure and great objects, makes it free.

I well know that what I now say may seem to some to want the sanction of experience. By many religion is perhaps regarded as the last principle to give inward energy and freedom. I may be told of its threatenings, and of the bondage which they impose. I acknowledge that religion has threatenings, and it *must* have them; for evil, misery, is necessarily and unchangeably bound up with wrong-doing, with the abuse of moral power. From the nature of things, a mind disloyal to God and duty must suffer; and religion, in uttering this, only re-echoes the plain teaching of conscience. But let it be remembered that the single end of the threatenings of religion is to make us spiritually free. They are all directed against the passions which enthrall and degrade us. They are weapons given to conscience, with which to fight the good fight and to establish its throne within us. When not thus used, they are turned from their end; and if by injudicious preaching they engender superstition, let not the fault be laid at the door of religion.

I do not indeed wonder that so many doubt the power of religion to give strength, dignity, and freedom to the mind. What bears this name too often yields no such fruits. Here, religion is a form, a round of prayers and rites, an attempt to propitiate God by flattery and fawning. There, it is terror and subjection to a minister or priest; and there, it is a violence of emotion, bearing away the mind like a whirlwind, and robbing it of self-direction. But true religion disclaims connection with these usurpers of its name. It is a calm, deep conviction of God's paternal interest in the improvement, happiness, and honor of his creatures, — a practical persuasion that He delights in virtue and not in forms and flatteries, and that He especially delights in resolute effort to conform ourselves to the disinterested love and rectitude which constitute his own glory. It is for this religion that I claim the honor of giving dignity and freedom to the mind.

The need of religion to accomplish this work is in no degree superseded by what is called the progress of society. I should say that civilization, so far from being able of itself to give moral strength and elevation, includes causes of degradation which nothing but the religious principle can withstand. It multiplies, undoubtedly, the comforts and enjoyments of life; but in these I see sore trials and perils to the soul. These minister to the sensual element in human nature, to that part of our constitution which allies — and too often enslaves — us to the earth. Of consequence, civilization needs that proportional aid should be given to the spiritual element in man, and I know not where it is to be found but in religion. Without this the civilized man, with all his properties and refinements, rises little in true dignity above the savage whom he disdains. You tell me of civilization, of its arts and sciences, as the sure instruments of human elevation. You tell me, how by these man masters and bends to his use the powers of nature. I know he masters them, but it is to become in turn their slave. He explores and cultivates the earth, but it is to grow more earthly. He explores the hidden mine, but it is to forge himself chains. He visits all regions, but therefore lives a stranger to his own soul. In the very progress of civilization I see the need of an antagonist principle to the senses, of a power to free man from matter, to recall him from the outward to the inward world; and religion alone is equal to so great a work.

The advantages of civilization have their peril. In such a state of society opinion and law impose salutary restraint, and produce general order and security. But the power of opinion grows into a despotism which more than all things represses original and free thought, subverts individuality of character, reduces the community to a spiritless monotony, and chills the love of perfection. Religion, considered simply as the principle which balances the power of human opinion, which takes man out of the grasp of custom and fashion, and teaches him to refer himself to a higher tribunal, is an infinite aid to moral strength and elevation.

An important benefit of civilization, of which we hear much from the political economist, is the division of labor, by which arts are perfected. But this, by confining the mind to an unceasing round of petty operations, tends to break it into littleness. We possess improved fabrics, but deteriorated men. Another advantage of civilization is, that manners are refined and accomplishments multiplied; but these are continually seen to supplant simplicity of character, strength of feeling, the love of nature, the love of inward beauty and glory. Under outward courtesy we see a cold selfishness, a spirit of calculation, and little energy of love.

I confess I look round on civilized society with many fears, and with more and more earnest desire that a regenerating spirit from heaven, from religion, may descend upon and pervade it. I particularly fear that various causes are acting powerfully among ourselves to inflame and madden that enslaving and degrading principle, the passion for property. For example, the absence of hereditary distinctions in our country gives prominence to the distinction of wealth, and holds up this as the chief prize to ambition. Add to this the epicurean self-indulgent habits which our prosperity has multiplied, and which crave insatiably for enlarging wealth as the only means of gratification. This peril is increased by the spirit of our times, which is a spirit of commerce, industry, internal improvements, mechanical invention, political economy, and peace. Think not that I would disparage commerce, mechanical skill, and especially pacific connections among states. But there is danger that these blessings may by perversion issue in a slavish love of lucre. It seems to me that some of the objects which once moved men most powerfully are gradually losing their sway, and thus the mind is left more open to the excitement of wealth. For example, military distinction is taking the inferior place which it deserves; and the consequence will be, that the energy and ambition which have been exhausted in war will seek new directions; and happy shall we be if they do not flow into the channel of gain. So I think that political eminence is to be less and less coveted; and there is danger that the energies absorbed by it will be spent in seeking another kind of dominion, — the dominion of property. And if such be the result, what shall we gain by what is called the progress of society? What shall we gain by national peace if men, instead of meeting on the field of battle, wage with one another the more inglorious strife of dishonest and rapacious traffic? What shall we gain by the waning of political ambition if the intrigues of the exchange take place of those of the cabinet, and private pomp and luxury be substituted for the splendor of public life? I am no foe to civilization. I rejoice in its progress. But I mean to say that, without a pure religion to modify its tendencies, to inspire and refine it, we shall be corrupted, not ennobled by it. It is the excellence of the religious principle, that it aids and carries forward civilization, extends science and arts, multiplies the conveniences and ornaments of life, and at the same time spoils them of their enslaving power, and even converts them into means and ministers of that spiritual freedom which, when left to themselves, they endanger and destroy.

In order, however, that religion should yield its full and best fruits, one thing is necessary; and the times require that I should state it with great distinctness. It is necessary that religion should be held and professed in a liberal spirit. Just as far as it assumes an intolerant, exclusive, sectarian form, it subverts, instead of strengthening, the soul's freedom, and becomes the heaviest and most galling yoke which is laid on the intellect and conscience. Religion must be viewed, not as a monopoly of priests, ministers, or sects; not as conferring on any man a right to dictate to his fellow-beings; not as an instrument by which the few may awe the many; not as bestowing on one a prerogative which is not enjoyed by all; but as the property of every human being, and as the great subject for every human mind. It must be regarded as the revelation of a common Father, to whom all have equal access, who invites all to the like immediate communion, who has no favorites, who has appointed no infallible expounders of his will, who opens his works and word to every eye, and calls upon all to read for themselves, and to follow fearlessly the best convictions of

their own understandings. Let religion be seized on by individuals or sects, as their special province; let them clothe themselves with God's prerogative of judgment; let them succeed in enforcing their creed by penalties of law or penalties of opinion; let them succeed in fixing a brand on virtuous men, whose only crime is free investigation; and religion becomes the most blighting tyranny which can establish itself over the mind. You have all heard of the outward evils which religion, when thus turned into tyranny, has inflicted; how it has dug dreary dungeons, kindled fires for the martyr, and invented instruments of exquisite torture. But to me all this is less fearful than its influence over the mind. When I see the superstitions which it has fastened on the conscience, the spiritual terrors with which it has haunted and subdued the ignorant and susceptible, the dark, appalling views of God which it has spread far and wide, the dread of inquiry which it has struck into superior understandings, and the servility of spirit which it has made to pass for piety, — when I see all this, the fire, the scaffold, and the outward inquisition, terrible as they are, seem to me inferior evils. I look with a solemn joy on the heroic spirits who have met freely and fearlessly pain and death in the cause of truth and human rights. But there are other victims of intolerance on whom I look with unmixed sorrow. They are those who, spell-bound by early prejudice, or by intimidations from the pulpit and the press, dare not think; who anxiously stifle every doubt or misgiving in regard to their opinions, as if to doubt were a crime; who shrink from the seekers after truth as from infection; who deny all virtue which does not wear the livery of their own sect; who, surrendering to others their best powers, receive unresistingly a teaching which wars against reason and conscience; and who think it a merit to impose on such as live within their influence the grievous bondage which they bear themselves. How much to be deplored is it that religion, the very principle which is designed to raise men above the judgment and power of man, should become the chief instrument of usurpation over the soul.

Is it said that in this country, where the rights of private judgment, and of speaking and writing according to our convictions, are guaranteed with every solemnity by institutions and laws, religion can never degenerate into tyranny; that here its whole influence must conspire to the liberation and dignity of the mind? I answer, we discover little knowledge of human nature if we ascribe to constitutions the power of charming to sleep the spirit of intolerance and exclusion. Almost every other bad passion may sooner be put to rest; and for this plain reason, that intolerance always shelters itself under the name and garb of religious zeal. Because we live in a country where the gross, outward, visible chain is broken, we must not conclude that we are necessarily free. There are chains not made of iron, which eat more deeply into the soul. An espionage of bigotry may as effectually close our lips and chill our hearts as an armed and hundred-eyed police. There are countless ways by which men in a free country may encroach on their neighbors' rights. In religion, the instrument is ready made and always at hand. I refer to opinion combined and organized in sects and swayed by the clergy. We say we have no Inquisition. But a sect skilfully organized, trained to utter one cry, combined to cover with reproach whoever may differ from themselves, to drown the free expression of opinion by denunciations of heresy, and to strike terror into the multitude by joint and perpetual menace, — such a sect is as perilous and palsying to the intellect as the Inquisition. It serves the ministers as effectually as the sword. The present age is notoriously sectarian, and therefore hostile to liberty. One of the strongest features of our times is the tendency of men to run into associations, to lose themselves in masses, to think and act in crowds, to act from the excitement of numbers, to sacrifice individuality, to identify themselves with parties and sects. At such a period we ought to fear — and cannot too much dread — lest a host should be marshalled under some sectarian standard, so numerous and so strong as to overawe opinion, stifle inquiry, compel dissenters to a prudent silence, and thus accomplish the end, without incurring the odium, of penal laws. We have indeed no small protection against this evil in

the multiplicity of sects. But let us not forget that coalitions are as practicable and as perilous in church as in state; and that minor differences, as they are called, may be sunk for the purpose of joint exertion against a common foe. Happily, the spirit of this people, in spite of all narrowing influences, is essentially liberal. Here lies our safety. The liberal spirit of the people, I trust, is more and more to temper and curb that exclusive spirit which is the besetting sin of their religious guides.

In this connection I may be permitted to say — and I say it with heartfelt joy — that the government of this Commonwealth has uniformly distinguished itself by the spirit of religious freedom. Intolerance, however rife abroad, has found no shelter in our halls of legislation. As yet, no sentence of proscription has been openly or indirectly passed on any body of men for religious opinions. A wise and righteous jealousy has watched over our religious liberties, and been startled by the first movement, the faintest sign, of sectarian ambition. Our Commonwealth can boast no higher glory. May none of us live to see it fade away!

I have spoken with great freedom of the sectarian and exclusive spirit of our age. I would earnestly recommend liberality of feeling and judgment towards men of different opinions. But, in so doing, I intend not to teach that opinions are of small moment, or that we should make no effort for spreading such as we deem the truth of God. I do mean, however, that we are to spread them by means which will not enslave ourselves to a party or bring others into bondage. We must respect alike our own and others' minds. We must not demand a uniformity in religion which exists nowhere else, but expect, and be willing, that the religious principle, like other principles of our nature, should manifest itself in different methods and degrees. Let us not forget that spiritual, like animal life, may subsist and grow under various forms. Whilst earnestly recommending what we deem the pure and primitive faith, let us remember that those who differ in word or speculation may agree in heart; that the spirit of Christianity, though mixed and encumbered with error, is still divine; and that sects which assign different ranks to Jesus Christ may still adore that godlike virtue which constituted him the glorious representative of his Father. Under the disguises of Papal and Protestant creeds, let us learn to recognize the lovely aspect of Christianity, and rejoice to believe that, amidst dissonant forms and voices, the common Father discerns and accepts the same deep filial adoration. This is true freedom and enlargement of mind, — a liberty which he who knows it would not barter for the widest dominion which priests and sects have usurped over the human soul.

I have spoken of religion; I pass to government, another great means of promoting that spiritual liberty, that moral strength and elevation, which we have seen to be our supreme good. I thus speak of government, not because it always promotes this end, but because it may and should thus operate. Civil institutions should be directed chiefly to a moral or spiritual good, and until this truth is felt they will continue, I fear, to be perverted into instruments of crime and misery. Other views of their design, I am aware, prevail. We are sometimes told that government has no purpose but an earthly one; that whilst religion takes care of the soul, government is to watch over outward and bodily interests. This separation of our interests into earthly and spiritual seems to me unfounded. There is a unity in our whole being. There is one great end for which body and mind were created, and all the relations of life were ordained; one central aim, to which our whole being should tend: and this is the unfolding of our intellectual and moral nature; and no man thoroughly understands government but he who reverences it as a part of God's stupendous machinery for this sublime design. I do not deny that government is instituted to watch over our present interests. But still it has a spiritual or moral purpose, because present interests are, in an important sense, spiritual; that is, they are instruments and occasions of virtue, calls to duty, sources of obligation, and are only blessings when they contribute to the health of the soul. For example, property, the principal object of legislation, is the material, if I may so speak, on which justice acts, or through which this car-

dinal virtue is exercised and expressed; and property has no higher end than to invigorate, by calling forth, the principle of impartial rectitude.

Government is the great organ of civil society, and we should appreciate the former more justly if we better understood the nature and foundation of the latter. I say, then, that society is throughout a moral institution. It is something very different from an assemblage of animals feeding in the same pasture. It is the combination of rational beings for the security of right. Right, a moral idea, lies at the very foundation of civil communities; and the highest happiness which they confer is the gratification of moral affections. We are sometimes taught that society is the creature of compact and selfish calculation; that men agree to live together for the protection of private interests. But no. Society is of earlier and higher origin. It is God's ordinance, and answers to what is most godlike in our nature. The chief ties that hold men together in communities are not self-interests, or compacts, or positive institutions, or force. They are invisible, refined, spiritual ties, bonds of the mind and heart. Our best powers and affections crave instinctively for society as the sphere in which they are to find their life and happiness. That men may greatly strengthen and improve society by written constitutions, I readily grant. There is, however, a constitution which precedes all of men's making, and after which all others are to be formed; a constitution, the great lines of which are drawn in our very nature; a primitive law of justice, rectitude, and philanthropy, which all other laws are bound to enforce, and from which all others derive their validity and worth.

Am I now asked how government is to promote energy and elevation of moral principle? I answer, not by making the various virtues matters of legislation, not by preaching morals, not by establishing religion; for these are not its appropriate functions. It is to serve the cause of spiritual freedom, not by teaching or persuasion, but by action; that is, by rigidly conforming itself, in all its measures, to the moral or Christian law; by the most public and solemn manifestations of reverence for right, for justice, for the general weal, for the principles of virtue. Government is the most conspicuous of human institutions, and were moral rectitude written on its front, stamped conspicuously on all its operations, an immense power would be added to pure principle in the breasts of individuals.

To be more particular, a government may, and should, ennoble the mind of the citizen, by continually holding up to him the idea of the general good. This idea should be impressed in characters of light on all legislation: and a government directing itself resolutely and steadily to this end, becomes a minister of virtue. It teaches the citizen to attach a sanctity to the public weal, carries him beyond selfish regards, nourishes magnanimity, and the purpose of sacrificing himself, as far as virtue will allow, to the commonwealth. On the other hand, a government which wields its power for selfish interests, which sacrifices the many to a few, or the state to a party, becomes a public preacher of crime, taints the mind of the citizen, does its utmost to make him base and venal, and prepares him, by its example, to sell or betray that public interest for which he should be ready to die.

Again, on government, more than on any institution, depends that most important principle, — the sense of justice in the community. To promote this, it should express in all its laws a reverence for right, and an equal reverence for the rights of high and low, of rich and poor. It should choose to sacrifice the most dazzling advantages rather than break its own faith, rather than unsettle the fixed laws of property, or in any way shock the sentiment of justice in the community.

Let me add one more method by which government is to lift up and enlarge the minds of its citizens. In its relations to other governments it should inviolably adhere to the principles of justice and philanthropy. By its moderation, sincerity, uprightness, and pacific spirit towards foreign states, by abstaining from secret arts and unfair advantages, by cultivating free and mutually beneficial intercourse, it should cherish among its citizens the ennobling consciousness of belonging to the human family, and of having a common interest with the whole human race. Government only fulfils

its end when it thus joins with Christianity in inculcating the law of universal love.

Unhappily, governments have seldom recognized as the highest duty the obligation of strengthening pure and noble principle in the community. I fear they are even to be numbered among the chief agents in corrupting nations. Of all the doctrines by which vice has propagated itself, I know none more pernicious than the maxim that statesmen are exempted from the common restraints of morality, that nations are not equally bound with individuals by the eternal laws of justice and philanthropy. Through this doctrine vice has lifted its head unblushingly in the most exalted stations. Vice has seated itself on the throne. The men who have wielded the power and riveted the gaze of nations have lent the sanction of their greatness to crime. In the very heart of nations, in the cabinet of rulers, has been bred a moral pestilence which has infected and contaminated all orders of the state. Through the example of rulers, private men have learned to regard the everlasting law as a temporary conventional rule, and been blinded to the supremacy of virtue.

That the prosperity of a people is intimately connected with this reverence for virtue which I have inculcated on legislators, is most true, and cannot be too deeply felt. There is no foundation for the vulgar doctrine, that a state may flourish by arts and crimes. Nations and individuals are subjected to one law. The moral principle is the life of communities. No calamity can befall a people so great as temporary success through a criminal policy, as the hope thus cherished of trampling with impunity on the authority of God. Sooner or later, insulted virtue avenges itself terribly on states as well as on private men. We hope, indeed, security and the quiet enjoyment of our wealth from our laws and institutions. But civil laws find their chief sanction in the law written within by the finger of God. In proportion as a people enslave themselves to sin, the fountain of public justice becomes polluted. The most wholesome statutes, wanting the support of public opinion, grow impotent. Self-seekers, unprincipled men, by flattering bad passions, and by darkening the public mind, usurp the seat of judgment and places of power and trust, and turn free institutions into lifeless forms or instruments of oppression. I especially believe that communities suffer sorely by that species of immorality which the herd of statesmen have industriously cherished as of signal utility, — I mean, by hostile feeling towards other countries. The common doctrine has been, that prejudice and enmity towards foreign states are means of fostering a national spirit, and of confirming union at home. But bad passions, once instilled into a people, will never exhaust themselves abroad. Vice never yields the fruits of virtue. Injustice to strangers does not breed justice to our friends. Malignity, in every form, is a fire of hell, and the policy which feeds it is infernal. Domestic feuds and the madness of party are its natural and necessary issues; and a people hostile to others will demonstrate, in its history, that no form of inhumanity or injustice escapes its just retribution.

Our great error as a people is, that we put an idolatrous trust in our free institutions; as if these, by some magic power, must secure our rights, however we enslave ourselves to evil passions. We need to learn that the forms of liberty are not its essence; that whilst the letter of a free constitution is preserved its spirit may be lost: that even its wisest provisions and most guarded powers may be made weapons of tyranny. In a country called free, a majority may become a faction, and a proscribed minority may be insulted, robbed, and oppressed. Under elective governments, a dominant party may become as truly a usurper, and as treasonably conspire against the state, as an individual who forces his way by arms to the throne.

I know that it is supposed that political wisdom can so form institutions as to extract from them freedom, notwithstanding a people's sins. The chief expedient for this purpose has been to balance, as it is called, men's passions and interests against each other; to use one man's selfishness as a check against his neighbor's; to produce peace by the counteraction and equilibrium of hostile forces. This whole theory I distrust. The vices can by no management or skilful poising be made to do the work of virtue. Our own history has al-

ready proved this. Our government was founded on the doctrine of checks and balances; and what does experience teach us? It teaches, what the principles of our nature might have taught, that whenever the country is divided into two great parties, the dominant party will possess itself of both branches of the legislature, and of the different departments of the state, and will move towards its objects with as little check, and with as determined purpose, as if all powers were concentrated in a single body. There is no substitute for virtue. Free institutions secure rights only when secured by, and when invigorating that spiritual freedom, that moral power and elevation, which I have set before you as the supreme good of our nature.

According to these views, the first duty of a statesman is to build up the moral energy of a people. This is their first interest; and he who weakens it inflicts an injury which no talent can repair; nor should any splendor of services, or any momentary success, avert from him the infamy which he has earned. Let public men learn to think more reverently of their function. Let them feel that they are touching more vital interests than property. Let them fear nothing so much as to sap the moral convictions of a people by unrighteous legislation or a selfish policy. Let them cultivate in themselves the spirit of religion and virtue, as the first requisite to public station. Let no apparent advantage to the community, any more than to themselves, seduce them to the infraction of any moral law. Let them put faith in virtue as the strength of nations. Let them not be disheartened by temporary ill success in upright exertion. Let them remember that, while they and their contemporaries live but for a day, the state is to live for ages; and that Time, the unerring arbiter, will vindicate the wisdom as well as the magnanimity of the public man who, confiding in the power of truth, justice, and philanthropy, asserts their claims, and reverently follows their monitions, amidst general disloyalty and corruption.

I have hitherto spoken of the general influence which government should exert on the moral interests of a people, by expressing reverence for the moral law in its whole policy and legislation. It is also bound to exert a more particular and direct influence. I refer to its duty of preventing and punishing crime. This is one of the chief ends of government, but it has received as yet very little of the attention which it deserves. Government, indeed, has not been slow to punish crime, nor has society suffered for want of dungeons and gibbets. But the prevention of crime and the reformation of the offender have nowhere taken rank among the first objects of legislation. Penal codes, breathing vengeance, and too often written in blood, have been set in array against the violence of human passions, and the legislator's conscience has been satisfied with enacting these. Whether by shocking humanity he has not multiplied offenders, is a question into which he would do wisely to inquire.

On the means of preventing crime I want time, and still more ability, to enlarge. I would only say that this object should be kept in view through the whole of legislation. For this end, laws should be as few and as simple as may be: for an extensive and obscure code multiplies occasions of offence, and brings the citizen unnecessarily into collision with the state. Above all, let the laws bear broadly on their front the impress of justice and humanity, so that the moral sense of the community may become their sanction. Arbitrary and offensive laws invite offence, and take from disobedience the consciousness of guilt. It is even wise to abstain from laws which, however wise and good in themselves, have the semblance of inequality, which find no response in the heart of the citizen, and which will be evaded with little remorse. The wisdom of legislation is especially seen in grafting laws on conscience. I add, what seems to me of great importance, that the penal code should be brought to bear with the sternest impartiality on the rich and exalted as well as on the poor and fallen. Society suffers from the crimes of the former not less than by those of the latter. It has been truly said, that the amount of property taken by theft and forgery is small compared with what is taken by dishonest insolvency. Yet the thief is sent to prison, and the dishonest bankrupt lives perhaps in state. The moral sentiment of

the community is thus corrupted; and, for this and other solemn reasons, a reform is greatly needed in the laws which respect insolvency. I am shocked at the imprisonment of the honest debtor; and the legislation which allows a creditor to play the tyrant over an innocent man would disgrace, I think, a barbarous age. I am not less shocked by the impunity with which criminal insolvents continually escape, and by the lenity of the community towards these transgressors of its most essential laws.

Another means of preventing crime is to punish it wisely; and by wise punishment I mean that which aims to reform the offender. I know that this end of punishment has been questioned by wise and good men. But what higher or more practicable end can be proposed? You say we must punish for example. But history shows that what is called exemplary punishment cannot boast of great efficiency. Crime thrives under severe penalties, thrives on the blood of offenders. The frequent exhibition of such punishments hardens a people's heart, and produces defiance and reaction in the guilty. Until recently, government seems to have labored to harden the criminal by throwing him into a crowd of offenders, into the putrid atmosphere of a common prison. Humanity rejoices in the reform which, in this respect, is spreading through our country. To remove the convict from bad influences is an essential step to his moral restoration. It is, however, but a step. To place him under the aid of good influence is equally important; and here individual exertion must come to the aid of legislative provisions. Private Christians, selected at once for their judiciousness and philanthropy, must connect themselves with the solitary prisoner, and by manifestations of a sincere fraternal interest, by conversation, books, and encouragement, must touch within him chords which have long ceased to vibrate: must awaken new hopes; must show him that all is not lost, — that God, and Christ, and virtue, and the friendship of the virtuous, and honor, and immortality, may yet be secured. Of this glorious ministry of private Christianity I do not despair. I know I shall be told of the failure of all efforts to reclaim criminals. They have not always failed. And besides, has philanthropy, has genius, has the strength of humanity, been fairly and fervently put forth in this great concern? I find in the New Testament no class of human beings whom charity is instructed to forsake. I find no exception made by Him who came to seek and save that which was lost. I must add, that the most hopeless subjects are not always to be found in prisons. That convicts are dreadfully corrupt, I know: but not more corrupt than some who walk at large, and are not excluded from our kindness. The rich man who defrauds is certainly as criminal as the poor man who steals. The rich man who drinks to excess contracts deeper guilt than he who sinks into this vice under the pressure of want. The young man who seduces innocence deserves more richly the house of correction than the unhappy female whom he allured into the path of destruction. Still more, I cannot but remember how much the guilt of the convict results from the general corruption of society. When I reflect how much of the responsibility for crimes rests on the state, how many of the offences which are most severely punished are to be traced to neglected education, to early squalid want, to temptations and exposures which society might do much to relieve, — I feel that a spirit of mercy should temper legislation; that we should not sever ourselves so widely from our fallen brethren; that we should recognize in them the countenance and claims of humanity; that we should strive to win them back to God.

I have thus spoken of the obligation of government to contribute by various means to the moral elevation of a people. I close this head with expressing sorrow that an institution, capable of such purifying influences, should so often be among the chief engines of a nation's corruption.

In this discourse I have insisted on the supreme importance of virtuous principle, of moral force, and elevation in the community; and I have thus spoken, not that I might conform to professional duty, but from deep personal conviction. I feel — as I doubt not many feel — that the great distinction of a nation, the only one worth possessing, and which brings after it all other blessings, is the prevalence of pure principle

among the citizens. I wish to belong to a state in the character and institutions of which I may find a spring of improvement, which I can speak of with an honest pride, in whose records I may meet great and honored names, and which is making the world its debtor by its discoveries of truth, and by an example of virtuous freedom. Oh, save me from a country which worships wealth and cares not for true glory; in which intrigue bears rule; in which patriotism borrows its zeal from the prospect of office; in which hungry sycophants besiege with supplications all the departments of state; in which public men bear the brand of vice, and the seat of government is a noisome sink of private licentiousness and political corruption! Tell me not of the honor of belonging to a free country. I ask, does our liberty bear generous fruits? Does it exalt us in manly spirit, in public virtue, above countries trodden under foot by despotism? Tell me not of the extent of our territory. I care not how large it is if it multiply degenerate men. Speak not of our prosperity. Better be one of a poor people, plain in manners, revering God and respecting themselves, than belong to a rich country which knows no higher good than riches. Earnestly do I desire for this country that, instead of copying Europe with an undiscerning servility, it may have a character of its own, corresponding to the freedom and equality of our institutions. One Europe is enough. One Paris is enough. How much to be desired is it that, separated as we are from the eastern continent by an ocean, we should be still more widely separated by simplicity of manners, by domestic purity, by inward piety, by reverence for human nature, by moral independence, by withstanding that subjection to fashion and that debilitating sensuality, which characterize the most civilized portions of the Old World.

Of this country I may say with peculiar emphasis that its happiness is bound up in its virtue. On this our union can alone stand firm. Our union is not like that of other nations, confirmed by the habits of ages and riveted by force. It is a recent, and, still more, a voluntary union. It is idle to talk of force as binding us together. Nothing can retain a member of this confederacy when resolved on separation. The only bonds that can permanently unite us are moral ones. That there are repulsive powers, principles of discord, in these States, we all feel. The attraction which is to counteract them is only to be found in a calm wisdom, controlling the passions, in a spirit of equity and regard to the common weal, and in virtuous patriotism, clinging to union as the only pledge of freedom and peace. The union is threatened by sectional jealousies and collisions of local interests, which can be reconciled only by a magnanimous liberality. It is endangered by the prostitution of executive patronage, through which the public treasury is turned into a fountain of corruption, and by the lust for power which perpetually convulses the country for the sake of throwing office into new hands; and the only remedy for these evils is to be found in the moral indignation of the community, in a pure, lofty spirit, which will overwhelm with infamy this selfish ambition.

To the chief magistrate of this Commonwealth, and to those associated with him in the executive and legislative departments, I respectfully commend the truths which have now been delivered; and, with the simplicity becoming a minister of Jesus Christ, I would remind them of their solemn obligations to God, to their fellow-creatures, and to the interests of humanity, freedom, virtue, and religion. We trust that, in their high stations, they will seek, not themselves, but the public weal, and will seek it by inflexible adherence to the principles of the constitution, and still more to the principles of God's everlasting law.

IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION TO SOCIETY.

FEW men suspect, perhaps no man comprehends, the extent of the support given by religion to the virtues of ordinary life. No man, perhaps, is aware how much our moral and social sentiments are fed from this fountain; how powerless conscience would become without the belief of a God; how palsied would be human benevolence, were there not the sense of a higher benevolence to quicken and sustain it; how suddenly the whole social fabric would quake, and with what a fearful crash it would sink into hopeless ruins, were the ideas of a Supreme Being, of accountableness, and of a future life, to be utterly erased from every mind. Once let men thoroughly believe that they are the work and sport of chance; that no superior intelligence concerns itself with human affairs; that all their improvements perish for ever at death; that the weak have no guardian and the injured no avenger; that there is no recompense for sacrifices to uprightness and the public good; that an oath is unheard in heaven; that secret crimes have no witness but the perpetrator; that human existence has no purpose, and human virtue no unfailing friend; that this brief life is every thing to us, and death is total, everlasting extinction; — once let men thoroughly abandon religion, and who can conceive or describe the extent of the desolation which would follow? We hope, perhaps, that human laws and natural sympathy would hold society together. As reasonably might we believe that, were the sun quenched in the heavens, our torches could illuminate and our fires quicken and fertilize the earth. What is there in human nature to awaken respect and tenderness, if man is the unprotected insect of a day? and what is he more, if atheism be true? Erase all thought and fear of God from a community, and selfishness and sensuality would absorb the whole man. Appetite knowing no restraint, and poverty and suffering having no solace or hope, would trample in scorn on the restraints of human laws. Virtue, duty, principle, would be mocked and spurned as unmeaning sounds. A sordid self-interest would supplant every other feeling, and man would become in fact, what the theory of atheism declares him to be, a companion for brutes.

It particularly deserves attention in this discussion, that the Christian religion is singularly important to free communities. In truth, we may doubt whether civil freedom can subsist without it. This at least we know, that equal rights and an impartial administration of justice have never been enjoyed where this religion has not been understood. It favors free institutions, first, because its spirit is the very spirit of liberty; that is, a spirit of respect for the interests and rights of others. Christianity recognizes the essential equality of mankind; beats down with its whole might those aspiring and rapacious principles of our nature which have subjected the many to the few; and, by its refining influence, as well as by direct precept, turns to God, and to him only, that supreme homage which has been so impiously lavished on crowned and titled fellow-creatures. Thus its whole tendency is free. It lays deeply the only foundations of liberty, which are the principles of benevolence, justice, and respect for human nature. The spirit of liberty is not merely, as multitudes imagine, a jealousy of our own particular rights, an unwillingness to be oppressed ourselves, but a respect for the rights of others, and an unwillingness that any man, whether high or low, should be wronged and trampled under foot. Now this is the spirit of Christianity; and liberty has no security, any farther than this uprightness and benevolence of sentiment actuates a community.

In another method religion befriends liberty. It diminishes the necessity of public restraints, and supersedes in a great degree the use of force in administering the laws; and this it does by making men a law to themselves, and by

repressing the disposition to disturb and injure society. Take away the purifying and restraining influence of religion, and selfishness, rapacity, and injustice will break out in new excesses; and amidst the increasing perils of society government must be strengthened to defend it, must accumulate means of repressing disorder and crime; and this strength and these means may be, and often have been, turned against the freedom of the state which they were meant to secure. Diminish principle, and you increase the need of force in a community. In this country government needs not the array of power which you meet in other nations, — no guards of soldiers, no hosts of spies, no vexatious regulations of police; but accomplishes its beneficent purposes by a few unarmed judges and civil officers, and operates so silently around us, and comes so seldom in contact with us, that many of us enjoy its blessings with hardly a thought of its existence. This is the perfection of freedom; and to what do we owe this condition? I answer, to the power of those laws which religion writes on our hearts, which unite and concentrate public opinion against injustice and oppression, which spread a spirit of equity and good-will through the community. Thus religion is the soul of freedom, and no nation under heaven has such an interest in it as ourselves.

EVIDENCES OF CHRISTIANITY.

ROMANS i. 16: "I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ."

PART I.

THESE words of Paul are worthy of his resolute and disinterested spirit. In uttering them he was not an echo of the multitude, a servile repeater of established doctrines. The vast majority around him were ashamed of Jesus. The cross was then coupled with infamy. Christ's name was scorned as a malefactor's, and to profess his religion was to share his disgrace. Since that time what striking changes have occurred! The cross now hangs as an ornament from the neck of beauty. It blazes on the flags of navies and the standards of armies. Millions bow before it in adoration, as if it were a shrine of the divinity. Of course, the temptation to be ashamed of Jesus is very much diminished. Still it is not wholly removed. Much of the homage now paid to Christianity is outward, political, worldly, and paid to its corruptions much more than to its pure and lofty spirit; and accordingly its conscientious and intrepid friends must not think it a strange thing to be encountered with occasional coldness or reproach. We may still be tempted to be ashamed of our religion, by being thrown among sceptics who deny and deride it. We may be tempted to be ashamed of the simple and rational doctrines of Christ, by being brought into connection with narrow zealots, who enforce their dark and perhaps degrading peculiarities as essential to salvation. We may be tempted to be ashamed of his pure, meek, and disinterested precepts, by being thrown among the licentious, self-seeking, and vindictive. Against these perils we should all go armed. To be loyal to truth and conscience under such trials is one of the signal proofs of virtue. No man deserves the name of Christian but he who adheres to his principles amidst the unbelieving, the intolerant, and the depraved.

"I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ." So said Paul. So would I say. Would to God that I could catch the spirit as well as the language of the Apostle, and bear my testimony to Christianity with the same heroic resolution! Do any ask, why I join in this attestation to the gospel? Some of my reasons I propose now to set before you; and, in doing so, I ask the privilege of speaking, as the Apostle has done, in the first person; of speaking in my own name, and of laying open my own mind in the

most direct language. There are cases in which the ends of public discourse may be best answered by the frank expression of individual feeling; and this mode of address, when adopted with such views, ought not to be set down to the account of egotism.

I proceed to state the reasons why I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ; and I begin with one so important that it will occupy the present discourse.

I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, because it is *true*. This is my first reason. The religion is *true*, and no consideration but this could induce me to defend it. I adopt it, not because it is popular, for false and ruinous systems have enjoyed equal reputation; nor because it is thought to uphold the order of society, for I believe that nothing but truth can be permanently useful. It is *true;* and I say this not lightly, but after deliberate examination. I am not repeating the accents of the nursery. I do not affirm the truth of Christianity because I was so taught before I could inquire, or because I was brought up in a community pledged to this belief. It is not unlikely that my faith and zeal will be traced by some to these sources; and believing such imputations to be groundless, fidelity to the cause of truth binds me to repel them. The circumstance of having been born and educated under Christianity, so far from disposing me to implicit faith, has often been to me the occasion of serious distrust of our religion. On observing how common it is for men of all countries and names whether Christians, Jews, or Mahometans, to receive the religion of their fathers, I have again and again asked myself whether I too was not a slave, whether I too was not blindly walking in the path of tradition, and yielding myself as passively as others to an hereditary faith. I distrust and fear the power of numbers and of general opinion over my judgment; and few things incite me more to repel a doctrine than intolerant attempts to force it on my understanding. Perhaps my Christian education and connections have inclined me to scepticism, rather than bowed my mind to authority.

It may still be said that the pride and prejudices and motives of interest which belong to my profession as a Christian minister throw a suspiciousness over my reasoning and judgment on the present subject. I reply, that to myself I seem as free from biases of this kind as the most indifferent person. I have no priestly prepossessions. I know and acknowledge the corruptions and perversions of the ministerial office from the earliest age of the church. I reprobate the tyranny which it exercises so often over the human mind. I recognize no peculiar sanctity in those who sustain it. I think, then, that I come to the examination of Christianity with as few blinding partialities as any man. I indeed claim no exemption from error; I ask no implicit faith in my conclusions: I care not how jealously and thoroughly my arguments are sifted. I only ask that I may not be prejudged as a servile or interested partisan of Christianity. I ask that I may be heard as a friend of truth, desirous to aid my fellow-creatures in determining a question of great and universal concern. I appear as the advocate of Christianity, solely because it approves itself to my calmest reason as a revelation from God, and as the purest, brightest light which He has shed on the human mind. I disclaim all other motives. No policy, no vassalage to opinion, no dread of reproach even from the good, no private interest, no desire to uphold a useful superstition, nothing, in short, but a deliberate conviction of the truth of Christianity induces me to appear in its ranks. I should be ashamed of it did I not believe it true.

In discussing this subject, I shall express my convictions strongly; I shall speak of infidelity as a gross and perilous error. But in so doing I beg not to be understood as passing sentence on the character of individual unbelievers. I shall show that the Christian religion is true is from God; but I do not therefore conclude that all who reject it are the enemies of God, and are to be loaded with reproach. I would uphold the truth without ministering to uncharitableness. The criminality, the damnable guilt of unbelief in all imaginable circumstances, is a position which I think untenable; and persuaded as I am that it prejudices the cause of Christianity, by creating an antipathy between its friends and opposers which injures both, and drives the latter into more determined hostility to the truth, I think it

worthy of a brief consideration in this stage of the discussion.

I lay it down as a principle that unbelief, considered in itself, has no moral quality, is neither a virtue nor a vice, but must receive its character, whether good or bad, from the dispositions or motives which produce or pervade it. Mere acts of the understanding are neither right nor wrong. When I speak of faith as a holy or virtuous principle, I extend the term beyond its primitive meaning, and include in it not merely the assent of the intellect, but the disposition or temper by which this assent is determined, and which it is suited to confirm; and I attach as broad a signification to unbelief, when I pronounce it a crime. The truth is, that the human mind, though divided by our philosophy into many distinct capacities, seldom or never exerts them separately, but generally blends them in one act. Thus, in forming a judgment, it exerts the will and affections, or the moral principles of our nature, as really as the power of thought. Men's passions and interests mix with, and are expressed in, the decisions of the intellect. In the Scriptures, which use language freely, and not with philosophical strictness, faith and unbelief are mental acts of this complex character, or joint products of the understanding and heart; and on this account alone they are objects of approbation or reproof. In these views, I presume, reflecting Christians of every name agree.

According to these views, opinions cannot be laid down as unerring and immutable signs of virtue and vice. The very same opinion may be virtuous in one man and vicious in another, supposing it, as is very possible, to have originated in different states of mind. For example, if through envy and malignity, I should rashly seize on the slightest proofs of guilt in my neighbor, my judgment of his criminality would be morally wrong. Let another man arrive at the same conclusion, in consequence of impartial inquiry and love of truth, and his decision would be morally right. Still more, according to these views, it is possible for the belief of Christianity to be as criminal as unbelief. Undoubtedly the reception of a system so pure in spirit and tendency as the gospel is to be regarded in general as a favorable sign. But let a man adopt this religion because it will serve his interest and popularity; let him shut his mind against objections to it, lest they should shake his faith in a gainful system; let him tamper with his intellect, and for base and selfish ends exhaust its strength in defence of the prevalent faith, and he is just as criminal in believing as another would be in rejecting Christianity under the same bad impulses. Our religion is at this moment adopted and passionately defended by vast multitudes, on the ground of the very same pride, worldliness, love of popularity, and blind devotion to hereditary prejudices, which led the Jews and Heathens to reject it in the primitive age; and the faith of the first is as wanting in virtue as was the infidelity of the last.

To judge of the character of faith and unbelief, we must examine the times and the circumstances in which they exist. At the first preaching of the gospel, to believe on Christ was a strong proof of an upright mind; to enlist among his followers was to forsake ease, honor, and worldly success; to confess him was an act of signal loyalty to truth, virtue, and God. To believe in Christ at the present moment has no such significance. To confess him argues no moral courage. It may even betray a servility and worldliness of mind. These remarks apply in their spirit to unbelief. At different periods, and in different conditions of society, unbelief may express very different states of mind. Before we pronounce it a crime and doom it to perdition, we ought to know the circumstances under which it has sprung up, and to inquire with candor whether they afford no palliation or defence. When Jesus Christ was on earth, when his miracles were wrought before men's eyes, when his voice sounded in their ears, when not a shade of doubt could be thrown over the reality of his supernatural works, and not a human corruption had mingled with his doctrine, there was the strongest presumption against the uprightness and the love of truth of those who rejected him. He knew, too, the hearts and lives of those who surrounded him, and saw distinctly in their envy, ambition, worldliness, sensuality, the springs of their unbelief; and accordingly he pronounced it a crime. Since that period, what changes have

taken place! Jesus Christ has left the world. His miracles are events of a remote age, and the proofs of them, though abundant, are to many perfectly unknown; and, what is incomparably more important, his religion has undergone corruption, adulteration, disastrous change, and its likeness to its Founder is in no small degree effaced. The clear, consistent, quickening truth, which came from the lips of Jesus, has been exchanged for a hoarse jargon and vain babblings. The stream, so pure at the fountain, has been polluted and poisoned through its whole course. Not only has Christianity been overwhelmed by absurdities, but by impious doctrines, which have made the Universal Father, now a weak and vain despot to be propitiated by forms and flatteries, and now an almighty torturer, foreordaining multitudes of his creatures to guilt, and then glorifying his justice by their everlasting woe. When I think what Christianity has become in the hands of politicians and priests, how it has been shaped into a weapon of power, how it has crushed the human soul for ages, how it has struck the intellect with palsy and haunted the imagination with superstitious phantoms, how it has broken whole nations to the yoke, and frowned on every free thought; when I think how, under almost every form of this religion, its ministers have taken it into their own keeping, have hewn and compressed it into the shape of rigid creeds, and have then pursued by menaces of everlasting woe whoever should question the divinity of these works of their hands; — when I consider, in a word, how, under such influences, Christianity has been and still is exhibited, in forms which shock alike the reason, conscience, and heart, I feel deeply, painfully, what a different system it is from that which Jesus taught, and I dare not apply to unbelief the terms of condemnation which belonged to the infidelity of the primitive age.

Perhaps I ought to go further. Perhaps I ought to say that to reject Christianity under some of its corruptions is rather a virtue than a crime. At the present moment, I would ask whether it is a vice to doubt the truth of Christianity as it is manifested in Spain and Portugal? When a patriot in those benighted countries, who knows Christianity only as a bulwark of despotism, as a rearer of inquisitions, as a stern jailer immuring wretched women in the convent, as an executioner stained and reeking with the blood of the friends of freedom; I say, when the patriot, who sees in our religion the instrument of these crimes and woes, believes and affirms that it is not from God, are we authorized to charge his unbelief on dishonesty and corruption of mind, and to brand him as a culprit? May it not be that the spirit of Christianity in his heart emboldens him to protest with his lips against what bears the name? And if he thus protest, through a deep sympathy with the oppression and sufferings of his race, is he not nearer the kingdom of God than the priest and inquisitor who boastingly and exclusively assume the Christian name? Jesus Christ has told us that "this is the condemnation" of the unbelieving, "that they love darkness rather than light;" and who does not see that this ground of condemnation is removed just in proportion as the light is quenched, or Christian truth is buried in darkness and debasing error?

I know I shall be told that a man in the circumstances now supposed would still be culpable for his unbelief, because the Scriptures are within his reach, and these are sufficient to guide him to the true doctrines of Christ. But in the countries of which I have spoken, the Scriptures are not common; and if they were, I apprehend that we should task human strength too severely, in requiring it, under every possible disadvantage, to gain the truth from this source alone. A man, born and brought up in the thickest darkness, and amidst the grossest corruptions of Christianity, accustomed to hear the Scriptures disparaged, accustomed to connect false ideas with their principal terms, and wanting our most common helps of criticism, can hardly be expected to detach from the mass of error which bears the name of the gospel, the simple principles of the primitive faith. Let us not exact too much of our fellow-creatures. In our zeal for Christianity let us not forget its spirit of equity and mercy. In these remarks I have taken an extreme case. I have supposed a man subjected to the greatest disadvantages in regard to the knowledge of Christianity. But obsta-

cles less serious may exculpate the unbeliever. In truth, none of us can draw the line which separates between innocence and guilt in this particular. To measure the responsibility of a man who doubts or denies Christianity, we must know the history of his mind, his capacity of judgment, the early influences and prejudices to which he was exposed, the forms under which the religion and its proofs first fixed his thoughts, and the opportunities since enjoyed of eradicating errors, which struck root before the power of trying them was unfolded. We are not his judges. At another and an unerring tribunal he must give account.

I cannot, then, join in the common cry against infidelity as the sure mark of a corrupt mind. That unbelief often has its origin in evil dispositions I cannot doubt. The character of the unbeliever often forces us to acknowledge that he rejects Christianity to escape its rebukes; that its purity is its chief offence; that he seeks infidelity as a refuge from fear and virtuous restraint. But to impute these unholy motives to a man of pure life is to judge rashly, and it may be unrighteously. I cannot look upon unbelief as essentially and unfailingly a crime. But I do look upon it as among the greatest of calamities. It is the loss of the chief aid of virtue, of the mightiest power over temptation, of the most quickening knowledge of God, of the only unfailing light, of the only sure hope. The unbeliever would gain unspeakably by parting with every possession for the truth which he doubts or rejects. And how shall we win him to the faith? Not by reproach, by scorn, by tones of superiority; but by paying due respect to his understanding, his virtues, and his right of private judgment; by setting before him Christianity in its simple majesty, its reasonableness, and wonderful adaptation to the wants of our spiritual nature; by exhibiting its proofs without exaggeration, yet in their full strength; and, above all, by showing in our own characters and lives that there is in Christianity a power to purify, elevate, and console, which can be found in no human teaching. These are the true instruments of conversion. The ignorant and superstitious may indeed be driven into a religion by menace and reproach. But the reflecting unbeliever cannot but distrust a cause which admits such weapons. He must be reasoned with as a man, an equal, and a brother. Perhaps we may silence him for a time by spreading through the community a fanatical excitement and a persecuting hatred of infidelity. But as by such processes Christianity would be made to take a more unlovely and irrational form, its secret foes would be multiplied; its brightest evidence would be dimmed, its foundation sapped, its energy impaired; and whenever the time should arrive for throwing off the mask (and that time would come), we should learn that in the very ranks of its nominal disciples there had been trained a host of foes, who would burn to prostrate the intolerant faith which had so long sealed their lips, and trampled on the rights and freedom of the human mind.

According to these views, I do not condemn the unbeliever, unless he bear witness against himself by an immoral and irreligious life. It is not given me to search his heart. But this power is given to himself, and, as a friend, I call upon him to exert it; I ask him to look honestly into his own mind, to question his past life, and to pronounce impartial sentence on the causes of his unbelief. Let him ask himself whether he has inquired into the principles and proofs of Christianity deliberately and in the love of truth: whether the desire to discover and fulfil his duties to God and his fellow-creatures has governed his examination: whether he has surrendered himself to no passions or pursuits which religion and conscience rebuke, and which bar the mind and sear the heart against the truth. If, thus self-questioned, his heart acquit him, let no man condemn him, and let him heed no man's condemnation. But if conscience bear witness against him, he has cause to suspect and dread his unbelief. He has reason to fear that it is the fruit of a depraved mind, and that it will ripen and confirm the depravity from which it sprung.

I know that there are those who will construe what they will call my lenity towards unbelief into treachery towards Christianity. There are those who think that unless scepticism be ranked among the worst crimes, and the infidel be

marked out for abhorrence and dread, the multitude of men will lose their hold on the gospel. An opinion more discreditable to Christianity cannot easily be advanced by its friends. It virtually admits that the proofs of our religion, unless examined under the influence of terror, cannot work conviction; that the gospel cannot be left, like other subjects, to the calm and unbiassed judgment of mankind. It discovers a distrust of Christianity with which I have no sympathy. And here I would remark that the worst abuses of our religion have sprung from this cowardly want of confidence in its power. Its friends have feared that it could not stand without a variety of artificial buttresses. They have imagined that men must now be bribed into faith by annexing to it temporal privileges, now driven into it by menaces and inquisitions, now attracted by gorgeous forms, now awed by mysteries and superstitions; in a word, that the multitude must be imposed upon, or the religion will fall. I have no such distrust of Christianity; I believe in its invincible powers. It is founded in our nature. It meets our deepest wants. Its proofs as well as principles are adapted to the common understandings of men, and need not to be aided by appeals to fear or any other passion, which would discourage inquiry or disturb the judgment. I fear nothing for Christianity if left to speak in its own tones, to approach men with its unveiled, benignant countenance. I do fear much from the weapons of policy and intimidation which are framed to uphold the imagined weakness of Christian truth.

I now come to the great object of this discourse, — an exhibition of the proofs of Christianity; and I begin with a topic which is needed to prepare some, if not many, to estimate these proofs fairly, and according to their true weight. I begin with the position, that there is nothing in the general idea of revelation at which reason ought to take offence, nothing inconsistent with any established truth, or with our best views of God and nature. This topic meets a prejudice not very rare. I repeat it, then, revelation is nothing incredible, nothing which carries contradiction on its face, nothing at war with any great principles of reason or experience. On hearing of God's teaching us by some other means than the fixed order of nature, we ought not to be surprised, nor ought the suggestion to awaken resistance in our minds.

Revelation is not at war with nature. From the necessity of the case, the earliest instruction must have come to human beings from this source. If our race had a beginning (and nothing but the insanity of atheism can doubt this), then its first members, created as they were without human parentage, and having no resource in the experience of fellow-creatures who had preceded them, required an immediate teaching from their Creator; they would have perished without it. Revelation was the very commencement of human history, the foundation of all later knowledge and improvement. It was an essential part of the course of Providence, and must not then be regarded as a discord in God's general system.

Revelation is not at war with nature. Nature prompts us to expect it from the relation which God bears to the human race. The relation of Creator is the most intimate which can subsist; and it leads us to anticipate a free and affectionate intercourse with the creature. That the Universal Father should be bound by a parental interest to his offspring, that He should watch over and assist the progress of beings whom He has enriched with the divine gifts of reason and conscience, is so natural a doctrine, so accordant with his character, that various sects, both philosophical and religious, both anterior and subsequent to Christianity, have believed not only in general revelation, but that God reveals himself to every human soul. When I think of the vast capacities of the human mind, of God's nearness to it and unbounded love towards it, I am disposed to wonder, not that revelations have been made, but that they have not been more variously vouchsafed to the wants of mankind.

Revelation has a striking agreement with the chief method which God has instituted for carrying forward individuals and the race, and is thus in harmony with his ordinary operations. Whence is it that we all acquire our chief knowledge? Not from the outward universe, — not from the fixed laws of material nature, — but from intelligent

beings more advanced than ourselves. The teachings of the wise and good are our chief aids. Were our connection with superior minds broken off, had we no teacher but nature, with its fixed laws, its unvarying revolutions of night and day and seasons, we should remain for ever in the ignorance of childhood. Nature is a volume which we can read only by the help of an intelligent interpreter. The great law under which man is placed is that he shall receive illumination and impulse from beings more improved than himself. Now revelation is only an extension of this universal method of carrying forward mankind. In this case, God takes on himself the office to which all rational beings are called. He becomes an immediate teacher to a few, communicating to them a higher order of truths than had before been attained, which they in turn are to teach to their race. Here is no new power or element introduced into the system, but simply an enlargement of that agency on which the progress of man chiefly depends.

Let me next ask you to consider why or for what end God has ordained, as the chief means of human improvement, the communication of light from superior to inferior minds; and if it shall then appear that revelation is strikingly adapted to promote a similar though more important end, you will have another mark of agreement between revelation and his ordinary providence. Why is it that God has made men's progress dependent on instruction from their fellow-beings? Why are the more advanced commissioned to teach the less informed? A great purpose, I believe the chief purpose, is to establish interesting relations among men, to bind them to one another by generous sentiments, to promote affectionate intercourse, to call forth a purer love than could spring from a communication of mere outward gifts. Now it is rational to believe that the Creator designs to bind his creatures to himself as truly as to one another, and to awaken towards himself even stronger gratitude, confidence, and love; for these sentiments towards God are more happy and ennobling than towards any other being; and it is plain that revelation, or immediate divine teaching, serves as effectually to establish these ties between God and man as human teaching to attach men to one another. We see, then, in revelation an end corresponding to what the Supreme Being adopts in his common providence. That the end here affirmed is worthy of his interposition, who can doubt? His benevolence can propose no higher purpose than that of raising the minds and hearts of his creatures to himself. His parental character is a pledge that he must intend this ineffable happiness for his rational offspring; and revelation is suited to this end, not only by unfolding new doctrines in relation to God, but by the touching proof which it carries in itself of the special interest which He takes in his human family. There is plainly an expression of deeper concern, a more affectionate character, in this mode of instruction, than in teaching us by the fixed order of nature. Revelation is God speaking to us in our own language, in the accents which human friendship employs. It shows a love, breaking through the reserve and distance, which we all feel to belong to the method of teaching us by his works alone. It fastens our minds on him. We can look on nature, and not think of the Being whose glory it declares; but God is indissolubly connected with, and indeed is a part of, the idea of revelation. How much nearer does this direct intercourse bring him to the mass of mankind! On this account revelation would seem to me important, were it simply to repeat the teachings of nature. This reiteration of great truths in a less formal style, in kinder, more familiar tones, is peculiarly fitted to awaken the soul to the presence and benignity of its heavenly Parent. I see, then, in revelation a purpose corresponding with that for which human teaching was instituted. Both are designed to bring together the teacher and the taught in pure affections.

Let me next ask you to consider what is the kind of instruction which the higher minds among men are chiefly called to impart to the inferior. You will here see another agreement between revelation and that ordinary human teaching which is the great instrument of improving the race. What kind of instruction is it which parents, which the aged and experienced, are most anxious to give to the young, and on which the safety of this class mainly depends? It is instruction in relation to the future, to their adult years, such

as is suited to prepare them for the life that is opening before them. It is God's will, when He gives us birth, that we should be forewarned of the future stages of our being, of approaching manhood or womanhood, of the scenes, duties, labors, through which we are to pass; and for this end He connects us with beings who have traversed the paths on which we are entering, and whose duty it is to train us for a more advanced age. Instruction in regard to futurity is the great means of improvement. Now the Christian revelation has for its aim to teach us on this very subject, —to disclose the life which is before us, and to fit us for it. A future state is its constant burden. That God should give us light in regard to that state, if He designs us for it, is what we should expect from his solicitude to teach us in regard to what is future in our earthly existence. Nature thirsts for, and analogy almost promises, some illumination on the subject of human destiny. This topic I shall insist on more largely hereafter. I wish now simply to show you the agreement of revelation, in this particular, with the ordinary providence of God.

I proceed to another order of reflections, which to my own mind is particularly suited to meet the vague idea that revelation is at war with nature. To judge of nature, we should look at its highest rank of beings. We should inquire of the human soul, which we all feel to be a higher existence than matter. Now I maintain that there are in the human soul wants, deep wants, which are not met by the influences and teaching which the ordinary course of things affords. I am aware that this is a topic to provoke distrust, if not derision, in the low-minded and sensual; but I speak what I do know; and nothing moves me so little as the scoffs of men who despise their own nature. One of the most striking views of human nature is the disproportion between what it conceives and thirsts for, and what it finds or can secure in the range of the present state. It is prone to stretch beyond its present bounds. Ideas of excellence and happiness spring up which it cannot realize now. It carries within itself a standard, of which it daily and hourly falls short. This self-contradiction is the source of many sharp pains. There is, in most men, a dim consciousness, at least, of being made for something higher than they have gained, a feeling of internal discord, a want of some stable good, a disappointment in merely outward acquisitions: and in proportion as these convictions and wants become distinct, they break out in desires of illumination and aids from God not found in nature. I am aware that the wants of which I have spoken are but faintly developed in the majority of men. Accustomed to give their thoughts and strength to the outward world, multitudes do not penetrate and cannot interpret their own souls. They impute to outward causes the miseries which spring from an internal fountain. They do not detain, and are scarcely conscious of, the better thoughts and feelings which sometimes dart through their minds. Still there are few who are not sometimes dissatisfied with themselves, who do not feel the wrong which they have done to themselves, and who do not desire a purer and nobler state of mind. The suddenness with which the multitude are thrilled by the voice of fervent eloquence, when it speaks to them of the spiritual world in tones of reality, shows the deep wants of human nature even amidst ignorance and degradation. But all men do not give themselves wholly to outward things. There are those, and not a few, who are more true to their nature, and ought therefore to be regarded as its more faithful representatives; and in such the wants of which I have spoken are unfolded with energy. There are those who feel painfully the weight of their present imperfection; who are fired by rare examples of magnanimity and devotion; who desire nothing so intensely as power over temptation, as elevation above selfish passions, as conformity of will to the inward law of duty, as the peace of conscious rectitude and religious trust; who would rejoice to lay down the present life for that spotless, bright, disinterested virtue, of which they have the type or germ in their own minds. Such men can find no resource but in God, and are prepared to welcome a revelation of his merciful purposes as an unspeakable gift. I say, then, that the human mind has wants which nature does not answer. And these are not accidental feelings, unaccountable ca-

prices, but are deep, enduring, and reproduced in all ages under one or another form. They breathe through the works of genius; they burn in the loftiest souls. Here are principles implanted by God in the highest order of his creatures on earth, to which revelation is adapted; and I say, then, that revelation is any thing but hostility to nature.

I will offer but one more view in illustration of this topic. I ask you to consider on what principle of human nature the Christian revelation is intended to bear and to exert influence, and then to inquire whether the peculiar importance of this principle be not a foundation for peculiar interposition in its behalf. If so, revelation may be said to be a demand of the human soul, and its imagined incongruity with nature will disappear. For what principle or faculty of the mind, then, was Christianity intended? It was plainly not given to enrich the intellect by teaching philosophy, or to perfect the imagination and taste by furnishing sublime and beautiful models of composition. It was not meant to give sagacity in public life, or skill and invention in common affairs. It was undoubtedly designed to develop all these faculties, but secondarily, and through its influence on a higher principle. It addresses itself primarily, and is especially adapted, to the moral power in man. It regards and is designed for man as a moral being, endued with conscience or the principle of duty, who is capable of that peculiar form of excellence which we call righteousness or virtue, and exposed to that peculiar evil, guilt. Now the question offers itself, Why does God employ such extraordinary means for promoting virtue rather than science, for aiding conscience rather than intellect and our other powers? Is there a foundation in the moral principle for peculiar interpositions in its behalf? I affirm that there is. I affirm that a broad distinction exists between our moral nature and our other capacities. Conscience is the supreme power within us. Its essence, its grand characteristic, is sovereignty. It speaks with a divine authority. Its office is to command, to rebuke, to reward; and happiness and honor depend on the reverence with which we listen to it. All our other powers become useless, and worse than useless, unless controlled by the principle of duty. Virtue is the supreme good, the supreme beauty, the divinest of God's gifts, the healthy and harmonious unfolding of the soul, and the germ of immortality. It is worth every sacrifice, and has power to transmute sacrifices and sufferings into crowns of glory and rejoicing. Sin, vice, is an evil of its own kind, and not to be confounded with any other. Who does not feel at once the broad distinction between misfortune and crime, between disease of body and turpitude of soul? Sin, vice, is war with the highest power in our own breasts, and in the universe. It makes a being odious to himself, and arms against him the principle of rectitude in God and in all pure beings It poisons or dries up the fountains of enjoyment, and adds unspeakable weight to the necessary pains of life. It is not a foreign evil, but a blight and curse in the very centre of our being. Its natural associates are fear, shame, and self-torture; and, whilst it robs the present of consolation, it leaves the future without hope. Now I say that in this peculiar ruin wrought by moral evil, and in this peculiar worth of moral goodness, we see reasons for special interpositions of God in behalf of virtue, in resistance of sin. It becomes the Infinite Father to manifest peculiar interest in the moral condition and wants of his creatures. Their great and continued corruption is an occasion for peculiar methods of relief; and a revelation given to restore them, and carry them forward to perfection, has an end which justifies, if it does not demand, this signal expression of parental love.

The preceding views have been offered, not as sufficient to prove that a revelation has been given, but for the purpose of removing the vague notion that it is at war with nature, and of showing its consistency with the spirit and principles of the divine administration. I proceed now to consider the direct and positive proofs of Christianity, beginning with some remarks on the nature and sufficiency of the evidence on which it chiefly relies.

Christianity sprung up about eighteen hundred years ago. Of course its evidences are to be sought in history. We must go back to the time of its birth, and understand the condition in which

it found the world, as well as the circumstances of its origin, progress, and establishment; and happily, on these points, we have all the light necessary to a just judgment. We must not imagine that a religion which bears the date of so distant an age must therefore be involved in obscurity. We know enough of the earliest times of Christianity to place the question of its truth within our reach. The past may be known as truly as the present; and I deem this principle so important in the present discussion that I ask your attention to it.

The past, I have said, may be known; nor is this all; we derive from it our most important knowledge. Former times are our chief instructors. Our political as well as religious institutions, our laws, customs, modes of thinking, arts of life, have come down from earlier ages, and most of them are unintelligible without a light borrowed from history.

Not only are we able to know the nearest of past ages, or those which touch on our own times, but those which are remote. No educated man doubts any more of the victories of Alexander or Cæsar, before Christ, than of Napoleon's conquests in our own day. So open is our communication with some ages of antiquity, so many are the records which they have transmitted, that we know them even better than nearer times; and a religion which grew up eighteen hundred years ago may be more intelligible and accompanied with more decisive proofs of truth or falsehood, than one which is not separated from us by a fourth part of that duration.

From the nature of things, we may and must know much of the past; for the present has grown out of the past, — is its legacy, fruit, representative, and is deeply impressed with it. Events do not expire at the moment of their occurrence. Nothing takes place without leaving traces behind it; and these are in many cases so distinct and various as to leave not a doubt of their cause. We all understand, how, in the material world, events testify of themselves to future ages. Should we visit an unknown region, and behold masses of lava covered with soil of different degrees of thickness, and surrounding a blackened crater, we should have as firm a persuasion of the occurrence of remote and successive volcanic eruptions as if we had lived through the ages in which they took place. The chasms of the earth would report how terribly it had been shaken, and the awful might of long-extinguished fires would be written in desolations which ages had failed to efface. Now conquest, and civil and religious revolutions, leave equally their impressions on society, leave institutions, manners, and a variety of monuments, which are inexplicable without them, and which, taken together, admit not a doubt of their occurrence. The past stretches into the future, the present is crowded with it, and can be interpreted only by the light of history.

But besides these effects and remains of earlier times, we have other and more distinct memorials of the past, which, when joined with the former, place it clearly within our knowledge. I refer to books. A book is more than a monument of a preceding age. It is a voice coming to us over the interval of centuries. Language, when written, as truly conveys to us another's mind as when spoken. It is a species of personal intercourse. By it the wise of former times give us their minds as really as if by some miracle they were to rise from the dead and communicate with us by speech.

From these remarks we learn that Christianity is not placed beyond the reach of our investigations by the remoteness of its origin; and they are particularly applicable to the age in which the gospel was first given to the world. Our religion did not spring up before the date of authentic history. Its birth is not hidden in the obscurity of early and fabulous times. We have abundant means of access to its earliest stages; and, what is very important, the deep and peculiar interest which Christianity has awakened has fixed the earnest attention of the most learned and sagacious men on the period of its original publication, so that no age of antiquity is so thoroughly understood. Christianity sprung up at a time when the literature and philosophy of Greece was spread far and wide, and had given a great impulse to the human mind; and when Rome, by unexampled conquests,

had become a centre and bond of union to the civilized world and to many half-civilized regions, and had established a degree of communication between distant countries before unknown. We are not, then, left to grope our way by an unsteady light. Our means of information are various and great. We have incontestable facts in relation to the origin of our religion, from which its truth may be easily deduced. A few of these facts, which form the first steps of our reasoning on this subject, I will now lay before you.

1. First, then, we know with certainty the *time* when Christianity was founded. As to this fact, there is and can be no doubt. Heathen and Christian historians speak on this point with one voice. Christianity was first preached in the age of Tiberius. Not a trace of it exists before that period, and afterwards the marks and proofs of its existence are so obvious and acknowledged as to need no mention. Here is one important fact placed beyond doubt.

2. In the next place, we know the *place* where Christianity sprung up. No one can dispute the country of its birth. Its Jewish origin is not only testified by all history, but is stamped on its front and woven into its frame. The language in which it is conveyed carries us at once to Judea. Its name is derived from Jewish prophecy. None but Jews could have written the New Testament. So natural, undesigned, and perpetual are the references and allusions of the writers to the opinions and manners of that people, so accustomed are they to borrow from the same source the metaphors, similitudes, types, by which they illustrate their doctrines, that Christianity, as to its outward form, may be said to be steeped in Judaism. We have, then, another established fact. We know where it was born.

3. Again, we know the individual by whom Christianity was founded. We know its Author, and from the nature of the case this fact cannot but be known. The founder of a religion is naturally and necessarily the object of general inquiry. Wherever the new faith is carried, the first and most eager questions are, "From whom does it come? On whose authority does it rest?" Curiosity is never more intense than in regard to the individual who claims a divine commission and sends forth a new religion. He is the last man to be overlooked or mistaken. In the case of Christianity especially, its Founder may be said to have been forced on men's notice, for his history forms an essential part of his religion. Christianity is not an abstract doctrine, which keeps its Author out of sight. He is its very soul. It rests on him, and finds its best illustration in his life. These reflections, however, may be spared. The simple consideration that Christianity must have had an author, and that it has been always ascribed to Jesus, and to no one else, places the great fact which I would establish beyond doubt.

4. I next observe, that we not only know the Founder of Christianity, but the ministers by whom he published and spread it through the world. A new religion must have propagators, first teachers, and with these it must become intimately associated. A community can no more be ignorant as to the teachers who converted it to a new faith, than as to the conqueror who subjected it to a new government; and where the art of writing is known and used for recording events, the latter fact will not more certainly be transmitted to posterity than the former. We have the testimony of all ages that the men called Apostles were the first propagators of Christianity, nor have any others been named as sustaining this office; and it is impossible that, on such a point, such testimony should be false.

5. Again, we know not only when, and where, and by whom Christianity was introduced; we know, from a great variety of sources, what in the main this religion was, as it came from the hands of its Founder. To assure ourselves on this point, we need not recur to any sacred books. From the age following that of Christ and the Apostles, down to the present day, we have a series, and an almost numberless host, of writers on the subject of Christianity; and whilst we discover in them a great diversity of opinions and opposite interpretations of some of Christ's teachings, yet on the whole they so far agree in the great facts of his history, and in certain great principles of his religion, that we cannot mistake as to the general

character of the system which he taught. There is not a shadow of reason for the opinion that the original system which Jesus taught was lost, and a new one substituted and fastened on the world in his name. The many and great corruptions of Christianity did not and could not hide its principal features. The greatest corruptions took place in the century which followed the death of the Apostles, when certain wild and visionary sects endeavored to establish a union between the new religion and the false philosophy to which they had been wedded in their heathen state. You may judge of their character and claims, when I tell you that they generally agreed in believing that the God who made the world, and who was worshipped by the Jews, was not the supreme God, but an inferior and imperfect deity, and that matter had existed from eternity, and was essentially and unchangeably evil. Yet these sects endeavored to sustain themselves on the writings which the great body of Christians received and honored as the works of the Apostles; and, amidst their delusions, they recognized and taught the miracles of Christ, his resurrection, and the most important principles of his religion; so that the general nature of Christianity, as it came from its Founder, may be ascertained beyond a doubt. Here another great point is fixed.

6. I have now stated to you several particulars relating to Christianity which admit no doubt; and these indisputable facts are of great weight in a discussion of the Christian evidences. There is one point more, of importance, which cannot be settled so expeditiously as these. I hope, however, enough may be said to place it beyond doubt, without exceeding the limits of a discourse: and I invite to it your serious attention. I say, then, that we not only know in general what Christianity was at its first promulgation; but we know precisely what its first propagators taught, for we have their writings. We have their religion under their own hands. We have particularly four narratives of the life, works, and words of their Master, which put us in possession of his most private as well as public teaching. It is true that without those writings we should still have strong arguments for the truth of Christianity; but we should be left in doubt as to some of its important principles; and its internal evidence, which corroborates, and, as some think, exceeds the external, would be very much impaired. The possession of the writings of the first propagators of the gospel must plainly render us great aid in judging of its claims. These writings, I say, we have, and this point I would now establish.

I am aware that the question to which I now ask your attention is generally confined to professed students. But it is one on which men of good sense are competent to judge, and its great importance gives it a claim to the serious consideration of every Christian.

The question is, whether the four Gospels are genuine, — that is, whether they were written by those to whom they are ascribed. To answer it, let us consider how we determine the genuineness of books in general. I begin with the obvious remark that to know the author of a work, it is not necessary that we should be eye-witnesses of its composition. Perhaps of the numberless publications of the present day, we have not seen one growing under the pen of the writer. By far the greater number come to us across the ocean, and yet we are as confident in regard to their authors as if we had actually seen them first committed to paper. The ascription of a book to an individual, during his life, by those who are interested in him, and who have the best means of knowing the truth, removes all doubts as to its author. A strong and wide-spread conviction of this kind must have a cause, and can only be explained by the actual production of the work by the reputed writer. It should here be remembered that there is a strong disposition in men to ascertain the author of an important and interesting work. We have had a remarkable illustration of this in our own times. The author of "Waverley" saw fit to wrap himself for a time in mystery; and what was the consequence? No subject in politics or science was agitated more generally than the question to whom the work belonged. It was not only made a topic in almost every periodical publication, but one book was expressly written to solve the problem. The in-

stance, I know, was remarkable; but this inquisitiveness in regard to books is a principle of our nature, and is particularly active when the book in debate is a work of singular authority.

I have spoken of the confidence which we feel as to the authors of books published in our own times. But our certainty is not confined to these. Every reading man is as sure that Hume and Robertson wrote the histories which bear their names, as that Scott has in our own time sent out the "Life of Bonaparte." Those eminent men were born more than a hundred years ago, and they died before the birth of most to whom I speak; but the communication between their times and our own is so open and various, that we know their literary labors as well as those of the present day. Not a few persons now living have had intercourse with some of the contemporaries of these historians; and through this channel in particular we of this generation have the freest access to the preceding, and know its convictions in regard to the authors of interesting books as fully as if we had lived in it ourselves. That the next age will have the same communication with the present as the present has with the past, and that these convictions of our predecessors will be transmitted by us to our immediate successors, you will easily comprehend; and you will thus learn the respect which is due to the testimony of the third generation on such a subject.

In what has now been said, we see with what confidence and certainty we determine the authors of writings published in our own age or in the times nearest our own. These remarks may be easily applied to the productions of antiquity. When the question arises, whether an ancient book was written by the individual whose name it bears, we must inquire into the opinion of his contemporaries, or of those who succeeded his contemporaries so nearly as to have intimate communication with them. The competency of these to a just judgment on the subject we have seen; and if they have transmitted their convictions to us in undisputed writings, it ought to be decisive. On this testimony, we ascribe many ancient books to their authors with the firmest faith; and, in truth, we receive as genuine many works of antiquity on far inferior proofs. There are many books of which no notice can be found for several ages after the time of their reputed authors. Still the fact that, as soon as they are named, they are ascribed undoubtingly, and by general consent, to certain authors, is esteemed a sufficient reason for regarding them as their productions, unless some opposite proof can be adduced. This general reception of a work as having come from a particular writer is an effect which requires a cause; and the most natural and obvious explanation of his being named, rather than any other man, is that he actually composed it.

I now proceed to apply these principles to the four histories of Christ, commonly called Gospels. The question is, What testimony respecting their authors has come down to us from the age of their reputed authors, or from times so near it and so connected with it, as to be faithful representatives of its convictions? By this testimony, as we have seen, the genuineness of the books must be decided. And I begin with admitting that no evidence on the subject is to be derived from contemporary writers No author, living in the age of the first propagators of Christianity, has named the Gospels. The truth is, that no undisputed writings of their immediate converts have been preserved. A few tracts, bearing the name of men acquainted with the Apostles, have indeed come down to us: but so much uncertainty hangs over their origin that I am unwilling to ground on them any reasoning. Nor ought we to wonder that the works of private Christians of the primitive age are wanting to us; for that was an age of persecution, when men were called to *die* rather than *write* for their religion. I suppose, too, that during the times of the Apostles, little importance was attached to any books but such as were published or authorized by these eminent men; and, of course, what was written by others was little circulated, and soon passed away.

The undisputed writings of the early Christians begin about seventy years after the times of the Apostles. At that period there probably remained none of the first converts or contempo-

raries of the Apostles. But there were living not a few who had been acquainted with the last survivors of that honored generation. When the Apostles died, they must have left behind a multitude who had known them; and of these not a few must have continued many years, and must have had intercourse with the new generation which sprung up after the apostolic age. Now in the times of this generation, the series of Christian authors begins. Although, then, we have no productions of the apostolic age to bear witness to the Gospels, we have writings from the ages which immediately followed it, and which, from their connection with it, ought, as we have seen, to be regarded as most credible witnesses on such a subject. What, then, do these writings teach? I answer, their testimony is clear and full. We learn from them not only that the Gospels existed in those times, but that they were widely diffused, that they were received as the writings of the men whose names they bear, and that they were regarded with a confidence and veneration yielded to no other books. They are quoted as books given by their revered authors to the Christian community, to be public and enduring records of the religion; and they are spoken of as read in the assemblies which were held for the inculcation and extension of the faith. I ask you to weigh this testimony. It comes to us from times connected intimately with the first age. Had the Gospels been invented and first circulated among the generation which succeeded the Apostles, could that generation have received them as books known and honored before their time, and as the most authoritative and precious records transmitted to them from their fathers and predecessors? The case may seem too plain to require explanation; but as many are unaccustomed to inquiries of this kind, I will offer an example. You well know that nearly a century ago a great religious excitement was spread through this country chiefly by the ministry of Whitefield. Suppose, now, that four books were at this moment to come forth, bearing the names of four of the most distinguished men of that period, of Whitefield, of the venerable Edwards, and of two others intimately associated with them in their religious labors; and suppose these books not only to furnish narratives of what then took place, but to contain principles and rules urged with all possible earnestness and authority on the disciples or admirers of these religious leaders. Do you think it possible that their followers of the present day, and the public, could be made to believe that these books had been published by their pretended authors, had been given as standards to a religious community, and had been handed down as venerated books, when no such works had been heard of before? This is but a faint illustration: for Whitefield and Edwards are names of little weight or authority, compared with what the Apostles possessed in the primitive church.

We have, then, strong and sufficient reasons for believing that the histories called Gospels were received, in the times of the Apostles, as works of those whose names they bear; and were handed down as theirs with veneration by their contemporaries. Will any say that all this may be true, but that, during the lives of the Apostles, books forged in their names may have obtained general currency? To this extravagant supposition it would be sufficient to reply, according to my previous remarks, that the general ascription of a book to an author during his life is the ground on which the genuineness of the most unquestioned works depends. But I would add that this evidence is singularly conclusive in the present case. The original propagators of Christianity, to whom the Gospels were ascribed, were, from their office, among the public men of their age. They must have travelled extensively. They must have been consulted by inhabitants of various countries on the subject of the new religion. They must have been objects of deep interest to the first converts. They lived in the world's eye. Their movements, visits, actions, words, and writings must have awakened attention. Books from their hands must have produced a great sensation. We cannot conceive a harder task than to impose writings, forged in their name, on Christians and Christian communities thus intimately connected with them, and so alive to their efforts for the general cause. The opportunities of detecting the falsehood were abundant; and to

imagine falsehood to prosper under such circumstances argues a strange ignorance of literary history and of human nature.

Let me add, that the motives of the first Christians to ascertain distinctly whether writings ascribed to the Apostles were truly theirs, were the strongest which can be conceived. I have mentioned, in my previous remarks, the solicitude of the world to learn the author of "Waverley." The motive was mere curiosity; and yet to what earnest inquiries were multitudes impelled. The name of the author was of little or no moment. The book was the same, its portraits equally vivid, its developments of the human heart equally true and powerful, whether the author were known or not. So it is with most works. Books of science, philosophy, morals, and polite literature, owe their importance and authority, not to their writers, but to their contents. Now, the four Gospels were different in this respect. They were not the same to the first converts, come from whom they might. If written by Apostles or by their associates, they had an authority and sacredness which could belong to them on no other condition. They became books of laws to the Christian community, became binding on their consciences and lives. To suppose such books received blindly and without inquiry, by great numbers who had all the means of ascertaining their true origin, is to suppose the first converts insane or idiots, — a charge which I believe their worst enemies will not think of urging against them, and which the vast superiority of their religious and moral system to all the philosophical systems of the times abundantly disproves.

I have now finished what is called the historical or external evidence of the genuineness of the four Gospels, — that is, the evidence drawn from their being received and revered as the writings of the Apostles in the first and succeeding ages of Christianity. But before leaving this head, I would notice a difficulty which may press on some minds. I suppose that many of you have heard that very early, probably about the beginning of the second century, writings were forged in the name of the Apostles; and some may ask why the four Gospels may not belong to this description. The answer is, that the Gospels, as we have seen, were received and honored by the great body of Christians, in the first and succeeding ages of Christianity, as writings of Apostles or their associates. The forgeries are known to be forgeries, because they were not so received, because they were held in no veneration, but were rejected as fictitious by the Christian community. Here is a broad line of distinction. It must not surprise us that, in the great excitement produced by the first publication and triumphs of Christianity, a variety of extravagant notions should spring up, and that attempts should be made to blend the new religion with established systems; and as the names of the first propagators of the gospel were held in peculiar reverence, we cannot wonder that the leaders of sects should strive to attach an apostolic sanction to their opinions, by sending abroad partly true and partly false accounts of the preaching of these eminent men. Whether these writings were sent forth as compositions of the Apostles, or only as records of their teaching, made by their hearers, is a question open to debate; but as to their origin there can be little doubt. We can account for their existence, and for the degree of favor which they obtained. They were generally written to give authority to the dreams or speculations of some extravagant sects, to which they were very much confined, and with which most of them passed away. There is not a shadow of reason for confounding with these our Gospels, which were spread from the beginning through the Christian world, and were honored and transmitted as the works of the venerated men by whose names they were called.

Having now given the historical argument in favor of the genuineness of the Gospels, that is, in favor of their being written by their reputed authors, I now add that there are several presumptive and internal proofs of the same truth, which, taken alone, have great weight, and, when connected with the preceding, form an amount of evidence not easily withstood. I have time to glance at only a few of these.

It is a presumption in favor of the claims of an author, that the book ascribed to him has never been assigned to any other individual. Now I am not

aware that unbelief has in any age named any individuals to whom the Gospels may be traced rather than to those whose names they bear. We are not called upon to choose between different writers. In common cases, this absence of rival claims is considered as decisive in favor of the reputed author, unless the books themselves give ground to suspect another hand. Why shall not this principle be applied to the Gospels as well as to all other works?

Another presumption in favor of the belief that these histories were written by the first propagators of Christianity, arises from the consideration that such books were to be expected from them. It is hardly conceivable that the Apostles, whose zeal carried abroad their system through so many nations, and who lived in an age of reading and writing, should leave their doctrines to tradition, should neglect the ordinary precaution of embodying them in the only permanent form, the only one in which they could be accurately transmitted, and by which all other systems were preserved. It is reasonable to suppose that they wrote what they taught; and if so, it is hardly possible that their writings should be lost. Their accounts must have been received and treasured up just as we know the Gospels were cherished; and hence arises a strong presumption in favor of the genuineness of these books.

Again, these books carry one strong mark of having been written in the time of the Apostles. They contain no trace of later times, nothing to indicate that the authors belonged to another age. Now, to those of you who are acquainted with such subjects, it is hardly necessary to observe how difficult it is for a writer to avoid betraying the period in which he lives; and the cause is very obvious. Every age has its peculiarities, — has manners, events, feelings, words, phrases of its own; and a man brought up among these falls so naturally under their influence, and incorporates them so fully with his own mind, that they break out and manifest themselves, almost necessarily and without his consciousness, in his words and writings. The present makes an impression incomparably more vivid than the past, and accordingly traces of the real age of a writer may almost always be discovered by a critical eye, however anxious he may be to assume the style and character of a preceding age. Now the Gospels betray no marks of the feelings, manners, contentions, events of a period later than that in which the Apostles lived; and when we consider that, with the exception of Luke's history, they have all the appearance of having come from plain men, unused to composition, this argument applies to them with peculiar force. Under this head, I might place before you the evidence of the genuineness of these books derived from the language, dialect, idiom, in which they are written. You can easily understand that by these helps the country and age of a writing may often be traced; but the argument belongs to the learned. It may, however, be satisfactory to know, that the profoundest scholars see in the dialect and idiom of the Gospels a precise accordance with what might be expected of Jews, writing in the age of the Apostles.

Another internal proof, and one within the reach of all, may be gathered from the style and character of the evangelical narratives. They are written with the simplicity, minuteness, and ease which are the natural tones of truth, which belong to writers thoroughly acquainted with their subjects, and writing from reality. You discover in them nothing of the labor, caution, and indistinctness which can scarcely be escaped by men who are assuming a character not their own, and aiming to impose on the world. There is a difference which we have all discerned and felt, though we cannot describe it, between an honest, simple-hearted witness, who tells what he has seen or is intimately acquainted with, and the false witness, who affects an intimate knowledge of events and individuals, which are in whole or in part his own fabrication. Truth has a native frankness, an unaffected freedom, a style and air of its own, and never were narratives more strongly characterized by these than the Gospels. It is a striking circumstance in these books, that whilst the life and character which they portray are the most extraordinary in history, the style is the most artless. There is no straining for epithets or for elevation of language to suit the dignity of the great personage who is the subject. You hear plain men telling you what

they know, of a character which they venerated too much to think of adorning or extolling. It is also worthy of remark, that the character of Jesus, though the most peculiar and exalted in history, though the last to be invented and the hardest to be sustained, is yet unfolded through a great variety of details and conditions with perfect unity and consistency. The strength of this proof can only be understood by those who are sufficiently acquainted with literary history to appreciate the difficulty of accomplishing a consistent and successful forgery. Such consistency is, in the present case, an almost infallible test. Suppose four writers, of a later age, to have leagued together in the scheme of personating the first propagators of Christianity, and of weaving, in their name, the histories of their Master's life. Removed as these men would have been from the original, and having no model or type of his character in the elevation of their own minds, they must have portrayed him with an unsteady hand, must have marred their work with incongruous features, must have brought down their hero on some occasion to the ordinary views and feelings of men, and in particular must have been warped in their selection and representation of incidents by the private purpose which led them to this singular co-operation. That four writers, under such circumstances, should sustain throughout so peculiar and elevated a character as Jesus, and should harmonize with each other in the delineation, would be a prodigy which no genius, however pre-eminent, could achieve. I say, then, that the narratives bear strong internal marks of having been drawn from the living original, by those who had the best means of knowing his character and life.

So various, strong, sufficient are the proofs that the four Gospels are the works of the first preachers of Christianity, whose name they bear. I will only add that the genuineness of few ancient books is supported by proofs equally strong. Most of the works which have come down to us from antiquity, and which are ascribed to their reputed writers with undoubting confidence, are so ascribed on evidence inferior to that on which the claims of the Evangelists rest. On this point, therefore, not a doubt should remain.

Here I pause. The proofs of Christianity which are involved in or founded on the facts now established, will be the subjects of future discussion.

PART II.

I HAVE now stated some of the great facts relating to the origin of Christianity of which we have clear and full proof. We know when and where this religion sprung up. We know its Author, and the men whom he employed as the first propagators of his doctrine. We know the great features of the religion as it was originally taught; and still more, we have the writings of its first teachers, by which its precise character is placed beyond doubt. I now proceed to lay before you some of the arguments in support of Christianity which are involved in or are founded on these facts. I must confine myself to a few, and will select those to which some justice may be done in the compass of a discourse.

I. I believe Christianity to be true, or to have come from God, because it seems to me impossible to trace it to any other origin. It must have had a cause, and no other adequate cause can be assigned. The incongruity between this religion and all the circumstances amidst which it grew up is so remarkable, that we are compelled to look beyond and above this world for its explanation. When I go back to the origin of Christianity, and place myself in the age and country of its birth, I can find nothing in the opinions of men, or in the state of society, which can account for its beginning or diffusion. There was no power on earth to create or uphold such a system. There was nothing congenial with it in Judaism, in heathenism, or in the state of society among the most cultivated communities. If you study the religions, governments, and philosophical systems of that age, you will discover in them not even a leaning towards Christianity. It sprung up in opposition to all, making no compromise with human prejudice or passion: and it sprung up, not only superior to all, but possessing at its very beginning a perfection which has been the admiration of ages, and which, instead of being dimmed by time, has come forth more brightly, in proportion to the progress of the human mind.

I know, indeed, that at the origin of our religion, the old heathen worship had fallen into disrepute among the enlightened classes through the Roman Empire, and was gradually losing its hold on the populace. Accordingly, some have pretended that Christianity grew from the ruins of the ancient faith. But this is not true; for the decline of the heathen systems was the product of causes singularly adverse to the origination of such a system as Christianity. One cause was the monstrous depravity of the age, which led multitudes to an utter scorn of religion in all its forms and restraints, and which prepared others to exchange their old worship for still grosser and more licentious superstitions, particularly for the magical arts of Egypt. Surely this corruption of manners, this wide-wasting moral pestilence, will not be considered by any as a germ of the Christian religion. Another principal agent in loosening the foundations of the old systems was philosophy, — a noble effort, indeed, of the human intellect, but one which did nothing to prepare the way for Christianity. The most popular systems of philosophy at the birth of Christianity were the Sceptical and the Epicurean, the former of which turned religion into a jest, denied the possibility of arriving at truth, and cast the mind on an ocean of doubt in regard to every subject of inquiry; whilst the latter placed happiness in ease, inculcated a calm indifference both as to this world and the next, and would have set down the Christian doctrine of self-sacrifice, of suffering for truth and duty, as absolute insanity. Now I ask in what single point do these systems touch Christianity, or what impulse could they have given to its invention? There was, indeed, another philosophical sect of a nobler character, — I mean the Stoical. This maintained that virtue was the supreme good, and it certainly nurtured some firm and lofty spirits amidst the despotism which then ground all classes in the dust. But the self-reliance, sternness, apathy, and pride of the Stoic, his defiance and scorn of mankind, his want of sympathy with human suffering, and his extravagant exaggerations of his own virtue, placed this sect in singular opposition to Christianity: so that our religion might as soon have sprung from Scepticism and Epicureanism, as from Stoicism. There was another system, if it be worthy of the name, which prevailed in Asia, and was not unknown to the Jews, often called the oriental philosophy. But this, though certainly an improvement on the common heathenism, was visionary and mystical, and placed happiness in an intuition or immediate perception of God, which was to be gained by contemplation and ecstasies, by emaciation of the body, and desertion of the world. I need not tell you how infinitely removed was the practical, benevolent spirit of Christianity from this spurious sanctity and profitless enthusiasm. I repeat it, then, that the various causes which were silently operating against the established heathen systems in the time of Christ had no tendency to suggest and spread such a religion as he brought, but were as truly hostile to it as the worst forms of heathenism.

We cannot find, then, the origin of Christianity in the heathen world. Shall we look for it in the Jewish? This topic is too familiar to need much exposition. You know the character, feelings, expectations of the descendants of Abraham at the appearing of Jesus; and you need not be told that a system more opposed to the Jewish mind than that which he taught cannot be imagined. There was nothing friendly to it in the soil or climate of Judea. As easily might the luxuriant trees of our forest spring from the sands of an Arabian desert. There was never perhaps a national character so deeply stamped as the Jewish. Ages after ages of unparalleled suffering have done little to wear away its indelible features. In the time of Jesus the whole influence of education and religion was employed to fix it in every member of the state. In the bosom of this community, and among its humblest classes, sprung up Christianity, — a religion as unfettered by Jewish prejudices, as untainted by the earthly, narrow views of the age, as if it had come from another world. Judaism was all around it, but did not mar it by one trace, or sully its brightness by a single breath. Can we find, then, the cause of Christianity in the Jewish any more than in the heathen world?

Christianity, I maintain, was not the growth of any of the circumstances,

principles, or feelings of the age in which it appeared. In truth, one of the great distinctions of the Gospel is, that it did not *grow*. The conception which filled the mind of Jesus, of a religion more spiritual, generous, comprehensive, and unworldly than Judaism, and destined to take its place, was not of gradual formation. We detect no signs of it, and no efforts to realize it, before his time; nor is there an appearance of its having been gradually matured by Jesus himself. Christianity was delivered from the first in its full proportions, in a style of singular freedom and boldness, and without a mark of painful elaboration. This suddenness with which this religion broke forth, this maturity of the system at the very moment of its birth, this absence of gradual development, seems to me a strong mark of its divine original. If Christianity be a human invention, then I can be pointed to something in the history of the age which impelled and fitted the mind of its author to its production; then I shall be able to find some germ of it, some approximation to it, in the state of things amidst which it first appeared. How was it that from thick darkness there burst forth at once meridian light? Were I told that the sciences of the civilized world had sprung up to perfection at once, amidst a barbarous horde, I should pronounce it incredible. Nor can I easily believe that Christianity, — the religion of unbounded love, a religion which broke down the barrier between Jew and Gentile, and the barriers between nations, which proclaimed one Universal Father, which abolished forms and substituted the worship of the soul, which condemned alike the false greatness of the Roman and the false holiness of the Jew, and which taught an elevation of virtue that the growing knowledge of succeeding ages has made more admirable, — I say, I cannot easily believe that such a religion was suddenly, immediately struck out by human ingenuity, among a people distinguished by bigotry and narrowness of spirit, by superstitious reliance on outward worship, by hatred and scorn of other nations, and by the proud, impatient hope of soon bending all nations to their sway.

Christianity, I repeat it, was not the growth of the age in which it appeared. It had no sympathy with that age. It was the echo of no sect or people. It stood alone at the moment of its birth. It used not a word of conciliation. It stooped to no error or passion. It had its own tone, — the tone of authority and superiority to the world. It struck at the root of what was everywhere called glory, reversed the judgments of all former ages, passed a condemning sentence on the idols of this world's admiration, and held forth, as the perfection of human nature, a spirit of love, so pure and divine, so free and full, so mild and forgiving, so invincible in fortitude yet so tender in its sympathies, that even now few comprehend it in its extent and elevation. Such a religion had not its origin in this world.

I have thus sought to unfold one of the evidences of Christianity. Its incongruity with the age of its birth, its freedom from earthly mixtures, its original, unborrowed, solitary greatness, and the suddenness with which it broke forth amidst the general gloom, these are to me strong indications of its divine descent. I cannot reconcile them with a human origin.

II. Having stated the argument in favor of Christianity, derived from the impossibility of accounting for it by the state of the world at the time of its birth, I proceed, in the second place, to observe that it cannot be accounted for by any of the motives which instigate men to the fabrication of religions. Its aims and objects are utterly irreconcilable with imposture. They are pure, lofty, and worthy of the most illustrious delegate of heaven. This argument deserves to be unfolded with some particularity.

Men act from motives. The inventors of religions have purposes to answer by them. Some systems have been framed by legislators to procure reverence to their laws, to bow the minds of the people to the civil power: and some have been forged by priests, to establish their sway over the multitude, to form themselves into a dominant caste, and to extort the wealth of the industrious. Now, I affirm that Christianity cannot be ascribed to any selfish, ambitious, earthly motive. It is suited to no private end. Its purpose is generous and elevated, and thus bears witness to its heavenly origin.

The great object which has seduced

men to pretend to inspiration, and to spread false religions, has been power, in one form or another, — sometimes political power, sometimes spiritual, sometimes both. Is Christianity to be explained by this selfish aim? I answer, No. I affirm that the love of power is the last principle to be charged on the Founder of our religion. Christianity is distinguished by nothing more than by its earnest enforcement of a meek and humble spirit, and by its uncompromising reprobation of that passion for dominion which had in all ages made the many the prey of the few, and had been worshipped as the attribute and impulse of the greatest minds. Its tone on this subject was original, and altogether its own. Jesus felt, as none had felt before, and as few feel now, the baseness of selfish ambition, and the grandeur of that benevolence which waives every mark of superiority, that it may more effectually bless mankind. He taught this lesson, not only in the boldest language, but, accommodating himself to the emblematical mode of religious instruction prevalent in the East, he set before his disciples a little child as their pattern, and himself washed their feet. His whole life was a commentary on his teaching. Not a trace of the passion for distinction and sway can be detected in the artless narratives of his historians. He wore no badge of superiority, exacted no signs of homage, coveted no attentions, resented no neglect. He discouraged the ruler who prostrated himself before him with flattering salutations, but received with affectionate sensibility the penitent who bathed his feet with her tears. He lived with his obscure disciples as a friend, and mixed freely with all ranks of the community. He placed himself in the way of scorn, and advanced to meet a death more suited than any other imaginable event to entail infamy on his name. Stronger marks of an infinite superiority to what the world calls glory cannot be conceived than we meet in the history of Jesus.

I have named two kinds of power, political and spiritual, as the ordinary objects of false religions. I wish to show you more particularly the elevation of Christianity above these aims. That the gospel was not framed for political purposes is too plain to require proof; but its peculiarity in this respect is not sufficiently considered. In ancient times religion was everywhere a national concern. In Judea the union between religion and government was singularly close; and political sovereignty was one of the chief splendors with which the Jewish imagination had surrounded the expected Messiah. That in such an age and country a religion should arise which hardly seems to know that government exists; which makes no reference to it except in a few general inculcations of obedience to the civil powers; which says not a word nor throws out a hint of allying itself with the state: which assumes to itself no control of political affairs, and intermeddles with no public concerns; which has no tendency, however indirect, to accumulate power in particular hands; which provides no form of national worship as a substitute for those which it was intended to destroy; and which treats the distinctions of rank and office as worthless in comparison with moral influence and an unostentatious charity; — that such a religion should spring up in such a state of the world is a remarkable fact. We here see a broad line between Christianity and other systems, and a striking proof of its originality and elevation. Other systems were framed for communities; Christianity approached men as individuals. It proposed, not the glory of the state, but the perfection of the individual mind. So far from being contrived to build up political power, Christianity tends to reduce and gradually to supplant it, by teaching men to substitute the sway of truth and love for menace and force, by spreading through all ranks a feeling of brotherhood altogether opposed to the spirit of domination, and by establishing principles which nourish self-respect in every human being, and teach the obscurest to look with an undazzled eye on the most powerful of their race.

Christianity bears no mark of the hands of a politician. One of its main purposes is to extinguish the very spirit which the ambitious statesman most anxiously cherishes, and on which he founds his success. It proscribes a narrow patriotism, shows no mercy to the spirit of conquest, requires its disciples to love other countries as truly as their own, and enjoins a spirit of peace

and forbearance in language so broad and earnest, that not a few of its professors consider war in every shape and under all circumstances as a crime. The hostility between Christianity and all the political maxims of that age cannot easily be comprehended at the present day. No doctrines were then so rooted as that conquest was the chief interest of a nation, and that an exclusive patriotism was the first and noblest of social virtues. Christianity, in loosening the tie which bound man to the state, that it might connect him with his race, opposed itself to what was deemed the vital principle of national safety and grandeur, and commenced a political revolution as original and unsparing as the religious and moral reform at which it aimed.

Christianity, then, was not framed for political purposes. But I shall be asked whether it stands equally clear of the charge of being intended to accumulate spiritual power. Some may ask, whether its Founder was not instigated by the passion for religious domination, — whether he did not aim to subdue men's minds, to dictate to the faith of the world, to make himself the leader of a spreading sect, to stamp his name as a prophet on human history, and thus to secure the prostration of multitudes to his will, more abject and entire than kings and conquerors can achieve?

To this I might reply by what I have said of the character of Jesus, and of the spirit of his religion. It is plain that the Founder of Christianity had a perception quite peculiar to himself of the moral beauty and greatness of a disinterested, meek, and self-sacrificing spirit; and such a person was not likely to meditate the subjugation of the world to himself. But, leaving this topic, I observe that, on examining Christianity, we discover none of the features of a religion framed for spiritual domination. One of the infallible marks of such a system is, that it makes some terms with the passions and prejudices of men. It does not — cannot — provoke and ally against itself all the powers, whether civil or religious, of the world. Christianity was throughout uncompromising and exasperating, and threw itself in the way of hatred and scorn. Such a system was any thing but a scheme for seizing the spiritual empire of the world.

There is another mark of a religion which springs from the love of spiritual domination. It infuses a servile spirit. Its author, desirous to stamp his name and image on his followers, has an interest in curbing the free action of their minds, imposes on them arbitrary doctrines, fastens on them badges which may separate them from others, and besets them with rules, forms, and distinctive observances, which may perpetually remind them of their relation to their chief. Now I see nothing in Christianity of this enslaving legislation. It has but one aim, which is, not to exalt its teacher, but to improve the disciple; not to fasten Christ's name on mankind, but to breathe into them his spirit of universal love. Christianity is not a religion of forms. It has but two ceremonies, as simple as they are expressive; and these hold so subordinate a place in the New Testament that some of the best Christians question or deny their permanent obligation. Neither is it a narrow creed, or a mass of doctrines which find no support in our rational nature. It may be summed up in a few great, universal, immutable principles, which reason and conscience, as far as they are unfolded, adopt and rejoice in as their own everlasting laws, and which open perpetually enlarging views to the mind. As far as I am a Christian, I am free. My religion lays on me not one chain. It does not prescribe a certain range for my mind beyond which nothing can be learned. It speaks of God as the Universal Father, and sends me to all his works for instruction. It does not hem me round with a mechanical ritual, does not enjoin forms, attitudes, and hours of prayer, does not descend to details of dress and food, does not put on me one outward badge. It teaches and enkindles love to God, but commands no precise expressions of this sentiment. It prescribes prayer; but lays the chief stress on the prayer of the closet, and treats all worship as worthless but that of the mind and heart. It teaches us to do good, but leaves us to devise for ourselves the means by which we may best serve mankind. In a word, the whole religion of Christ may be summed up in the love of God and of mankind, and it leaves the individual to cherish and express this spirit by the methods most

accordant with his own condition and peculiar mind. Christianity is eminently the religion of freedom. The views which it gives of the parental, impartial, universal goodness of God, and of the equal right of every human being to inquire into his will, and its inculcations of candor, forbearance, and mutual respect, contribute alike to freedom of thought and enlargement of the heart. I repeat it, Christianity lays on me no chains. It is any thing but a contrivance for spiritual domination.

I am aware that I shall be told that Christianity, if judged by its history, has no claim to the honorable title of a religion of liberty. I shall be told that no system of heathenism ever weighed more oppressively on men's souls; that the Christian ministry has trained tyrants, who have tortured, now the body with material fire, and now the mind with the dread of fiercer flames, and who have proscribed and punished free thought and free speech as the worst of crimes. I have no disposition to soften the features of priestly oppression; but I say, let not Christianity be made to answer for it. Christianity gives its ministers no such power. They have usurped it in the face of the sternest prohibitions, and in opposition to the whole spirit of their Master. Christianity institutes no priesthood, in the original and proper sense of that word. It has not the name of priest among its officers; nor does it confer a shadow of priestly power. It invests no class of men with peculiar sanctity, ascribing to their intercessions a special influence over God, or suspending the salvation of the private Christian on ceremonies which they alone can administer. Jesus, indeed, appointed twelve of his immediate disciples to be the great instruments of propagating his religion; but nothing can be simpler than their office. They went forth to make known through all nations the life, death, resurrection, and teachings of Jesus Christ; and this truth they spread freely and without reserve. They did not give it as a mystery to a few who were to succeed them in their office, and according to whose direction it was to be imparted to others. They communicated it to the whole body of converts, to be their equal and common property, thus securing to all the invaluable rights of the mind. It is true, they appointed ministers or teachers in the various congregations which they formed; and in that early age, when the religion was new and unknown, and when oral teaching was the only mode of communicating it, there seems to have been no way for its diffusion but this appointment of the most enlightened disciples to the work of instruction. But the New Testament nowhere intimates that these men were to monopolize the privilege of studying their religion or of teaching it to others. Not a single man can claim under Christianity the right to interpret it exclusively, or to impose his interpretation on his brethren. The Christian minister enjoys no nearer access to God, and no promise of more immediate illumination, than other men. He is not intrusted with the Christian records more than they, and by these records it is both their right and duty to try his instructions. I have here pointed out a noble peculiarity of Christianity. It is the religion of liberty. It is in no degree tainted with the passion for spiritual power. "Call no man master, for ye are all brethren," is its free and generous inculcation, and to every form of freedom it is a friend and defence.

We have seen that Christianity is not to be traced to the love of power, that master passion in the authors of false religions. I add, that no other object of a selfish nature could have led to its invention. The Gospel is not of this world. At the time of its origin no ingenuity could have brought it to bear on any private or worldly interest. Its spirit is self-denial. Wealth, ease, and honor it counts among the chief perils of life, and it insists on no duty more earnestly than on that of putting them to hazard and casting them from us if the cause of truth and humanity so require. And these maxims were not mere speculations or rhetorical commonplaces in the times of Christ and his Apostles. The first propagators of Christianity were called upon to practise what they preached, to forego every interest on its account. They could not but foreknow that a religion so uncompromising and pure would array against them the world. They did not merely take the chance of suffering, but were sure that the whole weight of scorn, pain, and worldly persecution would descend on their heads. How inexplicable,

then, is Christianity by any selfish object or any low aim!

The Gospel has but one object, and that too plain to be mistaken. In reading the New Testament, we see the greatest simplicity of aim. There is no lurking purpose, no by-end, betraying itself through attempts to disguise it. A perfect singleness of design runs through the records of the religion, and is no mean evidence of their truth. This end of Christianity is the moral perfection of the human soul. It aims and it tends, in all its doctrines, precepts, and promises, to rescue men from the power of moral evil; to unite them to God by filial love, and to one another in the bonds of brotherhood; to inspire them with a philanthropy as meek and unconquerable as that of Christ; and to kindle intense desire, hope, and pursuit of celestial and immortal virtue

And now, I ask, what is the plain inference from these views? If Christianity can be traced to no selfish or worldly motive, — if it was framed, not for dominion, not to compass any private purpose, but to raise men above themselves, and to conform them to God, — can we help pronouncing it worthy of God? And to whom but to God can we refer its origin? Ought we not to recognize in the first propagators of such a faith the holiest of men, the friends of their race, and the messengers of Heaven? Christianity, from its very nature, repels the charge of imposture. It carries in itself the proof of pure intention. Bad men could not have conceived it, much less have adopted it, as the great object of their lives. The supposition of selfish men giving up every private interest to spread a system which condemned themselves, and which tended only to purify mankind, is an absurdity as gross as can be found in the most irrational faith. Christianity, therefore, when tried by its motives, approves itself to be of God.

III. I now proceed to another and very important ground of my belief in the divine origin of Christianity. Its truth was attested by miracles. Its first teachers proved themselves the ministers of God by supernatural works. They did what man cannot do, what bore the impress of a divine power, and what thus sealed the divinity of their mission. A religion so attested must be true. This topic is a great one, and I ask your patient attention to it.

I am aware that a strong prejudice exists in some minds against the kind of evidence which I have now adduced. Miracles seem to them to carry a confutation in themselves. The presumption against them seems next to infinite. In this respect, the present times differ from the past. There have been ages when men believed any thing and every thing; and the more monstrous the story, the more eagerly was it received by the credulous multitude. In the progress of knowledge, men have come to see that most of the prodigies and supernatural events in which their forefathers believed were fictions of fancy, or fear, or imposture. The light of knowledge has put to flight the ghosts and witches which struck terror into earlier times. We now know that not a few of the appearances in the heavens which appalled nations, and were interpreted as precursors of divine vengeance, were natural effects. We have learned, too, that a highly excited imagination can work some of the cures once ascribed to magic; and the lesson taught us by these natural solutions of apparent miracles is, that accounts of supernatural events are to be sifted with great jealousy and received with peculiar care.

But the result of this new light thrown on nature and history is, that some are disposed to discredit all miracles indiscriminately. So many having proved groundless, a sweeping sentence of condemnation is passed on all. The human mind, by a natural reaction, has passed from extreme credulousness to the excess of incredulity. Some persons are even hardy enough to deride the very idea of a miracle. They pronounce the order of nature something fixed and immutable, and all suspensions of it incredible. This prejudice, for such it is, seems to deserve particular attention; for, until it is removed, the evidences of Christian miracles will have little weight. Let us examine it patiently and impartially.

The sceptic tells me that the order of nature is fixed. I ask him, By whom or by what is it fixed? By an iron fate? — by an inflexible necessity? Does not

nature bear the signatures of an intelligent Cause? Does not the very idea of its order imply an ordaining or disposing Mind? Does not the universe, the more it is explored, bear increasing testimony to a Being superior to itself? Then the order of nature is fixed by a Will which can reverse it. Then a power equal to miracles exists. Then miracles are not incredible.

It may be replied, that God indeed *can* work miracles, but that he *will* not. He will not? And how does the sceptic know this? Has God so told him? This language does not become a being of our limited faculties; and the presumptuousness which thus makes laws for the Creator, and restricts his agency to particular modes, is as little the spirit of true philosophy as of religion.

The sceptic sees nothing in miracles but ground of offence. To me, they seem to involve in their very nature a truth so great, so vital, that I am not only reconciled to them, but am disposed to receive joyfully any sufficient proofs of their having been performed. To the sceptic, no principle is so important as the uniformity of nature, the constancy of its laws. To me, there is a vastly higher truth, to which miracles bear witness, and to which I welcome their aid. What I wish chiefly to know is, that mind is the supreme power in the universe; that matter is its instrument and slave; that there is a will to which nature can offer no obstruction; that God is unshackled by the laws of the universe, and controls them at his pleasure. This absolute sovereignty of the Divine Mind over the universe is the only foundation of hope for the triumph of the human mind over matter, over physical influences, over imperfection and death. Now, it is plain that the strong impressions which we receive through the senses from the material creation, joined to our experience of its regularity, and to our instinctive trust in its future uniformity, do obscure this supremacy of God, do tempt us to ascribe a kind of omnipotence to nature's laws, and to limit our hopes to the good which is promised by these. There is a strong tendency in men to attach the idea of necessity to an unchanging regularity of operation, and to imagine bounds to a being who keeps one undeviating path, or who repeats himself perpetually. Hence I say that I rejoice in miracles. They show and assert the supremacy of mind in the universe. They manifest a spiritual power which is in no degree enthralled by the laws of matter. I rejoice in these witnesses to so great a truth. I rejoice in whatever proves that this order of nature, which so often weighs on me as a chain, and which contains no promise of my perfection, is not supreme and immutable, and that the Creator is not restricted to the narrow modes of operation with which I am most familiar.

Perhaps the form in which the objection to miracles is most frequently expressed is the following: "It is derogatory," says the sceptic, "to the perfect wisdom of God, to suppose him to break in upon the order of his own works. It is only the unskilful artist who is obliged to thrust his hand into the machine for the purpose of supplying its defects, and of giving it a new impulse by an immediate agency." To this objection I reply that it proceeds on false ideas of God and of the creation. God is not an artist, but a moral Parent and Governor; nor is the creation a machine. If it were, it might be urged with greater speciousness that miracles cannot be needed or required. One of the most striking views of the creation is the contrast or opposition of the elements of which it consists. It includes not only matter but mind, — not only lifeless and unconscious masses, but rational beings, free agents; and these are its noblest parts and ultimate objects. The material universe was framed not for itself, but for these. Its order was not appointed for its own sake, but to instruct and improve a higher rank of beings, the intelligent offspring of God; and whenever a departure from this order, — that is, whenever miraculous agency can contribute to the growth and perfection of his intelligent creatures, — it is demanded by his wisdom, goodness, and all his attributes. If the Supreme Being proposed only such ends as mechanism can produce, then He might have framed a machinery so perfect and sure as to need no suspension of its ordinary movements. But He has an incomparably nobler end. His great purpose is to educate, to rescue from evil, to carry forward for ever the free, rational mind or

soul; and who that understands what a free mind is, and what a variety of teaching and discipline it requires, will presume to affirm that no lights or aids but such as come to it through an invariable order of nature, are necessary to unfold it?

Much of the difficulty in regard to miracles, as I apprehend, would be removed if we were to consider more particularly that the chief distinction of intelligent beings is moral freedom, the power of determining themselves to evil as well as good, and consequently the power of involving themselves in great misery. When God made man, He framed not a machine, but a free being, who was to rise or fall according to his use or abuse of his powers. This capacity, at once the most glorious and the most fearful which we can conceive, shows us how the human race may have come into a condition to which the illumination of nature was inadequate. In truth, the more we consider the freedom of intelligent beings, the more we shall question the possibility of establishing an unchangeable order which will meet fully all their wants; for such beings, having of necessity a wide range of action, may bring themselves into a vast variety of conditions, and of course may come to need a relief not contained in the resources of nature. The history of the human race illustrates these truths. At the introduction of Christianity, the human family were plunged into gross and debasing error, and the light of nature had not served for ages to guide them back to truth. Philosophy had done its best, and failed. A new element, a new power, seems to have been wanting to the progress of the race. That in such an exigence miraculous aid should be imparted accords with our best views of God. I repeat it, — were men mechanical beings, an undeviating order of nature might meet all their wants. They are free beings, who bear a moral relation to God, and as such may need, and are worthy of, a more various and special care than is extended over the irrational creation.

When I examine nature, I see reasons for believing that it was not intended by God to be the only method of instructing and improving mankind. I see reasons, as I think, why its order or regular course should be occasionally suspended, and why revelation should be joined to it in the work of carrying forward the race. I can offer only a few considerations on this point, but they seem to me worthy of serious attention. The first is, that a fixed, invariable order of nature does not give us some views of God which are of great interest and importance, or at least it does not give them with that distinctness which we all desire. It reveals him as the Universal Sovereign who provides for the whole or for the general weal, but not, with sufficient clearness, as a tender father, interested in the individual. I see, in this fixed order, his care of the race, but not his constant, boundless concern for myself. Nature speaks of a general divinity, not of the friend and benefactor of each living soul. This is a necessary defect attending an inflexible, unvarying administration by general laws: and it seems to require that God, to carry forward the race, should reveal himself by some other manner than by general laws. No conviction is more important to human improvement than that of God's paternal interest in every human being; and how can He communicate this persuasion so effectually as by suspending nature's order, to teach, through an inspired messenger, his paternal love?

My second remark is, that, whilst nature teaches many important lessons, it is not a direct, urgent teacher. Its truths are not prominent, and consequently men may neglect it, and place themselves beyond its influence. For example, nature holds out the doctrine of One God, but does not compel attention to it. God's name is not written in the sky in letters of light which all nations must read, nor sounded abroad in a voice deep and awful as thunders, so that all must hear. Nature is a gentle — I had almost said a reserved — teacher, demanding patient thought in the learner, and may therefore be unheeded. Men may easily shut their ears and harden their hearts against its testimony to God. Accordingly we learn that, at Christ's coming, almost all nations had lost the knowledge of the true glory of the Creator, and given themselves up to gross superstitions. To such a condition of the world nature's indirect and unimposing mode of instruction is not fitted, and thus it furnishes a reason for a

more immediate and impressive teaching. In such a season of moral darkness, was it not worthy of God to kindle another and more quickening beam? When the long-repeated and almost monotonous language of creation was not heard, was it unworthy of God to speak with a new and more startling voice? What fitter method was there for rousing those whom nature's quiet regularity could not teach, than to interrupt its usual course?

I proceed to another reason for expecting revelation to be added to the light of nature. Nature, I have said, is not a direct or urgent teacher, and men may place themselves beyond its voice. I say, thirdly, that there is one great point, on which we are deeply concerned to know the truth, and which is yet taught so indistinctly by nature, that men, however disposed to learn, cannot by that light alone obtain full conviction. What, let me ask, is the question in which each man has the deepest interest? It is this: Are we to live again, or is this life all? Does the principle of thought perish with the body, or does it survive? And if it survive, where? how? in what condition? under what law? There is an inward voice which speaks of judgment to come. Will judgment indeed come? and if so, what award may we hope or fear? The future state of man, — this is the great question forced on us by our changing life and by approaching death. I will not say that on this topic nature throws no light. I think it does; and this light continually grows brighter to them whose eyes revelation has couched and made strong to see. But nature alone does not meet our wants. I might prove this by referring you to the ages preceding Christ, when the anxious spirit of man constantly sought to penetrate the gloom beyond the grave, — when imagination and philosophy alike plunged into the future, but found no resting-place. But every man must feel that, left to nature as his only guide, he must wander in doubt as to the life to come. Where but from God himself can I learn my destination? I ask at the mouth of the tomb for intelligence of the departed, and the tomb gives me no reply. I examine the various regions of nature, but I can discover no process for restoring the mouldering body, and no sign or track of the spirit's ascent to another sphere. I see the need of a power above nature to restore or perpetuate life after death; and if God intended to give assurance of this life, I see not how He can do it but by supernatural teaching, — by a miraculous revelation. Miracles are the appropriate, and would seem to be the only, mode of placing beyond doubt man's future and immortal being; and no miracles can be conceived so peculiarly adapted to this end as the very ones which hold the highest place in Christianity, — I mean the resurrection of Lazarus, and, still more, the resurrection of Jesus. No man will deny that, of all truths, a future state is most strengthening to virtue and consoling to humanity. Is it, then, unworthy of God to employ miracles for the awakening or the confirmation of this hope? May they not even be expected if nature, as we have seen, sheds but a faint light on this most interesting of all verities?

I add one more consideration in support of the position that nature was not intended to be God's only method of teaching mankind. In surveying the human mind, we discover a principle which singularly fits it to be wrought upon and benefited by miraculous agency, and which might therefore lead us to expect such interposition. I refer to that principle of our nature by which we become in a measure insensible or indifferent to what is familiar, but are roused to attention and deep interest by what is singular, strange, supernatural. This principle of wonder is an important part of our constitution; and that God should employ it in the work of our education is what reason might anticipate. I see, then, a foundation for miracles in the human mind; and, when I consider that the mind is God's noblest work, I ought to look to this as the interpreter of his designs. We are plainly so constituted that the order of nature, the more it is fixed, excites us the less. Our interest is blunted by its ceaseless uniformity. On the contrary, departures from this order powerfully stir the soul, break up its old and slumbering habits of thought, turn it with a new solicitude to the Almighty Interposer, and prepare it to receive with awe the communications of his will. Was it unworthy of God, who gave us this sensibility to the

wonderful, to appeal to it for the recovery of his creatures to himself?

I here close my remarks on the great objection of scepticism, that miracles are inconsistent with the divine perfections; that the Supreme Being, having established an order of operation, cannot be expected to depart from it. To me such reasoning, if reasoning it may be called, is of no weight. When I consider God's paternal and moral relation to mankind, and his interest in their progress; when I consider how accordant it is with his character that He should make himself known to them by methods most fitted to awaken the mind and heart to his goodness; when I consider the need we have of illumination in regard to the future life, more distinct and full than the creation affords; when I consider the constitution and condition of man, his free agency, and the corruption into which he had fallen; when I consider how little benefit a being so depraved was likely to derive from an order of nature to which he had grown familiar, and how plainly the mind is fitted to be quickened by miraculous interposition; — I say, when I take all these things into view, I see, as I think, a foundation in nature for supernatural light and aid, and I discern in a miraculous revelation such as Christianity a provision suited at once to the frame and wants of the human soul, and to the perfections of its Author.

There are other objections to miracles, though less avowed, than that which I have now considered, yet perhaps not less influential, and probably operating on many minds so secretly as to be unperceived. At two of these I will just glance. Not a few, I am confident, have doubts of the Christian miracles, because they see none *now*. Were their scepticism to clothe itself in language, it would say, "Show us miracles, and we will believe them. We suspect them, because they are confined to the past." Now this objection is a childish one. It may be resolved into the principle, that nothing in the past is worthy of belief which is not repeated in the present. Admit this, and where will incredulity stop? How many forms and institutions of society, recorded in ancient history, have passed away? Has history, then, no title to respect? If, indeed, the human race were standing still; if one age were merely a copy of preceding ones; if each had precisely the same wants, then the miracles required at one period would be reproduced in all. But who does not know that there is a progress in human affairs? that formerly mankind were in a different stage from that through which they are now passing? that of course the education of the race must be varied? and that miracles, important once, may be superfluous now? Shall we bind the Creator to invariable modes of teaching and training a race whose capacities and wants are undergoing a perpetual change? Because in periods of thick darkness God introduced a new religion by supernatural works, shall we expect these works to be repeated, when the darkness is scattered and their end attained? Who does not see that miracles, from their very nature, must be rare, occasional, limited? Would not their power be impaired by frequency? and would it not wholly cease, were they so far multiplied as to seem a part of the order of nature?

The objection I am now considering shows us the true character of scepticism. Scepticism is essentially a narrowness of mind, which makes the present moment the measure of the past and future. It is the creature of sense. In the midst of a boundless universe, it can conceive no mode of operation but what falls under its immediate observation. The visible, the present, is every thing to the unbeliever. Let him but enlarge his views; let him look round on the immensity of the universe; let him consider the infinity of resources which are comprehended in omnipotence; let him represent to himself the manifold stages through which the human race is appointed to pass; let him remember that the education of the ever-growing mind must require a great variety of discipline; and especially let him admit the sublime thought, of which the germ is found in nature, that man was created to be trained for, and to ascend to, an incomparably higher order of existence than the present, — and he will see the childishness of making his narrow experience the standard of all that is past and is to come in human history.

It is strange, indeed, that men of science should fall into this error. The improved science of the present day

teaches them that this globe of ours, which seems so unchangeable, is not now what it was a few thousand years ago. They find proofs, by digging into the earth, that this globe was inhabited before the existence of the human race by classes of animals which have perished, and the ocean peopled by races now unknown, and that the human race are occupying a ruined and restored world. Men of science should learn to free themselves from the vulgar narrowness which sees nothing in the past but the present, and should learn the stupendous and infinite variety of the dispensations of God.

There is another objection to miracles, and the last to be now considered, which is drawn from the well-known fact, that pretended miracles crowd the pages of ancient history. No falsehoods, we are told, have been more common than accounts of prodigies, and therefore the miraculous character of Christianity is a presumption against its truth. I acknowledge that this argument has its weight; and I am ready to say, that, did I know nothing of Christianity but that it was a religion full of miracles; did I know nothing of its doctrines, its purpose, its influences, and whole history, I should suspect it as much as the unbeliever. There is a strong presumption against miracles, considered nakedly, or separated from their design and from all circumstances which explain and support them. There is a like presumption against events not miraculous, but of an extraordinary character. But this is only a reason for severe scrutiny and slow belief, not for resisting strong and multiplied proofs. I blame no man for doubting a report of miracles when first brought to his ears. Thousands of absurd prodigies have been created by ignorance and fanaticism, and thousands more been forged by imposture. I invite you, then, to try scrupulously the miracles of Christianity; and, if they bear the marks of the superstitious legends of false religions, do not spare them. I only ask for them a fair hearing and calm investigation.

It is plainly no sufficient argument for rejecting all miracles that men have believed in many which are false. If you go back to the times when miraculous stories were swallowed most greedily, and read the books then written on history, geography, and natural science, you will find all of them crowded with error; but do they therefore contain nothing worthy your trust? Is there not a vein of truth running through the prevalent falsehood? And cannot a sagacious mind very often detach the real from the fictitious, explain the origin of many mistakes, distinguish the judicious and honest from the credulous or interested narrator, and by a comparison of testimonies detect the latent truth? Where will you stop if you start with believing nothing on points where former ages have gone astray? You must pronounce all religion and all morality to be delusion, for on both topics men have grossly erred. Nothing is more unworthy of a philosopher than to found a universal censure on a limited number of unfavorable facts. This is much like the reasoning of the misanthrope, who, because he sees much vice, infers that there is no virtue, and, because he has sometimes been deceived, pronounces all men hypocrites.

I maintain that the multiplicity of false miracles, far from disproving, gives support to those on which Christianity rests; for, first, there is generally some foundation for falsehood, especially when it obtains general belief. The love of truth is an essential principle of human nature; men generally embrace error on account of some precious ingredient of truth mixed with it, and for the time inseparable from it. The universal belief of past ages in miraculous interpositions is to me a presumption that miracles have entered into human history. Will the unbeliever say that it only shows the insatiable thirst of the human mind for the supernatural? I reply, that in this reasoning he furnishes a weapon against himself; for a strong principle in the human mind, impelling men to seek for and to cling to miraculous agency, affords a presumption that the Author of our being, by whom this thirst for the supernatural was given, intended to furnish objects for it, and to assign it a place in the education of the race.

But I observe, in the next place, and it is an observation of great importance, that the exploded miracles of ancient times, if carefully examined, not only furnish a general presumption in favor of the existence of genuine ones, but yield strong proof of the truth of those

in particular upon which Christianity rests. I say to the sceptic, You affirm nothing but truth in declaring history to abound in false miracles; I agree with you in exploding by far the greater part of the supernatural accounts of which ancient religions boast. But how do we know these to be false? We do not so judge without proofs. We discern in them the marks of delusion. Now I ask you to examine these marks, and then to answer me honestly, whether you find them in the miracles of Christianity. Is there not a broad line between Christ's works and those which we both agree in rejecting? I maintain that there is, and that nothing but ignorance can confound the Christian miracles with the prodigies of heathenism. The contrast between them is so strong as to forbid us to refer them to a common origin. The miracles of superstition carry the brand of falsehood in their own nature, and are disproved by the circumstances under which they were imposed on the multitude. The objects for which they are said to have been wrought are such as do not require or justify a divine interposition. Many of them are absurd, childish, or extravagant, and betray a weak intellect or diseased imagination. Many can be explained by natural causes. Many are attested by persons who lived in different countries and ages, and enjoyed no opportunities of inquiring into their truth. We can see the origin of many in the self-interest of those who forged them, and can account for their reception by the condition of the world. In other words, these spurious miracles were the natural growth of the ignorance, passions, prejudices, and corruptions of the times, and tended to confirm them. Now it is not enough to say, that these various marks of falsehood cannot be found in the Christian miracles. We find in them characters directly the reverse. They were wrought for an end worthy of God; they were wrought in an age of improvement; they are marked by a majesty, beneficence, unostentatious simplicity, and wisdom, which separate them immeasurably from the dreams of a disordered fancy, or the contrivances of imposture. They can be explained by no interests, passions, or prejudices of men. They are parts of a religion which was singularly at variance with established ideas and expectations, which breathes purity and benevolence, which transcended the improvements of the age, and which thus carries with it the presumption of a divine original. Whence this immense distance between the two classes of miracles? Will you trace both to one source, and that a polluted one? Will you ascribe to one spirit works as different as light and darkness, as earth and heaven? I am not, then, shaken in my faith by the false miracles of other religions. I have no desire to keep them out of sight; I summon them as my witnesses. They show me how naturally imposture and superstition leave the stamp of themselves on their fictions. They show how man, when he aspires to counterfeit God's agency, betrays more signally his impotence and folly. When I place side by side the mighty works of Jesus and the prodigies of heathenism, I see that they can no more be compared with one another than the machinery and mock thunders of the theatre can be likened to the awful and beneficent powers of the universe.

In the preceding remarks on miracles, I have aimed chiefly to meet those general objections by which many are prejudiced against supernatural interpositions universally, and are disinclined to weigh any proof in their support. Hoping that this weak scepticism has been shown to want foundation in nature and reason, I proceed now to state more particularly the principal grounds on which I believe that the miracles ascribed to Jesus and the first propagators of Christianity were actually wrought in attestation of its truth.

The evidences of facts are of two kinds, presumptive and direct, and both meet in support of Christian miracles. First, there are strong presumptions in its favor. To this class of proofs belong the views already given of the accordance of revelation and miracles with the wants and principles of human nature, with the perfections of God, with his relations to his human family, and with his ordinary providence. These I need not repeat. I will only observe that a strong presumption in support of the miracles arises from the importance of the religion to which they belong. If I were told of supernatural works performed to prove that three are more than one, or that human life requires food for its support, I should know

that they were false. The presumption against them would be invincible. The Author of nature could never supersede its wise and stupendous order to teach what falls within the knowledge of every child. Extraordinary interpositions of God suppose that truths of extraordinary dignity and beneficence are to be imparted. Now, in Christianity I find truths of transcendent importance, which throw into shade all the discoveries of science, and which give a new character, aim, and interest to our existence. Here is a fit occasion for supernatural interposition. A presumption exists in favor of miracles, by which a religion so worthy of God is sustained.

But a presumption in favor of facts is not enough. It, indeed, adds much force to the direct proofs; still these are needed, nor are they wanting to Christianity. The direct proofs of facts are chiefly of two kinds; they consist of testimony, oral or written, and of effects, traces, monuments, which the facts have left behind them. The Christian miracles are supported by both. We have, first, the most unexceptionable testimony, nothing less than that of contemporaries and eye-witnesses, of the companions of Jesus, and the first propagators of his religion. We have the testimony of men who could not have been deceived as to the facts which they report; who bore their witness amidst perils and persecutions; who bore it on the very spot where their Master lived and died; who had nothing to gain, and every thing to lose, if their testimony were false; whose writings breathe the sincerest love of virtue and of mankind; and who at last sealed their attestations with their blood. More unexceptionable witnesses to facts cannot be produced or conceived.

Do you say, "These witnesses lived ages ago; could we hear these accounts from their own lips, we should be satisfied"? I answer, You have something better than their own lips, or than their own word taken alone. You have, as has been proved, their writings. Perhaps you hear with some surprise that a book may be a better witness than its author; but nothing is more true, and I will illustrate it by an imaginary case in our own times.

Suppose, then, that a man claiming to be an eye-witness should relate to me the events of the three memorable days of July, in which the last revolution of France was achieved; suppose, next, that a book, a history of that revolution, published and received as true in France, should be sent to me from that country. Which is the best evidence of the facts? I say the last. A single witness may deceive; but that a writer should publish in France the history of a revolution which never occurred there, or which differed essentially from the true one, is in the highest degree improbable: and that such a history should obtain currency, that it should not be instantly branded as a lie, is utterly impossible. A history received by a people as true, not only gives us the testimony of the writer, but the testimony of the nation among whom it obtains credit. It is a concentration of thousands of voices, of many thousand witnesses. I say, then, that the writings of the first teachers of Christianity, received as they were by the multitude of Christians in their own times and in those which immediately followed, are the testimonies of that multitude as well as of the writers. Thousands nearest to the events, join in bearing testimony to the Christian miracles.

But there is another class of evidence, sometimes more powerful than direct witnesses, and this belongs to Christianity. Facts are often placed beyond doubt by the effects which they leave behind them. This is the case with the miracles of Christ. Let me explain this branch of evidence. I am told, when absent and distant from your city, that on a certain day a tide, such as had never been known, rose in your harbor, overflowed your wharves, and rushed into your streets; I doubt the fact; but hastening here, I see what were once streets strewed with sea-weed, and shells, and the ruins of houses, and I cease to doubt. A witness may deceive, but such effects cannot lie. All great events leave effects, and these speak directly of the cause. What, I ask, are the proofs of the American revolution? Have we none but written or oral testimony? Our free constitution, the whole form of our society, the language and spirit of our laws, all these bear witness to our English origin, and to our successful conflict for independence. Now the miracles of Christianity have left effects which equally attest their reality,

and cannot be explained without them. I go back to the age of Jesus Christ, and I am immediately struck with the commencement and rapid progress of the most remarkable revolution in the annals of the world. I see a new religion, of a character altogether its own, which bore no likeness to any past or existing faith, spreading in a few years through all civilized nations, and introducing a new era, a new state of society, a change of the human mind, which has broadly distinguished all following ages. Here is a plain fact, which the sceptic will not deny, however he may explain it. I see this religion issuing from an obscure, despised, hated people. Its Founder had died on the cross, a mode of punishment as disgraceful as the pillory or gallows of the present day. Its teachers were poor men, without rank, office, or education, taken from the fishing-boat and other occupations which had never furnished teachers to mankind. I see these men beginning their work on the spot where their Master's blood had been shed, as of a common malefactor; and I hear them summoning first his murderers, and then all nations and all ranks, the sovereign on the throne, the priest in the temple, the great and the learned, as well as the poor and the ignorant, to renounce the faith and the worship which had been hallowed by the veneration of all ages, and to take the yoke of their crucified Lord. I see passion and prejudice, the sword of the magistrate, the curse of the priest, the scorn of the philosopher, and the fury of the populace, joined to crush this common enemy; and yet, without a human weapon and in opposition to all human power, I see the humble Apostles of Jesus winning their way, overpowering prejudice, breaking the ranks of their opposers, changing enemies into friends, breathing into multitudes a calm spirit of martyrdom, and carrying to the bounds of civilization, and even into half-civilized regions, a religion which has contributed to advance society more than all other causes combined. Here is the effect. Here is a monument more durable than pillars or triumphal arches. Now I ask for an explanation of these effects. If Jesus Christ and his Apostles were indeed sent and empowered by God, and wrought miracles in attestation of their mission, then the establishment of Christianity is explained. Suppose them, on the other hand, to have been insane enthusiasts, or selfish impostors, left to meet the whole strength of human opposition, with nothing but their own power, or rather their own weakness, and you have no cause for the stupendous effect I have described. Such men could no more have changed the face of the world than they could have turned back rivers to their sources, sunk mountains into valleys, or raised valleys to the skies. Christianity, then, has not only the evidence of unexceptionable witnesses, but that of effects, — a proof which will grow stronger by comparing its progress with that of other religions, such as Mahometanism, which sprang from human passions, and were advanced by human power.

IV. Having given my views on the subject of Christian miracles, I now pass to the last topic of this discourse. Its extent and importance will lead me to enlarge upon it in a subsequent discourse; but a discussion of Christian evidences in which it should find no place would be essentially defective. I refer to the proof of Christianity derived from the character of its Author. The character of Jesus was original. He formed a new era in the moral history of the human race. His perfection was not that of his age, nor a copy of the greatness which had long engrossed the world's admiration. Jesus stood apart from other men. He borrowed from none and leaned on none. Surrounded by men of low thoughts, he rose to the conception of a higher form of human virtue than had yet been realized or imagined, and deliberately devoted himself to its promotion, as the supreme object of his life and death. Conscious of being dedicated to this great work, he spoke with a calm dignity, an unaffected elevation, which separated him from all other teachers. Unsupported, he never wavered; sufficient to himself, he refused alliance with wealth or power. Yet, with all this self-subsistence and uncompromising energy, his character was the mildest, the gentlest, the most attractive, ever manifested among men. It could not have been a fiction, for who could have conceived it, or who could have embodied the conception in such a life as Jesus is said to have led in actions, words, manners, so natural and

unstudied, so imbued with reality, so worthy of the Son of God?

The great distinction of Jesus was a philanthropy without mixture and without bounds; a philanthropy uniting grandeur and meekness in beautiful proportions; a philanthropy as wise as it was fervent, which comprehended the true wants and the true good of man, which compassionated, indeed, his sufferings from abroad, but which saw in the soul the deep fountain of his miseries, and labored, by regenerating this, to bring him to a pure and enduring happiness. So peculiar, so unparalleled was the benevolence of Jesus, that it has impressed itself on all future times. There went forth a virtue, a beneficent influence from his character, which operates even now. Since the death of Christ, a spirit of humanity, unknown before, has silently diffused itself over a considerable portion of the earth. A new standard of virtue has gradually possessed itself of the veneration of men. A new power has been acting on society, which has done more than all other causes combined to disarm the selfish passions, and to bind men strongly to one another and to God. What a monument have we here to the virtue of Jesus! and if Christianity has such a Founder, it must have come from Heaven.

There are other remarkable proofs of the power and elevation of the character of Christ. It has touched and conciliated not a few of the determined adversaries of his religion. Infidelity, whilst it has laid unsparing hands on the system, has generally shrunk from offering violence to its Author. In truth, unbelievers have occasionally borne eloquent testimony to the benignant and celestial virtues of Jesus: and I record this with pleasure, not only as honorable to Christianity, but as showing that unbelief does not universally sear the moral feelings, or breathe hostility to goodness. Nor is this all. The character of Christ has withstood the most deadly and irresistible foe of error and unfounded claims, — I mean Time. It has lost nothing of its elevation by the improvements of ages. Since he appeared, society has gone forward, men's views have become enlarged, and philosophy has risen to conceptions of far purer virtues than were the boast of antiquity. But, however the human mind may have advanced, it must still look upward if it would see and understand Christ. He is still above it. Nothing purer, nobler, has yet dawned on human thoughts. Then Christianity is true. The delineation of Jesus in the Gospels, so warm with life, and so unrivalled in loveliness and grandeur, required the existence of an original. To suppose that this character was invented by unprincipled men, amidst Jewish and heathen darkness, and was then imposed as a reality in the very age of the Founder of Christianity, argues an excess of credulity, and a strange ignorance of the powers and principles of human nature. The character of Jesus was real; and if so, Jesus must have been what he professed to be, the Son of God, and the revealer of his mercy and his will to mankind.

I have now completed what I proposed in this discourse. I have laid before you some of the principal evidences of Christianity. I have aimed to state them without exaggeration. That an honest mind, which thoroughly comprehends them, can deny their force, seems to me hardly possible. Stronger proofs may, indeed, be conceived; but it is doubtful whether these could be given in consistency with our moral nature, and with the moral government of God. Such a government requires that truth should not be forced on the mind, but that we should be left to gain it by an upright use of our understandings, and by conforming ourselves to what we have already learned. God might, indeed, shed on us an overpowering light, so that it would be impossible for us to lose our way; but in so doing He would annihilate an important part of our present probation. It is, then, no objection to Christianity that its evidences are not the very strongest which might be given, and that they do not extort universal assent. In this respect it accords with other great truths. These are not forced on our belief. Whoever will may shut his eyes on their proofs and array against them objections. In the measure of evidence with which Christianity is accompanied, I see a just respect for the freedom of the mind, and a wise adaptation to that moral nature which it is

the great aim of this religion to carry forward to perfection.

I close as I began. I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, for it is true. It is true; and its truth is to break forth more and more gloriously. Of this I have not a doubt. I know, indeed, that our religion has been questioned, even by intelligent and good men; but this does not shake my faith in its divine original or in its ultimate triumphs. Such men have questioned it, because they have known it chiefly by its corruptions. In proportion as its original simplicity shall be restored, the doubts of the well-disposed will yield. I have no fears from infidelity; especially from that form of it which some are at this moment laboring to spread through our country, — I mean that insane, desperate unbelief which strives to quench the light of nature as well as of revelation, and to leave us, not only without Christ, but without God. This I dread no more than I should fear the efforts of men to pluck the sun from his sphere, or to storm the skies with the artillery of the earth. We were made for religion; and unless the enemies of our faith can change our nature, they will leave the foundation of religion unshaken. The human soul was created to look above material nature. It wants a Deity for its love and trust, an immortality for its hope. It wants consolations not found in philosophy, wants strength in temptation, sorrow, and death, which human wisdom cannot minister; and knowing, as I do, that Christianity meets these deep wants of men, I have no fear or doubt as to its triumphs. Men cannot long live without religion. In France there is a spreading dissatisfaction with the sceptical spirit of the past generation. A philosopher in that country would now blush to quote Voltaire as an authority in religion. Already atheism is dumb where once it seemed to bear sway. The greatest minds in France are working back their way to the light of truth. Many of them, indeed, cannot yet be called Christians; but their path, like that of the wise men of old, who came star-guided from the East, is towards Christ. I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ. It has an immortal life, and will gather strength from the violence of its foes. It is equal to all the wants of men. The greatest minds have found in it the light which they most anxiously desired. The most sorrowful and broken spirits have found in it a healing balm for their woes. It has inspired the sublimest virtues and the loftiest hopes. For the corruptions of such a religion I weep, and I should blush to be their advocate; but of the gospel itself I can never be ashamed.

THE EVIDENCES OF REVEALED RELIGION:

Discourse before the University in Cambridge, at the Dudleian Lecture, 14th March, 1821.

JOHN iii. 2: "The same came to Jesus by night, and said unto him, Rabbi, we know that thou art a teacher come from God; for no man can do these miracles that thou doest, except God be with him."

THE evidences of revealed religion are the subject of this lecture, — a subject of great extent as well as of vast importance. In discussing it, an immense variety of learning has been employed, and all the powers of the intellect been called forth. History, metaphysics, ancient learning, criticism, ethical science, and the science of human nature, have been summoned to the controversy, and have brought important contributions to the Christian cause. To condense into one discourse what scholars and great men have written on this point is impossible, even if it were desirable; and I have stated the extent of speculation into which our subject has led, not because I propose to give

an abstract of others' labors, but because I wish you to understand that the topic is one not easily despatched, and because I would invite you to follow me in a discussion which will require concentrated and continued attention. A subject more worthy of attention than the claims of that religion which was impressed on our childhood, and which is acknowledged to be the only firm foundation of the hope of immortality, cannot be presented; and our minds must want the ordinary seriousness of human nature, if it cannot arrest us.

That Christianity has been opposed is a fact implied in the establishment of this lecture. That it has had adversaries of no mean intellect, you know. I propose in this discourse to make some remarks on what seems to me the great objection to Christianity, on the general principle on which its evidences rest, and on some of its particular evidences.

The great objection to Christianity — the only one which has much influence at the present day — meets us at the very threshold. We cannot, if we would, evade it, for it is founded on a primary and essential attribute of this religion. The objection is oftener felt than expressed, and amounts to this, that miracles are incredible, and that the supernatural character of an alleged fact is proof enough of its falsehood. So strong is this propensity to doubt of departures from the order of nature, that there are sincere Christians who incline to rest their religion wholly on its internal evidence, and to overlook the outward extraordinary interposition of God by which it was at first established. But the difficulty cannot in this way be evaded; for Christianity is not only confirmed by miracles, but is in itself, in its very essence, a miraculous religion. It is not a system which the human mind might have gathered in the ordinary exercise of its powers from the ordinary course of nature. Its doctrines, especially those which relate to its Founder, claim for it the distinction of being a supernatural provision for the recovery of the human race. So that the objection which I have stated still presses upon us, and, if it be well grounded, it is fatal to Christianity.

It is proper, then, to begin the discussion with inquiring whence the disposition to discredit miracles springs, and how far it is rational. A preliminary remark of some importance is, that this disposition is not a necessary part or principle of our mental constitution, like the disposition to trace effects to adequate causes. We are indeed so framed as to expect a continuance of that order of nature which we have uniformly experienced; but not so framed as to revolt at alleged violations of that order, and to account them impossible or absurd. On the contrary, men at large discover a strong and incurable propensity to believe in miracles. Almost all histories, until within the two last centuries, reported seriously supernatural facts. Scepticism as to miracles is comparatively a new thing, if we except the Epicurean or atheistical sect among the ancients; and so far from being founded in human nature, it is resisted by an almost infinite preponderance of belief on the other side.

Whence, then, has this scepticism sprung? It may be explained by two principal causes. 1. It is now an acknowledged fact among enlightened men that in past times and in our own a strong disposition has existed, and still exists, to admit miracles without examination. Human credulity is found to have devoured nothing more eagerly than reports of prodigies. Now it is argued that we discover here a principle of human nature, namely, the love of the supernatural and marvellous, which accounts sufficiently for the belief of miracles wherever we find it: and that it is, consequently, unnecessary and unphilosophical to seek for other causes, and especially to admit that most improbable one, — the actual existence of miracles. This sweeping conclusion is a specimen of that rash habit of generalizing which rather distinguishes our times, and shows that philosophical reasoning has made fewer advances than we are apt to boast. It is true that there is a principle of credulity as to prodigies in a considerable part of society, a disposition to believe without due scrutiny. But this principle, like every other in our nature, has its limits; acts according to fixed laws; is not omnipotent, — cannot make the eyes see, and the ears hear, and the understanding credit delusions under all imaginable circumstances; but requires the concurrence of various circumstances and of other

principles of our nature in order to its operation. For example, the belief of spectral appearances has been very common; but under what circumstances and in what state of mind has it occurred? Do men see ghosts in broad day and amidst cheerful society? or in solitary places; in grave-yards; in twilights or mists, where outward objects are so undefined as easily to take a form from imagination; and in other circumstances favorable to terror, and associated with the delusion in question? The principle of credulity is as regular in its operation as any other principle of the mind; and is so dependent on circumstances and so restrained and checked by other parts of human nature, that sometimes the most obstinate in credulity is found in that very class of people whose easy belief on other occasions moves our contempt. It is well known, for example, that the efficacy of the vaccine inoculation has been encountered with much more unyielding scepticism among the vulgar than among the improved; and in general it may be affirmed, that the credulity of the ignorant operates under the control of their strongest passions and impressions, and that no class of society yield a slower assent to positions which manifestly subvert their old modes of thinking and most settled prejudices. It is, then, very unphilosophical to assume this principle as an explanation of all miracles whatever. I grant that the fact, that accounts of supernatural agency so generally prove false, is a reason for looking upon them with peculiar distrust. Miracles ought on this account to be sifted more than common facts. But if we find that a belief in a series of supernatural works has occurred under circumstances very different from those under whlch false prodigies have been received, under circumstances most unfavorable to the operation of credulity, then this belief cannot be resolved into the common causes which have blinded men in regard to supernatural agency. We must look for other causes, and if none can be found but the actual existence of the miracles, then true philosophy binds us to believe them. I close this head with observing that the propensity of men to believe in what is strange and miraculous, though a presumption against particular miracles, is not a presumption against miracles universally, but rather the reverse; for great principles of human nature have generally a foundation in truth, and one explanation of this propensity so common to mankind is obviously this, that in the earlier ages of the human race miraculous interpositions, suited to man's infant state, were not uncommon, and, being the most striking facts of human history, they spread through all future times a belief and expectation of miracles.

I proceed now to the second cause of the scepticism in regard to supernatural agency which has grown up, especially among the more improved, in later times. These later times are distinguished, as you well know, by successful researches into nature; and the discoveries of science have continually added strength to that great principle, that the phenomena of the universe are regulated by general and permanent laws, or that the Author of the universe exerts his power according to an established order. Nature, the more it is explored, is found to be uniform. We observe an unbroken succession of causes and effects. Many phenomena, once denominated irregular, and ascribed to supernatural agency, are found to be connected with preceding circumstances as regularly as the most common events. The comet, we learn, observes the same attraction as the sun and planets. When a new phenomenon now occurs, no one thinks it miraculous, but believes that, when better understood, it may be reduced to laws already known, or is an example of a law not yet investigated.

Now this increasing acquaintance with the uniformity of nature begets a distrust of alleged violations of it, and a rational distrust too; for, while many causes of mistake in regard to alleged miracles may be assigned, there is but one adequate cause of real miracles, that is, the power of God; and the regularity of nature forms a strong presumption against the miraculous exertion of this power, except in extraordinary circumstances, and for extraordinary purposes, to which the established laws of the creation are not competent. But the observation of the uniformity of nature produces, in multitudes, not merely this rational distrust of alleged violations of it, but a secret feeling, as if such violations were impossible. That attention to the pow-

ers of nature which is implied in scientific research tends to weaken the practical conviction of a higher power: and the laws of the creation, instead of being regarded as the modes of Divine operation, come insensibly to be considered as fetters on his agency, — as too sacred to be suspended even by their Author. This secret feeling, essentially atheistical, and at war with all sound philosophy, is the chief foundation of that scepticism which prevails in regard to miraculous agency, and deserves our particular consideration.

To a man whose belief in God is strong and practical, a miracle will appear as possible as any other effect, as the most common event in life; and the argument against miracles, drawn from the uniformity of nature, will weigh with him only as far as this uniformity is a pledge and proof of the Creator's disposition to accomplish his purposes by a fixed order or mode of operation. Now it is freely granted that the Creator's regard or attachment to such an order may be inferred from the steadiness with which He observes it; and a strong presumption lies against any violation of it on slight occasions, or for purposes to which the established laws of nature are adequate. But this is the utmost which the order of nature authorizes us to infer respecting its Author. It forms no presumption against miracles universally, in all imaginable cases; but may even furnish a presumption in their favor.

We are never to forget that God's adherence to the order of the universe is not necessary and mechanical, but intelligent and voluntary. He adheres to it, not for its own sake, or because it has a sacredness which compels him to respect it. but because it is most suited to accomplish his purposes. It is a means, and not an end; and, like all other means, must give way when the end can best be promoted without it. It is the mark of a weak mind to make an idol of order and method; to cling to established forms of business when they clog instead of advancing it. If, then, the great purposes of the universe can best be accomplished by departing from its established laws, these laws will undoubtedly be suspended; and though broken in the letter, they will be observed in their spirit, for the ends for which they were first instituted will be advanced by their violation. Now the question arises, For what purposes were nature and its order appointed? and there is no presumption in saying that the highest of these is the improvement of intelligent beings. Mind (by which we mean both moral and intellectual powers) is God's first end. The great purpose for which an order of nature is fixed, is plainly the formation of mind. In a creation without order, where events would follow without any regular succession, it is obvious that mind must be kept in perpetual infancy; for, in such a universe, there could be no reasoning from effects to causes, no induction to establish general truths, no adaptation of means to ends; that is, no science relating to God, or matter, or mind; no action; no virtue. The great purpose of God, then, I repeat it, in establishing the order of nature, is to form and advance the mind; and if the case should occur in which the interests of the mind could best be advanced by departing from this order, or by miraculous agency, then the great purpose of the creation, the great end of its laws and regularity, would demand such departure; and miracles, instead of warring against, would concur with nature.

Now we Christians maintain that such a case has existed. We affirm that, when Jesus Christ came into the world, nature had failed to communicate instructions to men in which, as intelligent beings, they had the deepest concern, and on which the full development of their highest faculties essentially depended; and we affirm, that there was no prospect of relief from nature; so that an exigence had occurred in which additional communications, supernatural lights, might rationally be expected from the Father of spirits. Let me state two particulars out of many in which men needed intellectual aids not given by nature. I refer to the doctrine of one God and Father, on which all piety rests; and to the doctrine of immortality, which is the great spring of virtuous effort. Had I time to enlarge on the history of that period, I might show you under what heaps of rubbish and superstition these doctrines were buried. But I should repeat only what you know familiarly. The works of ancient genius, which form your

studies, carry on their front the brand of polytheism, and of debasing error on subjects of the first and deepest concern. It is more important to observe, that the very uniformity of nature had some tendency to obscure the doctrines which I have named, or at least to impair their practical power, so that a departure from this uniformity was needed to fasten them on men's minds.

That a fixed order of nature, though a proof of the One God to reflecting and enlarged understandings, has yet a tendency to hide him from men in general, will appear, if we consider, first, that as the human mind is constituted, what is regular and of constant occurrence excites it feebly; and benefits flowing to it through fixed, unchanging laws, seem to come by a kind of necessity, and are apt to be traced up to natural causes alone. Accordingly, religious convictions and feelings, even in the present advanced condition of society, are excited not so much by the ordinary course of God's providence, as by sudden, unexpected events which rouse and startle the mind, and speak of a Power higher than nature. There is another way in which a fixed order of nature seems unfavorable to just impressions respecting its Author. It discovers to us in the Creator a regard to general good rather than an affection to individuals. The laws of nature, operating as they do with an inflexible steadiness, never varying to meet the cases and wants of individuals, and inflicting much private suffering in their stern administration for the general weal, give the idea of a distant, reserved sovereign much more than of a tender parent; and yet this last view of God is the only effectual security from superstition and idolatry. Nature, then, we fear, would not have brought back the world to its Creator. And as to the doctrine of immortality, the order of the natural world had little tendency to teach this, at least with clearness and energy. The natural world contains no provisions or arrangements for reviving the dead. The sun and the rain, which cover the tomb with verdure, send no vital influences to the mouldering body. The researches of science detect no secret processes for restoring the lost powers of life. If man is to live again, he is not to live through any known laws of nature, but by a power higher than nature; and how, then, can we be assured of this truth but by a manifestation of this power, that is, by miraculous agency, confirming a future life?

I have labored in these remarks to show that the uniformity of nature is no presumption against miraculous agency when employed in confirmation of such a religion as Christianity. Nature, on the contrary, furnishes a presumption in its favor. Nature clearly shows to us a power above itself, so that it proves miracles to be possible. Nature reveals purposes and attributes in its Author with which Christianity remarkably agrees. Nature, too, has deficiencies, which show that it was not intended by its Author to be his whole method of instructing mankind; and in this way it gives great confirmation to Christianity, which meets its wants, supplies its chasms, explains its mysteries, and lightens its heart-oppressing cares and sorrows.

Before quitting the general consideration of miracles, I ought to take some notice of Hume's celebrated argument on this subject; not that it merits the attention which it has received, but because it is specious, and has derived weight from the name of its author. The argument is briefly this, — "That belief is founded upon and regulated by experience. Now we often experience testimony to be false, but never witness a departure from the order of nature. That men may deceive us when they testify to miracles, is therefore more accordant with experience than that nature should be irregular; and hence there is a balance of proof against miracles, a presumption so strong as to outweigh the strongest testimony." The usual replies to this argument I have not time to repeat. Dr. Campbell's work, which is accessible to all, will show you that it rests on an equivocal use of terms, and will furnish you with many fine remarks on testimony and on the conditions or qualities which give it validity. I will only add a few remarks which seem to me worthy of attention.

1. This argument affirms that the credibility of facts or statements is to be decided by their accordance with the established order of nature, and by this

standard only. Now, if nature comprehended all existences and all powers, this position might be admitted. But if there is a Being higher than nature, the origin of all its powers and motions, and whose character falls under our notice and experience as truly as the creation, then there is an additional standard to which facts and statements are to be referred; and works which violate nature's order will still be credible, if they agree with the known properties and attributes of its Author; because for such works we can assign an adequate cause and sufficient reasons, and these are the qualities and conditions on which credibility depends.

2. This argument of Hume proves too much, and therefore proves nothing. It proves too much; for if I am to reject the strongest testimony to miracles because testimony has often deceived me, whilst nature's order has never been found to fail, then I ought to reject a miracle, even if I should see it with my own eyes, and if all my senses should attest it; for all my senses have sometimes given false reports, whilst nature has never gone astray; and, therefore, be the circumstances ever so decisive or inconsistent with deception, still I must not believe what I see, and hear, and touch,—what my senses, exercised according to the most deliberate judgment, declare to be true. All this the argument requires; and it proves too much; for disbelief in the case supposed is out of our power, and is instinctively pronounced absurd; and what is more, it would subvert that very order of nature on which the argument rests: for this order of nature is learned only by the exercise of my senses and judgment, and if these fail me in the most unexceptionable circumstances, then their testimony to nature is of little worth.

Once more; this argument is built on an ignorance of the nature of testimony. Testimony, we are told, cannot prove a miracle. Now the truth is that testimony of itself and immediately proves no facts whatever, not even the most common. Testimony can do nothing more than show us the state of another's mind in regard to a given fact. It can only show us that the testifier has a belief, a conviction, that a certain phenomenon or event has occurred. Here testimony stops; and the reality of the event is to be judged altogether from the nature and degree of this conviction, and from the circumstances under which it exists. This conviction is an effect, which must have a cause, and needs to be explained; and if no cause can be found but the real occurrence of the event, then this occurrence is admitted as true. Such is the extent of testimony. Now a man, who affirms a miraculous phenomenon or event, may give us just as decisive proofs, by his character and conduct, of the strength and depth of his conviction, as if he were affirming a common occurrence. Testimony, then, does just as much in the case of miracles as of common events; that is, it discloses to us the conviction of another's mind. Now this conviction in the case of miracles requires a cause, an explanation, as much as in every other; and if the circumstances be such that it could not have sprung up and been established but by the reality of the alleged miracle, then that great and fundamental principle of human belief, namely, that every effect must have a cause, compels us to admit the miracle.

It may be observed of Hume and of other philosophical opposers of our religion, that they are much more inclined to argue against miracles in general than against the particular miracles on which Christianity rests. And the reason is obvious. Miracles, when considered in a general, abstract manner, that is, when divested of all circumstances, and supposed to occur as disconnected facts, to stand alone in history, to have no explanations or reasons in preceding events, and no influence on those which follow, are indeed open to great objection, as wanton and useless violations of nature's order; and it is accordingly against miracles, considered in this naked, general form, that the arguments of infidelity are chiefly urged. But it is great disingenuity to class under this head the miracles of Christianity. They are palpably different. They do not stand alone in history; but are most intimately incorporated with it. They were demanded by the state of the world which preceded them, and they have left deep traces on all subsequent ages. In fact, the history of the whole civilized world, since their alleged occurrence,

has been swayed and colored by them, and is wholly inexplicable without them. Now such miracles are not to be met, and disposed of by general reasonings, which apply only to insulated, unimportant, uninfluential prodigies.

I have thus considered the objections to miracles in general; and I would close this head with observing, that these objections will lose their weight just in proportion as we strengthen our conviction of God's power over nature and of his parental interest in his creatures. The great repugnance to the belief of miraculous agency is founded in a lurking atheism, which ascribes supremacy to nature, and which, whilst it professes to believe in God, questions his tender concern for the improvement of men. To a man who cherishes a sense of God, the great difficulty is, not to account for miracles, but to account for their rare occurrence. One of the mysteries of the universe is this, that its Author retires so continually behind the veil of his works, that the great and good Father does not manifest himself more distinctly to his creatures. There is something like coldness and repulsiveness in instructing us only by fixed, inflexible laws of nature. The intercourse of God with Adam and the patriarchs suits our best conceptions of the relation which He bears to the human race, and ought not to surprise us more than the expression of a human parent's tenderness and concern towards his offspring.

After the remarks now made to remove the objection to revelation in general, I proceed to consider the evidences of the Christian religion in particular; and these are so numerous that should I attempt to compress them into the short space which now remains, I could give but a syllabus, — a dry and uninteresting index. It will be more useful to state to you, with some distinctness, the general principle into which all Christian evidences may be resolved, and on which the whole religion rests, and then to illustrate it in a few striking particulars.

All the evidences of Christianity may be traced to this great principle, — that every effect must have an adequate cause. We claim for our religion a divine original, because no adequate cause for it can be found in the powers or passions of human nature, or in the circumstances under which it appeared; because it can only be accounted for by the interposition of that Being to whom its first preachers universally ascribed it, and with whose nature it perfectly agrees.

Christianity, by which we mean not merely the doctrines of the religion, but every thing relating to it, its rise, its progress, the character of its Author, the conduct of its propagators, — Christianity, in this broad sense, can only be accounted for in two ways. It either sprung from the principles of human nature, under the excitements, motives, impulses of the age in which it was first preached, or it had its origin in a higher and supernatural agency. To which of these causes the religion should be referred is not a question beyond our reach; for, being partakers of human nature, and knowing more of it than of any other part of creation, we can judge with sufficient accuracy of the operation of its principles, and of the effects to which they are competent. It is indeed true that human powers are not exactly defined, nor can we state precisely the bounds beyond which they cannot pass; but still, the disproportion between human nature and an effect ascribed to it may be so vast and palpable as to satisfy us at once that the effect is inexplicable by human power. I know not precisely what advances may be made by the intellect of an unassisted savage; but that a savage in the woods could not compose the "Principia" of Newton, is about as plain as that he could not create the world. I know not the point at which bodily strength must stop; but that a man cannot carry Atlas or Andes on his shoulders, is a safe position. The question, therefore, whether the principles of human nature, under the circumstances in which it was placed at Christ's birth, will explain his religion, is one to which we are competent, and is the great question on which the whole controversy turns.

Now we maintain that a great variety of facts belonging to this religion, — such as the character of its Founder; its peculiar principles; the style and character of its records; its progress; the conduct, circumstances, and sufferings of its first propagators; the reception of it from the first on the ground of miraculous attestations; the prophecies

which it fulfilled and which it contains; its influence on society, and other circumstances connected with it — are utterly inexplicable by human powers and principles, but accord with, and are fully explained by, the power and perfections of God.

These various particulars I cannot attempt to unfold. One or two may be illustrated to show you the mode of applying the principles which I have laid down. I will take first the character of Jesus Christ. How is this to be explained by the principles of human nature? We are immediately struck with this peculiarity in the Author of Christianity, that, whilst all other men are formed in a measure by the spirit of the age, we can discover in Jesus no impression of the period in which he lived. We know with considerable accuracy the state of society, the modes of thinking, the hopes and expectations of the country in which Jesus was born and grew up; and he is as free from them, and as exalted above them, as if he had lived in another world, or with every sense shut on the objects around him. His character has in it nothing local or temporary. It can be explained by nothing around him. His history shows him to us a solitary being, living for purposes which none but himself comprehended, and enjoying not so much as the sympathy of a single mind. His Apostles, his chosen companions, brought to him the spirit of the age; and nothing shows its strength more strikingly than the slowness with which it yielded in these honest men to the instructions of Jesus.

Jesus came to a nation expecting a Messiah; and he claimed this character. But instead of conforming to the opinions which prevailed in regard to the Messiah, he resisted them wholly and without reserve. To a people anticipating a triumphant leader, under whom vengeance as well as ambition was to be glutted by the prostration of their oppressors, he came as a spiritual leader, teaching humility and peace. This undisguised hostility to the dearest hopes and prejudices of his nation; this disdain of the usual compliances by which ambition and imposture conciliate adherents; this deliberate exposure of himself to rejection and hatred, cannot easily be explained by the common principles of human nature, and excludes the possibility of selfish aims in the Author of Christianity.

One striking peculiarity in Jesus is the extent, the vastness, of his views. Whilst all around him looked for a Messiah to liberate God's ancient people, whilst to every other Jew, Judea was the exclusive object of pride and hope, Jesus came, declaring himself to be the deliverer and light of the world, and in his whole teaching and life you see a consciousness which never forsakes him, of a relation to the whole human race. This idea of blessing mankind, of spreading a universal religion, was the most magnificent which had ever entered man's mind. All previous religions had been given to particular nations. No conqueror, legislator, philosopher, in the extravagance of ambition, had ever dreamed of subjecting all nations to a common faith.

This conception of a universal religion, intended alike for Jew and Gentile, for all nations and climes, is wholly inexplicable by the circumstances of Jesus. He was a Jew, and the first and deepest and most constant impression on a Jew's mind was that of the superiority conferred on his people and himself by the national religion introduced by Moses. The wall between the Jew and the Gentile seemed to reach to heaven. The abolition of the peculiarity of Moses, the prostration of the temple on Mount Zion, the erection of a new religion, in which all men would meet as brethren, and which would be the common and equal property of Jew and Gentile, these were of all ideas the last to spring up in Judea, the last for enthusiasm or imposture to originate.

Compare next these views of Christ with his station in life. He was of humble birth and education, with nothing in his lot, with no extensive means, no rank, or wealth, or patronage, to infuse vast thoughts and extravagant plans. The shop of a carpenter, the village of Nazareth, were not spots for ripening a scheme more aspiring and extensive than had ever been formed. It is a principle of human nature that, except in case of insanity, some proportion is observed between the power of an individual and his plans and hopes. The purpose to which Jesus devoted himself was as ill suited to his condition as

an attempt to change the seasons, or to make the sun rise in the west. That a young man in obscure life, belonging to an oppressed nation, should seriously think of subverting the time-hallowed and deep-rooted religions of the world, is a strange fact; but with this purpose we see the mind of Jesus thoroughly imbued; and, sublime as it is, he never falls below it in his language or conduct, but speaks and acts with a consciousness of superiority, with a dignity and authority, becoming this unparalleled destination.

In this connection I cannot but add another striking circumstance in Jesus, and that is, the calm confidence with which he always looked forward to the accomplishment of his design. He fully knew the strength of the passions and powers which were arrayed against him, and was perfectly aware that his life was to be shortened by violence; yet not a word escapes him implying a doubt of the ultimate triumphs of his religion. One of the beauties of the Gospels, and one of the proofs of their genuineness, is found in our Saviour's indirect and obscure allusions to his approaching sufferings, and to the glory which was to follow, — allusions showing us the workings of a mind thoroughly conscious of being appointed to accomplish infinite good through great calamity. This entire and patient relinquishment of immediate success, this ever-present persuasion that he was to perish before his religion would advance, and this calm, unshaken anticipation of distant and unbounded triumphs, are remarkable traits, throwing a tender and solemn grandeur over our Lord, and wholly inexplicable by human principles, or by the circumstances in which he was placed.

The views hitherto taken of Christ relate to his public character and office. If we pass to what may be called his private character, we shall receive the same impression of inexplicable excellence. The most striking trait in Jesus was, undoubtedly, benevolence; and, although this virtue had existed before, yet it had not been manifested in the same form and extent. Christ's benevolence was distinguished first by its expansiveness. At that age an unconfined philanthropy, proposing and toiling to do good without distinction of country or rank, was unknown. Love to man as man, love comprehending the hated Samaritan and the despised publican, was a feature which separated Jesus from the best men of his nation and of the world. Another characteristic of the benevolence of Jesus was its gentleness and tenderness, forming a strong contrast with the hardness and ferocity of the spirit and manners which then prevailed, and with that sternness and inflexibility which the purest philosophy of Greece and Rome inculcated as the perfection of virtue. But its most distinguishing trait was its superiority to injury. Revenge was one of the recognized rights of the age in which he lived; and though a few sages, who had seen its inconsistency with man's dignity, had condemned it, yet none had inculcated the duty of regarding one's worst enemies with that kindness which God manifests to sinful men, and of returning curses with blessings and prayers. This form of benevolence, the most disinterested and divine form, was, as you well know, manifested by Jesus Christ in infinite strength, amidst injuries and indignities which cannot be surpassed. Now this singular eminence of goodness, this superiority to the degrading influences of the age, under which all other men suffered, needs to be explained; and one thing it demonstrates, that Jesus Christ was not an unprincipled deceiver, exposing not only his own life but the lives of confiding friends in an enterprise next to desperate.

I cannot enlarge on other traits of the character of Christ. I will only observe that it had one distinction which more than any thing forms a perfect character. It was made up of contrasts; in other words, it was a union of excellences which are not easily reconciled, which seem at first sight incongruous, but which, when blended and duly proportioned, constitute moral harmony, and attract with equal power love and veneration. For example, we discover in Jesus Christ an unparalleled dignity of character, a consciousness of greatness never discovered or approached by any other individual in history; and yet this was blended with a condescension, lowliness, and unostentatious simplicity which had never before been thought consistent with greatness. In like manner, he united an utter superiority to the

world, to its pleasures and ordinary interests, with suavity of manners and freedom from austerity. He joined strong feeling and self-possession; an indignant sensibility to sin, and compassion to the sinner; an intense devotion to his work, and calmness under opposition and ill success; a universal philanthropy, and a susceptibility of private attachments; the authority which became the Saviour of the world, and the tenderness and gratitude of a son. Such was the Author of our religion. And is his character to be explained by imposture or insane enthusiasm? Does it not bear the unambiguous marks of a heavenly origin?

Perhaps it may be said this character never existed. Then the invention of it is to be explained, and the reception which this fiction met with; and these perhaps are as difficult of explanation on natural principles as its real existence. Christ's history bears all the marks of reality; a more frank, simple, unlabored, unostentatious narrative was never penned. Besides, his character, if invented, must have been an invention of singular difficulty, because no models existed on which to frame it. He stands alone in the records of time. The conception of a being, proposing such new and exalted ends, and governed by higher principles than the progress of society had developed, implies singular intellectual power. That several individuals should join in equally vivid conceptions of this character, and should not merely describe in general terms the fictitious being to whom it was attributed, but should introduce him into real life, should place him in a great variety of circumstances, in connection with various ranks of men, with friends and foes, and should in all preserve his identity, show the same great and singular mind always acting in harmony with itself; this is a supposition hardly credible, and, when the circumstances of the writers of the New Testament are considered, seems to be as inexplicable on human principles as what I before suggested, the composition of Newton's "Principia" by a savage. The character of Christ, though delineated in an age of great moral darkness, has stood the scrutiny of ages; and, in proportion as men's moral sentiments have been refined, its beauty has been more seen and felt. To suppose it invented is to suppose that its authors, outstripping their age, had attained to a singular delicacy and elevation of moral perception and feeling. But these attainments are not very reconcilable with the character of its authors, supposing it to be a fiction; that is, with the character of habitual liars and impious deceivers.

But we are not only unable to discover powers adequate to this invention. There must have been motives for it; for men do not make great efforts without strong motives; and, in the whole compass of human incitements, we challenge the infidel to suggest any which could have prompted to the work now to be explained.

Once more, it must be recollected that this invention, if it were one, was received as real at a period so near to the time ascribed to Christ's appearance that the means of detecting it were infinite. That men should send out such a forgery, and that it should prevail and triumph, are circumstances not easily reconcilable with the principles of our nature.

The character of Christ, then, was real. Its reality is the only explanation of the mighty revolution produced by his religion. And how can you account for it, but by that cause to which he always referred it, — a mission from the Father?

Next to the character of Christ, his religion might be shown to abound in circumstances which contradict and repel the idea of a human origin. For example, its representations of the paternal character of God; its inculcation of a universal charity; the stress which it lays on inward purity; its substitution of a spiritual worship for the forms and ceremonies which everywhere had usurped the name and extinguished the life of religion; its preference of humility, and of the mild, unostentatious, passive virtues, to the dazzling qualities which had monopolized men's admiration; its consistent and bright discoveries of immortality; its adaptation to the wants of man as a sinner; its adaptation to all the conditions, capacities, and sufferings of human nature; its pure, sublime, yet practicable morality; its high and generous motives; and its fitness to form a character which plainly prepares for a higher life than the pres-

ent; these are peculiarities of Christianity, which will strike us more and more in proportion as we understand distinctly the circumstances of the age and country in which this religion appeared, and for which no adequate human cause has been or can be assigned.

Passing over these topics, each of which might be enlarged into a discourse, I will make but one remark on this religion, which strikes my own mind very forcibly. Since its introduction, human nature has made great progress, and society experienced great changes; and in this advanced condition of the world Christianity, instead of losing its application and importance, is found to be more and more congenial and adapted to man's nature and wants. Men have outgrown the other institutions of that period when Christianity appeared, — its philosophy, its modes of warfare, its policy, its public and private economy; but Christianity has never shrunk as intellect has opened, but has always kept in advance of men's faculties, and unfolded nobler views in proportion as they have ascended. The highest powers and affections which our nature has developed find more than adequate objects in this religion. Christianity is indeed peculiarly fitted to the more improved stages of society, to the more delicate sensibilities of refined minds, and especially to that dissatisfaction with the present state which always grows with the growth of our moral powers and affections. As men advance in civilization, they become susceptible of mental sufferings to which ruder ages are strangers; and these Christianity is fitted to assuage. Imagination and intellect become more restless; and Christianity brings them tranquillity, by the eternal and magnificent truths, the solemn and unbounded prospects, which it unfolds. This fitness of our religion to more advanced stages of society than that in which it was introduced, to wants of human nature not then developed, seems to me very striking. The religion bears the marks of having come from a Being who perfectly understood the human mind, and had power to provide for its progress. This feature of Christianity is of the nature of prophecy. It was an anticipation of future and distant ages; and, when we consider among whom our religion sprung, where, but in God, can we find an explanation of this peculiarity?

I have now offered a few hints on the character of Christ, and on the character of his religion; and before quitting these topics I would observe, that they form a strong presumption in favor of the miraculous facts of the Christian history. These miracles were not wrought by a man whose character in other respects was ordinary. They were acts of a being, whose mind was as singular as his works, who spoke and acted with more than human authority, whose moral qualities and sublime purposes were in accordance with superhuman powers. Christ's miracles are in unison with his whole character, and bear a proportion to it like that which we observe in the most harmonious productions of nature; and in this way they receive from it great confirmation. And the same presumption in their favor arises from his religion. That a religion carrying in itself such marks of divinity, and so inexplicable on human principles, should receive outward confirmations from Omnipotence, is not surprising. The extraordinary character of the religion accords with and seems to demand extraordinary interpositions in its behalf. Its miracles are not solitary, naked, unexplained, disconnected events, but are bound up with a system which is worthy of God, and impressed with God; which occupies a large space, and is operating, with great and increasing energy, in human affairs.

As yet I have not touched on what seem to many writers the strongest proofs of Christianity, — I mean the direct evidences of its miracles: by which we mean the testimony borne to them, including the character, conduct, and condition of the witnesses. These I have not time to unfold; nor is this labor needed; for Paley's inestimable work, which is one of your classical books, has stated these proofs with great clearness and power. I would only observe that they may all be resolved into this single principle; namely, that the Christian miracles were originally believed under such circumstances that this belief can only be explained by their actual occurrence. That Christianity was received at first on the ground of miracles, and that its first preachers and converts proved the depth and strength of their conviction

of these facts by attesting them in sufferings and in death, we know from the most ancient records which relate to this religion, both Christian and heathen; and, in fact, this conviction can alone explain their adherence to Christianity. Now, that this conviction could only have sprung from the reality of the miracles, we infer from the known circumstances of these witnesses, whose passions, interests, and strongest prejudices were originally hostile to the new religion; whose motives for examining with care the facts on which it rested were as urgent and solemn, and whose means and opportunities of ascertaining their truth were as ample and unfailing, as can be conceived to conspire; so that the supposition of their falsehood cannot be admitted without subverting our trust in human judgment and human testimony under the most favorable circumstances for discovering truth; that is, without introducing universal scepticism.

There is one class of Christian evidences to which I have but slightly referred, but which has struck with peculiar force men of reflecting minds. I refer to the marks of truth and reality which are found in the Christian records: to the internal proofs which the books of the New Testament carry with them of having been written by men who lived in the first age of Christianity, who believed and felt its truth, who bore a part in the labors and conflicts which attended its establishment, and who wrote from personal knowledge and deep conviction. A few remarks to illustrate the nature and power of these internal proofs, which are furnished by the books of the New Testament, I will now subjoin.

The New Testament consists of histories and epistles. The historical books, namely, the Gospels and the Acts, are a continued narrative, embracing many years, and professing to give the history of the rise and progress of the religion. Now it is worthy of observation that these writings completely answer their end: that they completely solve the problem, how this peculiar religion grew up and established itself in the world; that they furnish precise and adequate causes for this stupendous revolution in human affairs. It is also worthy of remark that they relate a series of facts which are not only connected with one another, but are intimately linked with the long series which has followed them, and agree accurately with subsequent history, so as to account for and sustain it. Now, that a collection of fictitious narratives, coming from different hands, comprehending many years, and spreading over many countries, should not only form a consistent whole, when taken by themselves, but should also connect and interweave themselves with real history so naturally and intimately as to furnish no clue for detection, as to exclude the appearance of incongruity and discordance, and as to give an adequate explanation, and the only explanation, of acknowledged events, of the most important revolution in society; this is a supposition from which an intelligent man at once revolts, and which, if admitted, would shake a principal foundation of history.

I have before spoken of the unity and consistency of Christ's character as developed in the Gospels, and of the agreement of the different writers in giving us the singular features of his mind. Now there are the same marks of truth running through the whole of these narratives. For example, the effects produced by Jesus on the various classes of society; the different feelings of admiration, attachment, and envy, which he called forth; the various expressions of these feelings; the prejudices, mistakes, and gradual illumination of his disciples: these are all given to us with such marks of truth and reality as could not easily be counterfeited. The whole history is precisely such as might be expected from the actual appearance of such a person as Jesus Christ, in such a state of society as then existed.

The Epistles, if possible, abound in marks of truth and reality even more than the Gospels. They are imbued thoroughly with the spirit of the first age of Christianity. They bear all the marks of having come from men plunged in the conflicts which the new religion excited, alive to its interests, identified with its fortunes. They betray the very state of mind which must have been generated by the peculiar condition of the first propagators of the religion. They are letters written on real business, intended for immediate effects, designed to meet prejudices and

passions which such a religion must at first have awakened. They contain not a trace of the circumstances of a later age, or of the feelings, impressions, and modes of thinking by which later times were characterized, and from which later writers could not easily have escaped. The letters of Paul have a remarkable agreement with his history. They are precisely such as might be expected from a man of a vehement mind, who had been brought up in the schools of Jewish literature, who had been converted by a sudden, overwhelming miracle, who had been intrusted with the preaching of the new religion to the Gentiles, and who was everywhere met by the prejudices and persecuting spirit of his own nation. They are full of obscurities growing out of these points of Paul's history and character, and out of the circumstances of the infant church, and which nothing but an intimate acquaintance with that early period can illustrate. This remarkable infusion of the spirit of the first age into the Christian records cannot easily be explained but by the fact that they were written in that age by the real and zealous propagators of Christianity, and that they are records of real convictions and of actual events.

There is another evidence of Christianity still more internal than any on which I have yet dwelt, — an evidence to be felt rather than described, but not less real because founded on feeling. I refer to that conviction of the divine original of our religion which springs up and continually gains strength in those who apply it habitually to their tempers and lives, and who imbibe its spirit and hopes. In such men there is a consciousness of the adaptation of Christianity to their noblest faculties, — a consciousness of its exalting and consoling influences, of its power to confer the true happiness of human nature, to give that peace which the world cannot give; which assures them that it is not of earthly origin, but a ray from the Everlasting Light, a stream from the Fountain of heavenly wisdom and love. This is the evidence which sustains the faith of thousands who never read and cannot understand the learned books of Christian apologists, who want, perhaps, words to explain the ground of their belief, but whose faith is of adamantine firmness, who hold the Gospel with a conviction more intimate and unwavering than mere argument ever produced.

But I must tear myself from a subject which opens upon me continually as I proceed. Imperfect as this discussion is, the conclusion, I trust, is placed beyond doubt, that Christianity is true. And, my hearers, if true, it is the greatest of all truths, deserving and demanding our reverent attention and fervent gratitude. This religion must never be confounded with our common blessings. It is a revelation of pardon which, as sinners, we all need. Still more, it is a revelation of human immortality, — a doctrine which, however undervalued amidst the bright anticipations of inexperienced youth, is found to be our strength and consolation, and the only effectual spring of persevering and victorious virtue, when the realities of life have scattered our visionary hopes; when pain, disappointment, and temptation press upon us; when this world's enjoyments are found unable to quench that deep thirst of happiness which burns in every breast; when friends, whom we love as our own souls, die; and our own graves open before us. To all who hear me, and especially to my young hearers, I would say, let the truth of this religion be the strongest conviction of your understandings; let its motives and precepts sway with an absolute power your characters and lives.

CHRISTIANITY A RATIONAL RELIGION.

ROMANS i. 16: "I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ."

SUCH was the language of Paul; and every man will respond to it who comprehends the character and has felt the influence of Christianity. In a former discourse, I proposed to state to you some reasons for adopting as our own the words of the Apostle, for joining in his open and resolute testimony to the gospel of Christ. I observed that I was not ashamed of the gospel, first, because it is true, and to this topic the discourse was devoted. I wish now to continue the subject, and to state another ground of undisguised and unshaken adherence to Christianity. I say, then, I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, because it is a *rational* religion. It agrees with reason; therefore I count it worthy of acceptation; therefore I do not blush to enroll myself among its friends and advocates. The object of the present discourse will be the illustration of this claim of Christianity. I wish to show you the harmony which subsists between the light of God's word and that primitive light of reason which He has kindled within us to be our perpetual guide. If, in treating this subject, I shall come into conflict with any class of Christians, I trust I shall not be considered as imputing to them any moral or intellectual defect. I judge men by their motives, dispositions, and lives, and not by their speculations or peculiar opinions; and I esteem piety and virtue equally venerable whether found in friend or foe.

Christianity is a rational religion. Were it not so, I should be ashamed to profess it. I am aware that it is the fashion with some to decry reason, and to set up revelation as an opposite authority. This error, though countenanced by good men, and honestly maintained for the defence of the Christian cause, ought to be earnestly withstood; for it virtually surrenders our religion into the hands of the unbeliever. It saps the foundation to strengthen the building. It places our religion in hostility to human nature, and gives to its adversaries the credit of vindicating the rights and noblest powers of the mind.

We must never forget that our rational nature is the greatest gift of God. For this we owe him our chief gratitude. It is a greater gift than any outward aid or benefaction, and no doctrine which degrades it can come from its Author. The development of it is the end of our being. Revelation is but a means, and is designed to concur with nature, providence, and God's spirit, in carrying forward reason to its perfection. I glory in Christianity because it enlarges, invigorates, exalts my rational nature. If I could not be a Christian without ceasing to be rational, I should not hesitate as to my choice. I feel myself bound to sacrifice to Christianity property, reputation, life; but I ought not to sacrifice to any religion that reason which lifts me above the brute and constitutes me a man. I can conceive no sacrilege greater than to prostrate or renounce the highest faculty which we have derived from God. In so doing we should offer violence to the divinity within us. Christianity wages no war with reason, but is one with it, and is given to be its helper and friend.

I wish, in the present discourse, to illustrate and confirm the views now given. My remarks will be arranged under two heads. I propose, first, to show that Christianity is founded on, and supposes the authority of reason, and cannot therefore oppose it without subverting itself. My object in this part of the discourse will be to expose the error of those who hope to serve revelation by disparaging reason. I shall then, in the second place, compare Christianity and the light of reason, to show their accordance; and shall prove, by descending to particulars, that Christianity is eminently a rational religion. My aim, under this head, will be to vindicate the gospel from the reproaches of the unbeliever, and to strengthen the

faith and attachment of its friends. Before I begin, let me observe that this discussion, from the nature of the subject, must assume occasionally an abstract form, and will demand serious attention. I am to speak of reason, the chief faculty of the mind; and no simplicity of language in treating such a topic can exempt the hearer from the necessity of patient effort of thought.

I am to begin with showing that the Christian revelation is founded on the authority of reason, and consequently cannot oppose it; and here it may be proper to settle the meaning of the word reason. One of the most important steps towards the truth is to determine the import of terms. Very often fierce controversies have sprung from obscurity of language, and the parties, on explaining themselves, have discovered that they have been spending their strength in a war of words. What, then, is reason?

The term reason is used with so much latitude that to fix its precise limits is not an easy task. In this respect it agrees with the other words which express the intellectual faculties. One idea, however, is always attached to it. All men understand by reason the highest faculty or energy of the mind. Without laboring for a philosophical definition that will comprehend all its exercises, I shall satisfy myself with pointing out two of its principal characteristics or functions.

First, it belongs to reason to comprehend universal truths. This is among its most important offices. There are particular and there are universal truths. The last are the noblest, and the capacity of perceiving them is the distinction of intelligent beings; and these belong to reason. Let me give my meaning by some illustrations. I see a stone falling to the ground. This is a particular truth; but I do not stop here. I believe that not only this particular stone falls towards the earth, but that every particle of matter, in whatever world, tends, or, as is sometimes said, is attracted towards all other matter. Here is a universal truth, a principle extending to the whole material creation, and essential to its existence. This truth belongs to reason. Again, I see a man producing some effect, — a manufacture, a house. Here is a particular truth. But I am not only capable of seeing particular causes and effects; I am sure that every thing which begins to exist, no matter when or where, must have a cause, that no change ever has taken place or ever will take place without a cause. Here is a universal truth, something true here and everywhere, true now and through eternity; and this truth belongs to reason. Again, I see with my eyes, I traverse with my hands, a limited space; but this is not all. I am sure that, beyond the limits which my limbs or senses reach, there is an unbounded space; that, go where I will, an infinity will spread around me. Here is another universal truth, and this belongs to reason. The idea of infinity is indeed one of the noblest conceptions of this faculty. Again, I see a man conferring a good on another. Here is a particular truth or perception. But my mind is not confined to this. I see and feel that it is right for all intelligent beings, exist when or where they may, to do good, and wrong for them to seek the misery of others. Here is a universal truth, — a law extending from God to the lowest human being; and this belongs to reason. I trust I have conveyed to you my views in regard to the first characteristic of this highest power of the soul. Its office is to discern universal truths, great and eternal principles. But it does not stop here. Reason is also exercised in applying these universal truths to particular cases, beings, events. For example, reason teaches me, as we have seen, that all changes without exception require a cause: and, in conformity to this principle, it prompts me to seek the particular causes of the endless changes and appearances which fall under my observation. Thus reason is perpetually at work on the ideas furnished us by the senses, — by consciousness, by memory, — associating them with its own great truths, or investing them with its own universality.

I now proceed to the second function of reason, which is indeed akin to the first. Reason is the power which tends and is perpetually striving to reduce our various thoughts to unity or consistency. Perhaps the most fundamental conviction of reason is, that all truths agree together, — that inconsistency is the mark of error. Its intensest, most earnest effort is to bring concord into the

intellect, to reconcile what seem to be clashing views. On the observation of a new fact, reason strives to incorporate it with former knowledge. It can allow nothing to stand separate in the mind. It labors to bring together scattered truths, and to give them the strength and beauty of a vital order. Its end and delight is harmony. It is shocked by an inconsistency in belief, just as a fine ear is wounded by a discord. It carries within itself an instinctive consciousness that all things which exist are intimately bound together; and it cannot rest until it has connected whatever we witness with the infinite whole. Reason, according to this view, is the most glorious form or exercise of the intellectual nature. It corresponds to the unity of God and the universe, and seeks to make the soul the image and mirror of this sublime unity.

I have thus given my views of reason; but, to prevent all perversion, before I proceed to the main discussion, let me offer a word or two more of explanation. In this discourse, when I speak of the accordance of revelation with reason, I suppose this faculty to be used deliberately, conscientiously, and with the love of truth. Men often baptize with the name of reason their prejudices, unexamined notions, or opinions adopted through interest, pride, or other unworthy biases. It is not uncommon to hear those who sacrifice the plainest dictates of the rational nature to impulse and passion, setting themselves up as oracles of reason. Now, when I say revelation must accord with reason, I do not mean by the term the corrupt and superficial opinions of men who have betrayed and debased their rational powers. I mean reason calmly, honestly exercised for the acquisition of truth and the invigoration of virtue.

After these explanations, I proceed to the discussion of the two leading principles to which this discourse is devoted.

First, I am to show that revelation is founded on the authority of reason, and cannot therefore oppose or disparage it without subverting itself. Let me state a few of the considerations which convince me of the truth of this position. The first is, that reason alone makes us capable of receiving a revelation. It must previously exist and operate, or we should be wholly unprepared for the communications of Christ. Revelation, then, is built on reason. You will see the truth of these remarks if you will consider to whom revelation is sent. Why is it given to men rather than to brutes? Why have not God's messengers gone to the fields to proclaim his glad tidings to bird and beast? The answer is obvious. These want reason: and wanting this, they have no capacity or preparation for revealed truth. And not only would revelation be lost on the brute; let it speak to the child, before his rational faculties have been awakened, and before some ideas of duty and his own nature have been developed, and it might as well speak to a stone. Reason is the preparation and ground of revelation.

This truth will be still more obvious if we consider not only to whom, but in what way, the Christian revelation is communicated. How is it conveyed? In words. Did it make these words? No. They were in use ages before its birth. Again I ask, Did it make the ideas or thoughts which these words express? No. If the hearers of Jesus had not previously attached ideas to the terms which he employed, they could not have received his meaning. He might as well have spoken to them in a foreign tongue. Thus the ideas which enter into Christianity subsisted before. They were ideas of reason; so that to this faculty revelation owes the materials of which it is composed.

Revelation, we must remember, is not our earliest teacher. Man is not born with the single power of reading God's word, and sent immediately to that guide. His eyes open first on another volume, — that of the creation. Long before he can read the Bible he looks round on the earth and sky. He reads the countenances of his friends, and hears and understands their voices. He looks, too, by degrees, within himself, and acquires some ideas of his own soul. Thus his first school is that of nature and reason, and this is necessary to prepare him for a communication from heaven. Revelation does not find the mind a blank, a void, prepared to receive unresistingly whatever may be offered; but finds it in possession of various knowledge from nature and experience, and, still more, in possession of great

principles, fundamental truths, moral ideas, which are derived from itself, and which are the germs of all its future improvement. This last view is peculiarly important. The mind does not receive every thing from abroad. Its great ideas arise from itself, and by those native lights it reads and comprehends the volumes of nature and revelation. We speak, indeed, of nature and revelation as making known to us an intelligent First Cause; but the ideas of intelligence and causation we derive originally from our own nature. The elements of the idea of God we gather from ourselves. Power, wisdom, love, virtue, beauty, and happiness, — words which contain all that is glorious in the universe and interesting in our existence, — express attributes of the mind, and are understood by us only through consciousness. It is true, these ideas or principles of reason are often obscured by thick clouds and mingled with many and deplorable errors. Still, they are never lost. Christianity recognizes them, is built on them, and needs them as its interpreters. If an illustration of these views be required, I would point you to what may be called the most fundamental idea of religion, — I mean the idea of right, of duty. Do we derive this originally and wholly from sacred books? Has not every human being, whether born within or beyond the bounds of revelation, a sense of the distinction between right and wrong? Is there not an earlier voice than revelation approving or rebuking men according to their deeds? In barbarous ages is not conscience heard? And does it not grow more articulate with the progress of society? Christianity does not create, but presupposes the idea of duty; and the same may be said of other great convictions. Revelation, then, does not stand alone, nor is it addressed to a blank and passive mind. It was meant to be a joint worker with other teachers, with nature, with Providence, with conscience, with our rational powers; and as these all are given us by God, they cannot differ from each other. God must agree with himself. He has but one voice. It is man who speaks with jarring tongues. Nothing but harmony can come from the Creator; and, accordingly, a religion claiming to be from God can give no surer proof of falsehood than by contradicting those previous truths which God is teaching by our very nature. We have thus seen that reason prepares us for a divine communication, and that it furnishes the ideas or materials of which revelation consists. This is my first consideration.

I proceed to a second. I affirm, then, that revelation rests on the authority of reason, because to this faculty it submits the evidences of its truth, and nothing but the approving sentence of reason binds us to receive and obey it. This is a very weighty consideration. Christianity, in placing itself before the tribunal of reason, and in resting its claims on the sanction of this faculty, is one of the chief witnesses to the authority and dignity of our rational nature. That I have ascribed to this faculty its true and proper office may be easily made to appear. I take the New Testament in hand, and on what ground do I receive its truths as divine? I see nothing on its pages but the same letters in which other books are written. No miraculous voice from heaven assures me that it is God's word, nor does any mysterious voice within my soul command me to believe the supernatural works of Christ. How, then, shall I settle the question of the origin of this religion? I must examine it by the same rational faculties by which other subjects are tried. I must ask what are its evidences, and I must lay them before reason, the only power by which evidence can be weighed. I have not a distinct faculty given me for judging a revelation. I have not two understandings, one for inquiring into God's word and another into his works. As with the same bodily eye I now look on the earth, now on the heavens, so with the same power of reason I examine now nature, now revelation. Reason must collect and weigh the various proofs of Christianity. It must especially compare this system with those great moral convictions which are written by the finger of God on the heart, and which make man a law to himself. A religion subverting these it must not hesitate to reject, be its evidences what they may. A religion, for example, commanding us to hate and injure society, reason must instantly discard, without even waiting to examine its proofs. From these views we learn, not only that it is the province of reason to judge of

the truth of Christianity, but, what is still more important, that the rules or tests by which it judges are of its own dictation. The laws which it applies in this case have their origin in itself. No one will pretend that revelation can prescribe the principles by which the question of its own truth should be settled; for, until proved to be true, it has no authority. Reason must prescribe the tests or standards to which a professed communication from God should be referred; and among these none are more important than that moral law which belongs to the very essence and is the deepest conviction of the rational nature. Revelation, then, rests on reason, and in opposing it would act for its own destruction.

I have given two views. I have shown that revelation draws its ideas or materials from reason, and that it appeals to this power as the judge of its truth. I now assert, thirdly, that it rests on the authority of reason, because it needs and expects this faculty to be its interpreter, and without this aid would be worse than useless. How is the right of interpretation, the real meaning, of Scriptures to be ascertained? I answer, by reason. I know of no process by which the true sense of the New Testament is to pass from the page into my mind without the use of my rational faculties. It will not be pretended that this book is so exceedingly plain, its words so easy, its sentences so short, its meaning so exposed on the surface, that the whole truth may be received in a moment and without any intellectual effort. There is no such miraculous simplicity in the Scriptures. In truth, no book can be written so simply as to need no exercise of reason. Almost every word has more than one meaning, and judgment is required to select the particular sense intended by the writer. Of all books, perhaps the Scriptures need most the use of reason for their just interpretation; and this, not from any imperfection, but from the strength, boldness, and figurative character of their style, and from the distance of the time when they were written. I open the New Testament and my eye lights on this passage: "If thy right hand offend thee, cut it off and cast it from thee." Is this language to be interpreted in its plainest and most obvious sense? Then I must mutilate my body, and become a suicide. I look again, and I find Jesus using these words to the Jews: "Fill ye up the measure of your iniquities." Am I to interpret this according to the letter or the first ideas which it suggests? Then Jesus commanded his hearers to steep themselves in crime, and was himself a minister of sin. It is only by a deliberate use of reason that we can penetrate beneath the figurative, hyperbolical, and often obscure style of the New Testament, to the real meaning. Let me go to the Bible, dismissing my reason and taking the first impression which the words convey, and there is no absurdity, however gross, into which I shall not fall. I shall ascribe a limited body to God, and unbounded knowledge to man, for I read of God having limbs, and of man knowing all things. Nothing is plainer than that I must compare passage with passage, and limit one by another, and especially limit all by those plain and universal principles of reason which are called common-sense, or I shall make revelation the patron of every folly and vice. So essential is reason to the interpretation of the Christian records. Revelation rests upon its authority. Can it then oppose it, or teach us to hold it in light esteem?

I have now furnished the proofs of my first position, that revelation is founded on reason; and in discussing this, I have wished not only to support the main doctrine, but to teach you to reverence, more perhaps than you have done, your rational nature. This has been decried by theologians, until men have ceased to feel its sacredness and dignity. It ought to be regarded as God's greatest gift. It is his image within us. To renounce it would be to offer a cruel violence to ourselves, to take our place among the brutes. Better pluck out the eye, better quench the light of the body than the light within us. We all feel that the loss of reason, when produced by disease, is the most terrible calamity of life; and we look on a hospital for the insane as the receptacle for the most pitiable of our race. But, in one view, insanity is not so great an evil as the prostration of reason to a religious sect or a religious chief; for the first is a visitation of Providence, the last is a voluntary act, the work of our own hands.

I am aware that those who have spoken most contemptuously of human reason have acted from a good motive, — their aim has been to exalt revelation. They have thought that by magnifying this as the only means of divine teaching, they were adding to its dignity. But truth gains nothing by exaggeration; and Christianity, as we have seen, is undermined by nothing more effectually than by the sophistry which would bring discredit on our rational powers. Revelation needs no such support. For myself, I do not find that to esteem Christianity, I must think it the only source of instruction to which I must repair. I need not make nature dumb to give power or attraction to the teaching of Christ. The last derives new interest and confirmation from its harmony with the first. Christianity would furnish a weapon against itself, not easily repelled, should it claim the distinction of being the only light vouchsafed by God to men; for, in that case, it would represent a vast majority of the human race as left by their Creator without guidance or hope. I believe, and rejoice to believe, that a ray from heaven descends on the path of every fellow-creature. The heathen, though in darkness when compared with the Christian, has still his light; and it comes from the same source as our own, just as the same sun dispenses, now the faint dawn, and now the perfect day. Let not nature's teaching be disparaged. It is from God as truly as his word. It is sacred, as truly as revelation. Both are manifestations of one infinite mind, and harmonious manifestations; and without this agreement the claims of Christianity could not be sustained.

In offering these remarks, I have not forgotten that they will expose me to the reproach of ministering to "the pride of reason;" and I may be told that there is no worse form of pride than this. The charge is so common as to deserve a moment's attention. It will appear at once to be groundless, if you consider that pride finds its chief nourishment and delight in the idea of our own superiority. It is built on something peculiar and distinctive, on something which separates us from others and raises us above them, and not on powers which we share with all around us. Now, in speaking as I have done of the worth and dignity of reason, I have constantly regarded and represented this faculty as the common property of all human beings. I have spoken of its most important truths as universal and unconfined, such as no individual can monopolize or make the grounds of personal distinction or elevation. I have given, then, no occasion and furnished no nutriment to pride. I know, indeed, that the pride of reason or of intellect exists; but how does it chiefly manifest itself? Not in revering that rational nature which all men have derived from God; but in exaggerating our particular acquisitions or powers, in magnifying our distinctive views, in looking contemptuously on other minds, in making ourselves standards for our brethren, in refusing new lights, and in attempting to establish dominion over the understandings of those who are placed within our influence. Such is the most common form of the pride of intellect. It is a vice confined to no sect, and perhaps will be found to prevail most where it is most disclaimed.

I doubt not that they who insist so continually on the duty of exalting Scripture above reason, consider themselves as particularly secured against the pride of reason. Yet none, I apprehend, are more open to the charge. Such persons are singularly prone to enforce their own interpretations of Scripture on others, and to see peril and crime in the adoption of different views from their own. Now, let me ask, by what power do these men interpret revelation? Is it not by their reason? Have they any faculties but the rational ones by which to compare Scripture with Scripture, to explain figurative language, to form conclusions as to the will of God? Do they not employ on God's word the same intellect as on his works? And are not their interpretations of both equally results of reason? It follows, that in imposing on others their explications of the Scriptures, they as truly arrogate to themselves a superiority of reason as if they should require conformity to their explanations of nature. Nature and Scripture agree in this, that they cannot be understood at a glance. Both volumes demand patient investigation, and task all our powers of thought. Accordingly, it is well known that as much intellectual toil has been spent on

theological systems as on the natural sciences; and unhappily it is not less known that as much intellectual pride has been manifested in framing and defending the first as the last. I fear, indeed, that this vice has clung with peculiar obstinacy to the students of revelation. Nowhere, I fear, have men manifested such infatuated trust in their own infallibility, such overweening fondness for their own conclusions, such positiveness, such impatience of contradiction, such arrogance towards the advocates of different opinions, as in the interpretation of the Scriptures; and yet these very men, who so idolize their own intellectual powers, profess to humble reason, and consider a criminal reliance on it as almost exclusively chargeable on others. The true defence against the pride of reason is, not to speak of it contemptuously, but to reverence it as God's inestimable gift to every human being, and as given to all for never-ceasing improvements, of which we see but the dawn in the present acquisitions of the noblest mind.

I have now completed my views of the first principle which I laid down in this discourse; namely, that the Christian revelation rests on the authority of reason. Of course, it cannot oppose reason without undermining and destroying itself. I maintain, however, that it does not oppose, — that it perfectly accords with reason. It is a rational religion. This is my second great position, and to this I ask your continued attention. This topic might easily be extended to a great length. I might state, in succession, all the principles of Christianity, and show their accordance with reason. But I believe that more general views will be more useful, and such only can be given within the compass of a discourse.

In the account which I gave you of reason in the beginning of this discourse, I confined myself to two of its functions; namely, its comprehension of universal truths, and the effort it constantly makes to reduce the thoughts to harmony or consistency. Universality and consistency are among the chief attributes of reason. Do we find these in Christianity? If so, its claim to the character of a rational religion will be established. These tests I will therefore apply to it, and I will begin with consistency.

That a religion be rational, nothing more is necessary than that its truths should consist or agree with one another, and with all other truths, whether derived from outward nature or our own souls. Now I affirm that the Christian doctrines have this agreement; and the more we examine, the more brightly this mark of truth will appear. I go to the gospel, and I first compare its various parts with one another. Among these I find perfect harmony; and what makes this more remarkable is, that Christianity is not taught systematically or like a science. Jesus threw out, if I may so speak, his precepts and doctrines incidentally, or as they were required by the occasion, and yet, when they are brought together, they form a harmonious whole. I do not think it necessary to enlarge on this topic, because I believe it is not questioned by infidelity. I will name but one example of this harmony in Christianity. All its doctrines and all its precepts have that species of unity which is most essential in a religion, — that is, they all tend to one object. They all agree in a single aim or purpose, and that is to exalt the human character to a height of virtue never known before. Let the sceptic name, if he can, one Christian principle which has not a bearing on this end. A consistency of this kind is the strongest mark of a rational religion which can be conceived. Let me observe, in passing, that, besides this harmony of the Christian doctrines with one another, there is a striking and beautiful agreement between the teachings of Jesus and his character, which gives confirmation to both. Whatever Jesus taught, you may see embodied in himself. There is perfect unity between the system and its Founder. His life republished what fell from his lips. With his lips he enjoined earnestly, constantly, a strong and disinterested philanthropy; and how harmoniously and sublimely did his cross join with his word in enforcing this exalted virtue! With his lips he taught the mercy of God to sinners: and of this attribute he gave a beautiful illustration in his own deep interest in the sinful, in his free intercourse with the most fallen, and in his patient efforts

to recover them to virtue and to filial reliance on their Father in heaven. So, his preaching turned much on the importance of raising the mind above the world; and his own life was a constant renunciation of worldly interests, a cheerful endurance of poverty that he might make many truly rich. So, his discourses continually revealed to man the doctrine of immortality; and in his own person he brought down this truth to men's senses, by rising from the dead and ascending to another state of being. I have only glanced at the unity which subsists between Jesus and his religion. Christianity, from every point of view, will be found a harmonious system. It breathes throughout one spirit and one purpose. Its doctrines, precepts, and examples have the consistency of reason.

But this is not enough. A rational religion must agree not only with itself, but with all other truths, whether revealed by the outward creation or our own souls. I take, then, Christianity into the creation; I place it by the side of nature. Do they agree? I say, Perfectly. I can discover nothing, in what claims to be God's word, at variance with his works. This is a bright proof of the reasonableness of Christianity. When I consult nature with the lights modern science affords, I see continually multiplying traces of the doctrine of One God. The more I extend my researches into nature, the more I see that it is a whole, the product of one wisdom, power, and goodness. It bears witness to one Author; nor has its testimony been without effect; for although the human mind has often multiplied its objects of worship, still it has always tended towards the doctrine of the divine unity, and has embraced it more and more firmly in the course of human improvement. The heathen, while he erected many altars, generally believed in one supreme divinity, to whom the inferior deities were subjected and from whom they sprung. Need I tell you of the harmony which subsists between nature and revelation in this particular? To Christianity belongs the glory of having proclaimed this primitive truth with new power, and of having spread it over the whole civilized world. Again: Nature gives intimation of another truth, — I mean of the universal, impartial goodness of God. When I look round on the creation, I see nothing to lead me to suspect that its Author confines his love to a few. The sun sends no brighter beam into the palace of the proudest king than into the hut of the meanest peasant. The clouds select not one man's fields rather than his neighbor's, but shed down their blessings on rich and poor, and, still more, on the just and the unjust. True, there is a variety of conditions among men; but this takes place, not by any interposition of God, but by fixed and general laws of nature. Impartial, universal goodness is the character in which God is revealed by his works, when they are properly understood; and need I tell you how brightly this truth shines in the pages of Christianity, and how this religion has been the great means of establishing it among men? Again: When I look through nature, nothing strikes me more than the union which subsists among all its works. Nothing stands alone in the creation. The humblest plant has intimate connections with the air, the clouds, the sun. Harmony is the great law of nature, and how strikingly does Christianity coincide here with God's works! for what is the design of this religion but to bring the human race, the intelligent creation of God, into a harmony, union, peace, like that which knits together the outward universe? I will give another illustration. It is one of the great laws of nature that good shall come to us through agents of God's appointment; that beings shall receive life, support, knowledge, and safety through the interposition and labors and sufferings of others. Sometimes whole communities are rescued from oppression and ruin chiefly by the efforts and sacrifices of a wise, disinterested, and resolute individual. How accordant with this ordination of nature is the doctrine of Christianity, that our heavenly Father, having purposed our recovery from sin and death, has instituted for this end the agency and mediation of his Son; that He has given an illustrious deliverer to the world, through whose toils and sufferings we may rise to purity and immortal life. I say, then, that revelation is consistent with nature, when nature is truly interpreted

by reason. I see it bringing out with noonday brightness the truths which dawn in nature; so that it is reason in its most perfect form.

I have thus carried Christianity abroad into nature. I now carry it within, and compare it with the human soul; and is it consistent with the great truths of reason which I discover there? I affirm that it is. When I look into the soul, I am at once struck with its immeasurable superiority to the body. I am struck with the contrast between these different elements of my nature, — between this active, soaring mind, and these limbs and material organs which tend perpetually to the earth, and are soon to be resolved into dust. How consistent is Christianity with this inward teaching! In Christianity, with what strength, with what bold relief, is the supremacy of the spiritual nature brought out! What contempt does Jesus cast on the body and its interests, when compared with the redemption of the soul! Another great truth dawns on me when I look within. I learn more and more that the great springs of happiness and misery are in the mind, and that the efforts of men to secure peace by other processes than by inward purification are vain strivings; and Christianity is not only consistent with, but founded on, this great truth; teaching us that the kingdom of heaven is within us, and proposing, as its great end, to rescue the mind from evil, and to endue it with strength and dignity worthy its divine origin. Again: When I look into the soul I meet intimations of another great truth. I discern in it capacities which are not fully unfolded here. I see desires which find no adequate good on earth. I see a principle of hope always pressing forward into futurity. Here are marks of a nature not made wholly for this world; and how does Christianity agree with this teaching of our own souls? Its great doctrine is that of a higher life, where the spiritual germ within us will open for ever, and where the immortal good after which the mind aspires will prove a reality. Had I time, I might survey distinctly the various principles of the soul, — the intellectual, moral, social, and active, — and might show you how Christianity accords with them all, enlarging their scope and energy, proposing to them nobler objects, and aiding their development by the impulse of a boundless hope. But, commending these topics to your private meditation, I will take but one more view of the soul. When I look within, I see stains of sin, and fears and forebodings of guilt; and how adapted to such a nature is Christianity, — a religion which contains blood-sealed promises of forgiveness to the penitent, and which proffers heavenly strength to fortify us in our conflict with moral evil! I say, then, Christianity consists with the nature within us as well as with nature around us. The highest truths in respect to the soul are not only responded to, but are carried out by Christianity, so that it deserves to be called the perfection of reason.

I have now shown, in a variety of particulars, that Christianity has the character of consistency, and thus satisfies the first demand of reason. It does not divide the mind against itself, — does not introduce discord into the intellect, by proposing doctrines which our consciousness and experience repel. But these views do not exhaust the present topic. It is not enough to speak of Christianity as furnishing views which harmonize with one another, and with all known truth. It gives a new and cheering consistency to the views with which we are furnished by the universe. Nature and providence, with all their beauty, regularity, and beneficence, have yet perplexing aspects. Their elements are often seen in conflict with one another. Sunshine and storms, pleasure and pain, success and disaster, abundance and want, health and sickness, life and death, seem to ordinary spectators to be mixed together confusedly and without aim. Reason desires nothing so earnestly, so anxiously, as to solve these discordant appearances, as to discover some great, central, reconciling truth, around which they may be arranged, and from which they may borrow light and harmony. This deep want of the rational nature Christianity has supplied. It has disclosed a unity of purpose in the seemingly hostile dispensations of providence, and opened to the mind a new world of order, beauty, and benevolent design. Christianity, revealing, as it does, the unbounded mercy of God to his sinful creatures; revealing an endless futurity, in which the inequalities of the present state are to be redressed, and which re-

duces by its immensity the sorest pains of life to light and momentary evils; revealing a moral perfection, which is worth all pain and conflicts, and which is most effectually and gloriously won amidst suffering and temptation; revealing in Jesus Christ the sublimity and rewards of tried and all-enduring virtue; revealing in him the Founder of a new moral kingdom or power, which is destined to subdue the world to God; and proffering the Holy Spirit to all who strive to build up in themselves and others the reign of truth and virtue;— Christianity, I say, by these revelations, has poured a flood of light over nature and providence, and harmonized the infinite complexity of the works and ways of God. Thus it meets the first want of the rational nature, the craving for consistency of views. It is reason's most effectual minister and friend. Is it not, then, eminently a rational faith?

Having shown that Christianity has the character of consistency, I proceed to the second mark or stamp of reason on a religion, that is, universality; and this I claim for Christianity. This, indeed, is one of the most distinguishing features of our religion, and so obvious and striking as to need little illustration. When I examine the doctrines, precepts, and spirit of Christianity, I discover, in them all, this character of universality. I discover nothing narrow, temporary, local. The gospel bears the stamp of no particular age or country. It does not concern itself with the perishable interests of communities or individuals; but appeals to the spiritual, immortal, unbounded principle in human nature. Its aim is to direct the mind to the Infinite Being, and to an infinite good. It is not made up, like other religions, of precise forms and details; but it inculcates immutable and all-comprehending principles of duty, leaving every man to apply them for himself to the endless variety of human conditions. It separates from God the partial, limited views of Judaism and heathenism, and holds him forth in the sublime attributes of the Universal Father. In like manner, it inculcates philanthropy without exceptions or bounds, — a love to man as man, a love founded on that immortal nature of which all men partake, and which binds us to recognize in each a child of God and a brother. The spirit of bigotry, which confines its charity to a sect, and the spirit of aristocracy, which looks on the multitude as an inferior race, are alike rebuked by Christianity: which, eighteen hundred years ago, in a narrow and superstitious age, taught, what the present age is beginning to understand, that all men are essentially equal, and that all are to be honored, because made for immortality and endued with capacities of ceaseless improvement. The more I examine Christianity, the more I am struck with its universality. I see in it a religion made for all regions and all times, for all classes and all stages of society. It is fitted, not to the Asiatic or the European, but to the essential principles of human nature, — to man under the tropical or polar skies, to all descriptions of intellect and condition. It speaks a language which all men need and all can understand; enjoins a virtue which is man's happiness and glory in every age and clime; and ministers consolations and hopes which answer to man's universal lot, — to the sufferings, the fear, and the self-rebuke which cleave to our nature in every outward change. I see in it the light, not of one nation, but of the world; and a light reaching beyond the world, beyond time, to higher modes of existence and to an interminable futurity. Other religions have been intended to meet the exigencies of particular countries or times, and therefore society in its progress has outgrown them; but Christianity meets more and more the wants of the soul in proportion to the advancement of our race, and thus proves itself to be eternal truth. After these remarks, may I not claim for Christianity that character of universality which is the highest distinction of reason? To understand fully the confirmation which these views give to the gospel, you must compare it with the religions prevalent in the age of Christ, all of which bore the marks of narrow, local, temporary institutions. How striking the contrast! And how singular the fact, that amid this darkness there sprung up a religion so consistent and universal as to deserve to be called the perfection of reason!

I do and must feel, my friends, that the claim of Christianity to the honor of being a rational religion is fully established. As such I commend it to you.

As such it will more and more approve itself in proportion as you study and practise it. You will never find cause to complain that by adopting it you have enslaved or degraded your highest powers. Here, then, I might stop, and might consider my work as done. But I am aware that objections have been made to the rational character of our religion which may still linger in the minds of some of my hearers. A brief notice of these may aid the purpose, and will form a proper conclusion, of this discourse.

I imagine that were some who are present to speak, they would tell me that if Christianity be judged by its fruits, it deserves any character but that of rational. I should be told that no religion has borne a more abundant harvest of extravagance and fanaticism. I should be told that reason is a calm, reflecting, sober principle, and I should be asked whether such is the character of the Christianity which has overspread the world. Perhaps some of you will remind me of the feverish, wild, passionate religion which is now systematically dispersed through our country, and I shall be asked whether a system under which such delusions prevail can be a rational one.

To these objections I answer, You say much that is true. I grant that reason is a calm and reflecting principle, and I see little calmness or reflection among many who take exclusively the name of Christ. But I say, you have no right to confound Christianity with its professors. This religion, as you know, has come down to us through many ages of darkness, during which it must have been corrupted and obscured. Common candor requires that you should judge of it as it came from its Founder. Go, then, to its original records; place yourselves near Jesus; and tell me if you ever found yourselves in the presence of so calm a teacher. We indeed discern in Jesus great earnestness, but joined with entire self-control. Sensibility breathes through his whole teaching and life, but always tempered with wisdom. Amidst his boldest thoughts and expressions, we discover no marks of ungoverned feeling or a diseased imagination. Take, as an example, his longest discourse, the Sermon on the Mount. How weighty the thoughts! How grave and dignified the style! You recollect that the multitude were astonished, not at the passionate vehemence, but at the authority, with which he spoke. Read next the last discourse of Jesus to his disciples in St. John's Gospel. What a deep yet mild and subdued tenderness mingles with conscious greatness in that wonderful address! Take what is called the Lord's Prayer, which Jesus gave as the model of all prayer to God. Does that countenance fanatical fervor or violent appeals to our Creator? Let me further ask, Does Jesus anywhere place religion in tumultuous, ungoverned emotion? Does he not teach us, that obedience, not feeling, marks and constitutes true piety, and that the most acceptable offering to God is to exercise mercy to our fellow-creatures? When I compare the clamorous preaching and passionate declamation too common in the Christian world, with the composed dignity, the deliberate wisdom, the freedom from all extravagance, which characterized Jesus, I can imagine no greater contrast; and I am sure that the fiery zealot is no representative of Christianity.

I have done with the first objection; but another class of objections is often urged against the reasonable character of our religion. It has been strenuously maintained that Christianity contains particular doctrines which are irrational, and which involve the whole religion to which they are essential in their own condemnation. To this class of objections I have a short reply. I insist that these offensive doctrines do not belong to Christianity, but are human additions, and therefore do not derogate from its reasonableness and truth. What is the doctrine most frequently adduced to fix the charge of irrationality on the gospel? It is the Trinity. This is pronounced by the unbeliever a gross offence to reason. It teaches that there is one God, and yet that there are three divine persons. According to the doctrine these three persons perform different offices, and sustain different relations to each other. One is Father, another his Son. One sends, another is sent. They love each other, converse with each other, and make a covenant with each other; and yet, with all these distinctions, they are, according to the doctrine, not different beings, but one

being, one and the same God. Is this a rational doctrine? has often been the question of the objector to Christianity. I answer, No. I can as easily believe that the whole human race are one man, as that three infinite persons, performing such different offices, are one God. But I maintain that, because the Trinity is irrational, it does not follow that the same reproach belongs to Christianity; for this doctrine is no part of the Christian religion. I know there are passages which are continually quoted in its defence; but allow me to prove doctrines in the same way, — that is, by detaching texts from their connection and interpreting them without reference to the general current of Scripture, and I can prove any thing and every thing from the Bible. I can prove that God has human passions. I can prove transubstantiation, which is taught much more explicitly than the Trinity. Detached texts prove nothing. Christ is called God; the same title is given to Moses and to rulers. Christ has said, "I and my Father are one;" so he prayed that all his disciples might be one, meaning not one and the same being, but one in affection and purpose. I ask you, before you judge on this point, to read the Scriptures as a whole, and to inquire into their general strain and teaching in regard to Christ. I find him uniformly distinguishing between himself and God, calling himself, not God the Son, but the Son of God, — continually speaking of himself as sent by God, continually referring his power and miracles to God. I hear him saying that of himself he can do nothing, and praying to his Father under the character of the only true God. Such I affirm to be the tenor, the current, the general strain of the New Testament; and the scattered passages on which a different doctrine is built should have no weight against this host of witnesses. Do not rest your faith on a few texts. Sometimes these favorite texts are no part of Scripture. For example, the famous passage on which the Trinity mainly rests, "There are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one," — this text, I say, though found at present in John's Epistle, and read in our churches, has been pronounced by the ablest critics a forgery; and a vast majority of the educated ministers of this country are satisfied that it is not a part of Scripture. Suffer no man, then, to select texts for you as decisive of religious controversies. Read the whole record for yourselves, and possess yourselves of its general import. I am very desirous to separate the doctrine in question from Christianity, because it fastens the charge of irrationality on the whole religion. It is one of the great obstacles to the propagation of the gospel. The Jews will not hear of a Trinity. I have seen in the countenance, and heard in the tones of the voice, the horror with which that people shrink from the doctrine that God died on the cross. Mahometans, too, when they hear this opinion from Christian missionaries, repeat the first article of their faith, "There is one God;" and look with pity or scorn on the disciples of Jesus as deserters of the plainest and greatest truth of religion. Even the Indian of our wilderness, who worships the Great Spirit, has charged absurdity on the teacher who has gone to indoctrinate him in a Trinity. How many, too, in Christian countries, have suspected the whole religion for this one error. Believing, then, as I do, that it forms no part of Christianity, my allegiance to Jesus Christ calls me openly to withstand it. In so doing I would wound no man's feelings. I doubt not, that they who adopt this doctrine intend, equally with those who oppose it, to render homage to the truth and service to Christianity. They think that their peculiar faith gives new interest to the character and new authority to the teaching of Jesus. But they grievously err. The views by which they hope to build up love towards Christ detract from the perfection of his Father; and I fear that the kind of piety which prevails now in the Christian world bears witness to the sad influence of this obscuration of the true glory of God. We need not desert reason or corrupt Christianity to insure the purest, deepest love towards the only true God, or towards Jesus Christ, whom He has sent for our redemption.

I have named one doctrine which is often urged against Christianity as irrational. There is one more on which I would offer a few remarks. Christianity has often been reproached with teaching that God brings men into life totally de-

praved, and condemns immense multitudes to everlasting misery for sins to which their nature has irresistibly impelled them. This is said to be irrational, and consequently such must be the religion which teaches it. I certainly shall not attempt to vindicate this theological fiction. A more irrational doctrine could not, I think, be contrived; and it is something worse, — it is as immoral in its tendency as it is unreasonable. It is suited to alienate men from God and from one another. Were it really believed (which it cannot be), men would look up with dread and detestation to the Author of their being, and look round with horror on their fellow-creatures. It would dissolve society. Were men to see in one another wholly corrupt beings, — incarnate fiends, without one genuine virtue, — society would become as repulsive as a den of lions or a nest of vipers. All confidence, esteem, love, would die, and without these the interest, charm, and worth of existence would expire. What a pang would shoot through a parent's heart, if he were to see in the smiling infant a moral being continually and wholly propense to sin, in whose mind were thickly sown the seeds of hatred to God and goodness, and who had commenced his existence under the curse of his Creator! What good man could consent to be a parent, if his offspring were to be born to this infinitely wretched inheritance? I say, the doctrine is of immoral tendency; but I do not say that they who profess it are immoral. The truth is, that none do or can hold it in its full and proper import. I have seen its advocates smile as benignantly on the child whom their creed has made a demon as if it were an angel; and I have seen them mingling with their fellow-creatures as cordially and confidingly as if the doctrine of total depravity had never entered their ears. Perhaps the most mischievous effect of the doctrine is the dishonor which it has thrown on Christianity. This dishonor I would wipe away. Christianity teaches no such doctrine. Where do you find it in the New Testament? Did Jesus teach it, when he took little children in his arms and blessed them, and said, "Of such is the kingdom of God?" Did Paul teach it when he spoke of the Gentiles, who have not the law or a written revelation, but who do by nature the things contained in the law? Christianity indeed speaks strongly of human guilt, but always treats men as beings who have the power of doing right, and who have come into existence under the smile of their Creator.

I have now completed my vindication of the claim of the gospel to the character of a rational religion; and my aim has been, not to serve a party, but the cause of our common Christianity. At the present day, one of the most urgent duties of its friends is, to rescue it from the reproach of waging war with reason. The character of our age demands this. There have been times when Christianity, though loaded with unreasonable doctrines, retained its hold on men's faith; for men had not learned to think. They received their religion as children learned the catechism; they substituted the priest for their own understandings, and cared neither what nor why they believed. But that day is gone by, and the spirit of freedom which has succeeded it is subjecting Christianity to a scrutiny more and more severe; and if this religion cannot vindicate itself to the reflecting, the calm, the wise, as a reasonable service, it cannot stand. Fanatical sects may, for a time, spread an intolerant excitement through a community, and impose silence on the objections of the sceptical. But fanaticism is the epidemic of a season; it wastes itself by its own violence. Sooner or later the voice of reflection will be heard. Men will ask, What are the claims of Christianity? Does it bear the marks of truth? And if it be found to war with nature and reason, it will be, and it ought to be, abandoned. On this ground, I am anxious that Christianity should be cleared from all human additions and corruptions. If, indeed, irrational doctrines belong to it, then I have no desire to separate them from it. I have no desire, for the sake of upholding the gospel, to wrap up and conceal, much less to deny, any of its real principles. Did I think that it was burdened with one irrational doctrine, I would say so, and I would leave it, as I found it, with this mill-stone round its neck. But I know none such. I meet, indeed, some difficulties in the narrative part of the New Testament; and there are arguments in the Epistles which, however

suited to the Jews, to whom they were first addressed, are not apparently adapted to men at large; but I see not a principle of the religion which my reason, calmly and impartially exercised, pronounces inconsistent with any great truth. I have the strongest conviction that Christianity is reason in its most perfect form, and therefore I plead for its disengagement from the irrational additions with which it has been clogged for ages.

With these views of Christianity, I do and I must hold it fast. I cannot surrender it to the cavils or scoffs of infidelity. I do not blush to own it, for it is a rational religion. It satisfies the wants of the intellect as well as those of the heart. I know that men of strong minds have opposed it. But, as if Providence intended that their sophistry should carry a refutation on its own front, they have generally fallen into errors so gross and degrading as to prove them to be any thing rather than the apostles of reason. When I go from the study of Christianity to their writings, I feel as if I were passing from the warm, bright sun into a chilling twilight which too often deepens into utter darkness. I am not, then, ashamed of the gospel. I see it glorified by the hostile systems which are reared for its destruction. I follow Jesus, because he is eminently "the Light;" and I doubt not that, to his true disciples, he will be a guide to that world where the obscurities of our present state will be dispersed, and where reason as well as virtue will be unfolded under the quickening influence and in the more manifest presence of God.

THE GREAT PURPOSE OF CHRISTIANITY:

Discourse at the Installation of the Rev. M. I. Motte, Boston, 1828.

2 TIMOTHY i. 7: "For God hath not given us the spirit of fear; but of power, and of love, and of a sound mind."

WHY was Christianity given? Why did Christ seal it with his blood? Why is it to be preached? What is the great happiness it confers? What is the chief blessing for which it is to be prized? What is its pre-eminent glory, its first claim on the gratitude of mankind? These are great questions. I wish to answer them plainly, according to the light and ability which God has given me. I read the answer to them in the text. There I learn the great good which God confers through Jesus Christ. "He hath given us, not the spirit of fear, but of power, and of love, and of a sound mind." The glory of Christianity is the pure and lofty action which it communicates to the human mind. It does not breathe a timid, abject spirit. If it did, it would deserve no praise. It gives power, energy, courage, constancy to the will; love, disinterestedness, enlarged affection to the heart; soundness, clearness, and vigor to the understanding. It rescues him who receives it from sin, from the sway of the passions; gives him the full and free use of his best powers; brings out and brightens the divine image in which he was created; and in this way not only bestows the promise but the beginning of heaven. This is the excellence of Christianity.

This subject I propose to illustrate. Let me begin it with one remark which I would willingly avoid, but which seems to me to be demanded by the circumstances in which I am placed. I beg you to remember that in this discourse I speak in my own name and in no other. I am not giving you the opinions of any sect or body of men, but my own. I hold myself alone responsible for what I utter. Let none listen to me for the purpose of learning what others think. I indeed belong to that class of Christians who are distinguished by believing that there is one God, even the Father, and that Jesus Christ is not this

one God, but his dependent and obedient Son. But my accordance with these is far from being universal, nor have I any desire to extend it. What other men believe is to me of little moment. Their arguments I gratefully hear. Their conclusions I am free to receive or reject. I have no anxiety to wear the livery of any party. I indeed take cheerfully the name of a Unitarian, because unwearied efforts are used to raise against it a popular cry; and I have not so learned Christ as to shrink from reproaches cast on what I deem his truth. Were the name more honored I should be glad to throw it off; for I fear the shackles which a party connection imposes. I wish to regard myself as belonging not to a sect, but to the community of free minds, of lovers of truth, of followers of Christ, both on earth and in heaven. I desire to escape the narrow walls of a particular church, and to live under the open sky, in the broad light, looking far and wide, seeing with my own eyes, hearing with my own ears, and following truth meekly, but resolutely, however arduous or solitary be the path in which she leads. I am, then, no organ of a sect, but speak from myself alone; and I thank God that I live at a time and under circumstances which make it my duty to lay open my whole mind with freedom and simplicity.

I began with asking, What is the main design and glory of Christianity? and I repeat the answer, that its design is to give, not a spirit of fear, but of power, of love, and of a sound mind. In this its glory chiefly consists. In other words, the influence which it is intended to exert on the human mind constitutes its supreme honor and happiness. Christ is a great Saviour, as he redeems or sets free the mind, cleansing it from evil, breathing into it the love of virtue, calling forth its noblest faculties and affections, enduing it with moral power, restoring it to order, health, and liberty. Such was his great aim. To illustrate these views will be the object of the present discourse.

In reading the New Testament I everywhere meet the end here ascribed to Jesus Christ. He came, as I am there taught, not to be an outward but inward deliverer: not to rear an outward throne, but to establish his kingdom within us. He came, according to the express language and plain import of the sacred writers, "to save us from sin," "to bless us by turning us from our iniquities," "to redeem us" from corruptions "handed down by tradition," to form "a glorious and spotless church" or community, to "create us anew after the image of God," to make us by his "promises partakers of a divine nature," and to give us pardon and heaven by calling us to repentance and a growing virtue. In reading the New Testament I everywhere learn that Christ lived, taught, died, and rose again, to exert a purifying and ennobling influence on the human character; to make us victorious over sin, over ourselves, over peril and pain; to join us to God by filial love, and, above all, by likeness of nature, by participation of his spirit. This is plainly laid down in the New Testament as the supreme end of Christ.

Let me now ask, Can a nobler end be ascribed to Jesus? I affirm that there is, and can be, no greater work on earth than to purify the soul from evil, and to kindle in it new light, life, energy, and love. I maintain that the true measure of the glory of a religion is to be found in the spirit and power which it communicates to its disciples. This is one of the plain teachings of reason. The chief blessing to an intelligent being, that which makes all other blessings poor, is the improvement of his own mind. Man is glorious and happy, not by what he has, but by what he is. He can receive nothing better or nobler than the unfolding of his own spiritual nature. The highest existence in the universe is mind; for God is mind; and the development of that principle which assimilates us to God must be our supreme good. The omnipotent Creator, we have reason to think, can bestow nothing greater than intelligence, love, rectitude, energy of will and of benevolent action; for these are the splendors of his own nature. We adore him for these. In imparting these, he imparts, as it were, himself. We are too apt to look abroad for good. But the only true good is within. In this outward universe, magnificent as it is, in the bright day and the starry night, in the earth and the skies, we can discover nothing so vast as thought, so strong as the unconquerable purpose of duty, so

sublime as the spirit of disinterestedness and self-sacrifice. A mind which withstands all the powers of the outward universe, all the pains which fire and sword and storm can inflict, rather than swerve from uprightness, is nobler than the universe. Why will we not learn the glory of the soul? We are seeking a foreign good. But we all possess within us what is of more worth than the external creation. For this outward system is the product of mind. All its harmony, beauty, and beneficent influences are the fruits and manifestations of thought and love; and is it not nobler and happier to be enriched with these energies, from which the universe springs, and to which it owes its magnificence, than to possess the universe itself? It is not what we have, but what we are, which constitutes our glory and felicity. The only true and durable riches belong to the mind. A soul, narrow and debased, may extend its possessions to the ends of the earth, but is poor and wretched still. It is through inward health that we enjoy all outward things. Philosophers teach us that the mind creates the beauty which it admires in nature; and we all know that, when abandoned to evil passions, it can blot out this beauty, and spread over the fairest scenes the gloom of a dungeon. We all know that by vice it can turn the cup of social happiness into poison, and the most prosperous condition of life into a curse. From these views we learn that the true friend and saviour is not he who acts for us abroad, but who acts within, who sets the soul free, touches the springs of thought and affection, binds us to God, and, by assimilating us to the Creator, brings us into harmony with the creation. Thus the end which we have ascribed to Christ is the most glorious and beneficent which can be accomplished by any power on earth or in heaven.

That the highest purpose of Christianity is such as has now been affirmed, might easily be shown from a survey of all its doctrines and precepts. It might be shown that every office with which Jesus Christ is invested was intended to give him power over the human character; and that his great distinction consists in the grandeur and beneficence of his influence on the soul. But a discussion of this extent cannot be comprehended in a single discourse. Instead of a general survey of the subject, I shall take one feature of it, — a primary and most important one, — and shall attempt to show that the great aim of this is to call forth the soul to a higher life, to a nobler exercise of its power and affections.

This leading feature of Christianity is the knowledge which it gives of the character of God. Jesus Christ came to reveal the Father. In the prophesies concerning him in the Old Testament, no characteristic is so frequently named as that he should spread the knowledge of the true God. Now I ask, What constitutes the importance of such a revelation? Why has the Creator sent his Son to make himself known? I answer, God is most worthy to be known, because He is the most quickening, purifying, and ennobling object for the mind; and his great purpose in revealing himself is that He may exalt and perfect human nature. God, as He is manifested by Christ, is another name for intellectual and moral excellence; and in the knowledge of him our intellectual and moral powers find their element, nutriment, strength, expansion, and happiness. To know God is to attain to the sublimest conception in the universe. To love God is to bind ourselves to a being who is fitted, as no other being is, to penetrate and move our whole hearts; in loving whom we exalt ourselves; in loving whom we love the great, the good, the beautiful, and the infinite; and under whose influence the soul unfolds itself as a perennial plant under the cherishing sun. This constitutes the chief glory of religion. It ennobles the soul. In this its unrivalled dignity and happiness consist.

I fear that the world at large think religion a very different thing from what has now been set forth. Too many think it a depressing rather than an elevating service; that it breaks rather than ennobles the spirit; that it teaches us to cower before an almighty and irresistible being; and I must confess that religion, as it has been generally taught, is any thing but an elevating principle. It has been used to scare the child and appal the adult. Men have been virtually taught to glorify God by flattery rather than by becoming excellent and glorious themselves, and thus doing honor to their

Maker. Our dependence on God has been so taught as to extinguish the consciousness of our free nature and moral power. Religion, in one or another form, has always been an engine for crushing the human soul. But such is not the religion of Christ. If it were, it would deserve no respect. We are not — we cannot be — bound to prostrate ourselves before a deity who makes us abject and base. That moral principle within us which calls us to watch over and to perfect our own souls, is an inspiration which no teaching can supersede or abolish. But I cannot bear, even in way of argument, to speak of Christianity as giving views of God depressing and debasing to the human mind. Christ hath revealed to us God as the Father, and as a Father in the noblest sense of that word. He hath revealed him as the author and lover of all souls, desiring to redeem all from sin, and to impress his likeness more and more resplendently on all; as proffering to all that best gift in the universe, his "holy spirit;" as having sent his beloved Son to train us up, and to introduce us to an "inheritance, incorruptible, undefiled, and unfading in the heavens." Such is the God of Jesus Christ; a being not to break the spirit, but to breathe trust, courage, constancy, magnanimity, — in a word, all the sentiments which form an elevated mind.

This sentiment, that the knowledge of God as given by Christ is important and glorious, because quickening and exalting to the human soul, needs to be taught plainly and forcibly. The main ground of the obligation of being religious, I fear, is not understood among the multitude of Christians. Ask them why they must know and worship God? and I fear that, were the heart to speak the answer would be, Because he can do with us what he will, and consequently our first concern is to secure his favor. Religion is a calculation of interest, a means of safety. God is worshipped too often on the same principle on which flattery and personal attentions are lavished on human superiors, and the worshipper cares not how abjectly he bows, if he may win to his side the power which he cannot resist. I look with deep sorrow on this common perversion of the highest principle of the soul. My friends, God is not to be worshipped because he has much to give, for on this principle a despot who should be munificent to his slaves would merit homage. He is not to be adored for mere power; for power, when joined with selfishness and crime, ought to be withstood: and the greater the might of an evil agent, the holier and the loftier is the spirit which will not bend to him. True religion is the worship of a perfect being, who is the author of perfection to those who adore him. On this ground, and on no other, religion rests.

Why is it, my hearers, that God has discovered such solicitude, if I may use the word, to make himself known and obtain our worship? Think you that he calls us to adore him from a love of homage or service? Has God man's passion for ruling, man's thirst for applause, man's desire to have his name shouted by crowds? Could the acclamations of the universe, though concentrated into one burst of praise, give our Creator a new or brighter consciousness of his own majesty and goodness? Oh! no. He has manifested himself to us because in the knowledge and adoration of his perfections our own intellectual and moral perfection is found. What he desires is, not our subjection, but our excellence. He has no love of praise. He calls us as truly to honor goodness in others as in himself, and only claims supreme honor because he transcends all others, and because he communicates to the mind which receives him a light, strength, purity, which no other being can confer. God has no love of empire. It could give him no pleasure to have his footstool worn by the knees of infinite hosts. It is to make us his children in the highest sense of that word, to make us more and more the partakers of his own nature, not to multiply slaves, that he hath sent his Son to make himself known. God indeed is said to seek his own glory; but the glory of a creator must consist in the glory of his works: and we may be assured that he cannot wish any recognition of himself but that which will perfect his noblest, highest work, — the immortal mind.

Do not, my friends, forget the great end for which Christ enjoins on us the worship of God. It is not that we may ingratiate ourselves with an almighty

agent whose frown is destruction. It is that we may hold communion with an intelligence and goodness infinitely surpassing our own; that we may rise above imperfect and finite natures; that we may attach ourselves by love and reverence to the best Being in the universe; and that, through veneration and love, we may receive into our own minds the excellence, disinterestedness, wisdom, purity, and power which we adore. This reception of the divine attributes I desire especially to hold forth as the most glorious end for which God reveals himself. To praise him is not enough. That homage which has no power to assimilate us to him is of little or no worth. The truest admiration is that by which we receive other minds into our own. True praise is a sympathy with excellence, gaining strength by utterance. Such is the praise which God demands. Then only is the purpose of Christ's revelation of God accomplished when, by reception of the doctrine of a Paternal Divinity, we are quickened to "follow him, as dear children," and are "filled with his fulness," and become "his temples," and "dwell in God, and have God dwelling in ourselves."

I have endeavored to show the great purpose of the Christian doctrine respecting God, or in what its importance and glory consist. Had I time I might show that every other doctrine of our religion has the same end. I might particularly show how wonderfully fitted are the character, example, life, death, resurrection, and all the offices of Christ, to cleanse the mind from moral evil, to quicken, soften, elevate, and transform it into the divine image; and I might show that these are the influences which true faith derives from him, and through which he works out our salvation. But I cannot enter on this fruitful subject. Let me only say that I see everywhere in Christianity this great design of liberating and raising the human mind on which I have enlarged. I see in Christianity nothing narrowing or depressing, nothing of the littleness of the systems which human fear, and craft, and ambition have engendered. I meet there no minute legislation, no descending to precise details, no arbitrary injunctions, no yoke of ceremonies, no outward religion. Every thing breathes freedom, liberality, enlargement. I meet there not a formal, rigid creed, binding on the intellect through all ages the mechanical, passive repetition of the same words and the same ideas; but I meet a few grand, all-comprehending truths, which are given to the soul to be developed and applied by itself; given to it as seed to the sower, to be cherished and expanded by its own thought, love, and obedience into more and more glorious fruits of wisdom and virtue. I see it everywhere inculcating an enlarged spirit of piety and philanthropy, leaving each of us to manifest this spirit according to the monitions of his individual conscience. I hear it everywhere calling the soul to freedom and power, by calling it to guard against the senses, the passions, the appetites, through which it is chained, enfeebled, destroyed. I see it everywhere aiming to give the mind power over the outward world, to make it superior to events, to suffering, to material nature, to persecution, to death. I see it everywhere aiming to give the mind power over itself, to invest it with inward sovereignty, to call forth within us a mighty energy for our own elevation. I meet in Christianity only discoveries of a vast, bold, illimitable character, fitted and designed to give energy and expansion to the soul. By its doctrine of a Universal Father, it sweeps away all the barriers of sect, party, rank, and nation in which men have labored to shut up their love; makes us members of an unbounded family; and establishes sympathies between man and the whole intelligent creation. In the character of Christ it sets before us moral perfection, that greatest and most quickening miracle in human history, a purity which shows no stain or touch of the earth, an excellence unborrowed, unconfined, bearing no impress of any age or any nation, the very image of the Universal Father; and it encourages us, by assurances of God's merciful aid, to propose this enlarged, unsullied virtue as the model and happiness of our moral nature. By the cross of Christ it sets forth the spirit of self-sacrifice with an energy never known before, and, in thus crucifying selfishness, frees the mind from its worst chain. By Christ's resurrection it links this short life with eternity, discovers to us in the fleeting present the germ of an

endless future, reveals to us the human mind ascending to other worlds, breathing a freer air, forming higher connections, and summons us to a force of holy purpose becoming such a destination. To conclude, Christianity everywhere sets before us God in the character of infinitely free, rich, boundless grace, in a clemency which is "not overcome by evil, but overcomes evil with good;" and a more animating and ennobling truth who of us can conceive? I have hardly glanced at what Christianity contains. But who does not see that it was sent from heaven, to call forth and exalt human nature, and that this is its great glory?

It has been my object in this discourse to lay open a great truth, — a central, all-comprehending truth of Christianity. Whoever intelligently and cordially embraces it obtains a standard by which to try all other doctrines, and to measure the importance of all other truths. Is it so embraced? I fear not. I apprehend that it is dimly discerned by many who acknowledge it, whilst on many more it has hardly dawned. I see other views prevailing, and prevailing in a greater or less degree among all bodies of Christians, and they seem to me among the worst errors of our times. Some of these I would now briefly notice.

1. There are those who, instead of placing the glory of Christianity in the pure and powerful action which it gives to the human mind, seem to think that it is rather designed to substitute the activity of another for our own. They imagine the benefit of the religion to be that it enlists on our side an Almighty Being who does every thing for us. To disparage human agency seems to them the essence of piety. They think Christ's glory to consist not in quickening free agents to act powerfully on themselves, but in changing them by an irresistible energy. They place a Christian's happiness not so much in powers and affections unfolded in his own breast, as in a foreign care extended over him, in a foreign wisdom which takes the place of his own intelligence. Now the great purpose of Christianity is not to procure or offer to the mind a friend on whom it may passively lean, but to make the mind itself wise, strong, and efficient. Its end is not that wisdom and strength, as subsisting in another, should do every thing for us, but that these attributes should grow perpetually in our own souls. According to Christianity, we are not carried forward as a weight by a foreign agency; but God, by means suited to our moral nature, quickens and strengthens us to walk ourselves. The great design of Christianity is to build up in our own souls a power to withstand, to endure, to triumph. Inward vigor is its aim. That we should do most for ourselves and most for others: this is the glory it confers, and in this its happiness is found.

2. I pass to another illustration of the insensibility of men to the great doctrine, that the happiness and glory of Christianity consist in the healthy and lofty frame to which it raises the mind. I refer to the propensity of multitudes to make a wide separation between religion or Christian virtue and its rewards. That the chief reward lies in the very spirit of religion, they do not dream. They think of being Christians for the sake of something beyond the Christian character, and something more precious. They think that Christ has a greater good to give than a strong and generous love towards God and mankind, and would almost turn from him in scorn if they thought him only a benefactor to the mind. It is this low view which dwarfs the piety of thousands. Multitudes are serving God for wages distinct from the service, and hence superstition, slavishness, and formality are substituted for inward energy and spiritual worship.

3. Men's ignorance of the great truth stated in this discourse is seen in the low ideas attached by multitudes to the word salvation. Ask multitudes what is the chief evil from which Christ came to save them, and they will tell you, "From hell, from penal fires, from future punishment." Accordingly, they think that salvation is something which another may achieve for them, very much as a neighbor may quench a conflagration that menaces their dwellings and lives. That word hell, which is used so seldom in the sacred pages, which in a faithful translation would not once occur in the writings of Paul, and Peter, and John, which we meet only in four or five discourses of Jesus, and which all persons acquainted with Jewish geography know to be a metaphor, a figure of

speech, and not a literal expression, — this word, by a perverse and exaggerated use, has done unspeakable injury to Christianity. It has possessed and diseased men's imaginations with outward tortures, shrieks, and flames; giving them the idea of an outward ruin as what they have chiefly to dread; turned their thoughts to Jesus as an outward deliverer; and thus blinded them to his true glory, which consists in his setting free and exalting the soul. Men are flying from an outward hell, when in truth they carry within them the hell which they should chiefly dread. The salvation which man chiefly needs, and that which brings with it all other deliverance, is salvation from the evil of his own mind. There is something far worse than outward punishment. It is sin; it is the state of the soul which has revolted from God, and cast off its allegiance to conscience and the divine word; which renounces its Father, and hardens itself against Infinite Love; which, endued with divine powers, enthralls itself to animal lusts; which makes gain its god; which has capacities of boundless and ever-growing love, and shuts itself up in the dungeon of private interests; which, gifted with a self-directing power, consents to be a slave, and is passively formed by custom, opinion, and changing events; which, living under God's eye, dreads man's frown or scorn, and prefers human praise to its own calm consciousness of virtue; which tamely yields to temptation, shrinks with a coward's baseness from the perils of duty, and sacrifices its glory and peace in parting with self-control. No ruin can be compared to this. This the impenitent man carries with him beyond the grave, and there meets its natural issue and inevitable retribution, in remorse, self-torture, and woes unknown on earth. This we cannot too strongly fear. To save, in the highest sense of that word, is to lift the fallen spirit from this depth, to heal the diseased mind, to restore it to energy and freedom of thought, conscience, and love. This was chiefly the salvation for which Christ shed his blood. For this the holy spirit is given; and to this all the truths of Christianity conspire.

4. Another illustration of the error which I am laboring to expose, and which places the glory and importance of Christianity in something besides its quickening influence on the soul, is afforded in the common apprehensions formed of heaven, and of the methods by which it may be obtained. Not a few, I suspect, conceive of heaven as a foreign good. It is a distant country to which we are to be conveyed by an outward agency. How slowly do men learn that heaven is the perfection of the mind, and that Christ gives it now just as far as he raises the mind to celestial truth and virtue. It is true that this word is often used to express a future felicity; but the blessedness of the future world is only a continuance of what is begun here. There is but one true happiness, — that of a mind unfolding its best powers, and attaching itself to great objects; and Christ gives heaven only in proportion as he gives this elevation of character. The disinterestedness, and moral strength, and filial piety of the Christian, are not mere means of heaven, but heaven itself, and heaven now.

The most exalted idea we can form of the future state is that it brings and joins us to God. But is not approach to this great Being begun on earth? Another delightful view of heaven is that it unites us with the good and great of our own race, and even with higher orders of beings. But this union is one of spirit, not of mere place; it is accordance of thought and feeling, not an outward relation; and does not this harmony begin even now? and is not virtuous friendship on earth essentially the pleasure which we hope hereafter? What place would be drearier than the future mansions of Christ to one who should want sympathy with their inhabitants, who could not understand their language, who would feel himself a foreigner there, who would be taught, by the joys which he could not partake, his own loneliness and desolation? These views, I know, are often given with greater or less distinctness; but they seem to me not to have brought home to men the truth, that the fountain of happiness must be in our own souls. Gross ideas of futurity still prevail. I should not be surprised if to some among us the chief idea of heaven were that of a splendor, a radiance, like that which Christ wore on the Mount of Transfiguration. Let us all consider —

and it is a great truth — that heaven has no lustre surpassing that of intellectual and moral worth; and that, were the effulgence of the sun and stars concentrated in the Christian, even this would be darkness compared with the pure beamings of wisdom, love, and power from his mind. Think not, then, that Christ has come to give heaven as something distinct from virtue. Heaven is the freed and sanctified mind, enjoying God through accordance with his attributes, multiplying its bonds and sympathies with excellent beings, putting forth noble powers, and ministering, in union with the enlightened and holy, to the happiness and virtue of the universe.

My friends, I fear I have been guilty of repetition. But I feel the greatness of the truth which I deliver, and I am anxious to make it plain. Men need to be taught it perpetually. They have always been inclined to look to Christ for something better, as they have dreamed, than the elevation of their own souls. The great purpose of Christianity to unfold and strengthen and lift up the mind, has been perpetually thrown out of sight. In truth, this purpose has been more than overlooked. It has been reversed. The very religion given to exalt human nature has been used to make it abject. The very religion which was given to create a generous hope has been made an instrument of servile and torturing fear. The very religion which came from God's goodness to enlarge the human soul with a kindred goodness has been employed to narrow it to a sect, to rear the Inquisition, and to kindle fires for the martyr. The very religion given to make the understanding and conscience free has, by a criminal perversion, served to break them into subjection to priests, ministers, and human creeds. Ambition and craft have seized on the solemn doctrines of an omnipotent God and of future punishment, and turned them into engines against the child, the trembling female, the ignorant adult, until the sceptic has been emboldened to charge on religion the chief miseries and degradation of human nature. It is from a deep and sorrowful conviction of the injuries inflicted on Christianity and on the human soul by these perversions and errors, that I have reiterated the great truth of this discourse. I would rescue our holy faith from this dishonor. Christianity has no tendency to break the human spirit or to make man a slave. It has another aim; and, as far as it is understood, it puts forth another power. God sent it from heaven, Christ sealed it with his blood, that it might give force of thought and purpose to the human mind, might free it from all fear but the fear of wrong-doing, might make it free of its fellow-beings, might break from it every outward and inward chain.

My hearers, I close with exhorting you to remember this great purpose of our religion. Receive Christianity as given to raise you in the scale of spiritual being. Expect from it no good any farther than it gives strength and worth to your characters. Think not, as some seem to think, that Christ has a higher gift than purity to bestow, even pardon to the sinner. He does bring pardon. But once separate the idea of pardon from purity; once imagine that forgiveness is possible to him who does not forsake sin; once make it an exemption from outward punishment, and not the admission of the reformed mind to favor and communion with God; and the doctrine of pardon becomes your peril, and a system so teaching it is fraught with evil. Expect no good from Christ any farther than you are exalted by his character and teaching. Expect nothing from his cross unless a power comes from it strengthening you to "bear his cross," to "drink his cup," with his own unconquerable love. This is its highest influence. Look not abroad for the blessings of Christ. His reign and chief blessings are within you. The human soul is his kingdom. There he gains his victories, there rears his temples, there lavishes his treasures. His noblest monument is a mind redeemed from iniquity, brought back and devoted to God, forming itself after the perfection of the Saviour, great through its power to suffer for truth, lovely through its meek and gentle virtues. No other monument does Christ desire; for this will endure and increase in splendor when earthly thrones shall have fallen, and even when the present order of the outward universe shall have accomplished its work and shall have passed away.

MEANS OF PROMOTING CHRISTIANITY.

WE live at a time when the obligation of extending Christianity is more felt than in many past ages. There is much stir, motion, and zeal around us in this good cause. Even those who seem not to be burdened by an excess of piety themselves are in earnest to give it to others. The activity of multitudes is taking strongly this direction; and as men are naturally restless, and want room for action, and will do mischief rather than do nothing, a philanthropist will rejoice that this new channel is opened for carrying off the superabundant energies of multitudes, even if no other good should result from it.

We hope, however, much other good. We trust that, whilst many inferior motives and many fanatical impulses are giving birth and action to large associations in Christendom; whilst the love of sway in some, and the love of congregating in others, and the passion for doing something great and at a distance in all, are rearing mighty institutions among us, — still many sincere Christians are governed in these concerns by a supreme desire of spreading Christianity. They have found the gospel an infinite good, and would communicate it to their fellow-beings. They have drunk from the Fountain of Life, and would send forth the stream to gladden every wilderness and solitary place, and to assuage the thirst of every anxious and afflicted mind. They turn with continual pleasure to the prophetic passages of Scripture, and, interpreting them by their wishes, hope a speedy change in the moral state of the world, and are impatient to bear a part in this stupendous renovation. That they are doing good we doubt not, though perhaps not in the way which they imagine or would prefer. The immediate and general success of their attempts would perhaps be ultimately injurious to Christianity. They are sending out, together with God's word, corrupt interpretations of some parts of it, which considerably neutralize its saving power, and occasionally make it a positive injury. They are perhaps to do good not by success so much as by failure. Almost all great enterprises are accomplished gradually, and by methods which have been learned from many unsuccessful trials, from a slow accumulation of experience. The first laborers often do little more than teach those who come after them what to avoid and how to labor more effectually than themselves. But be the issue what it may, sincere Christians who embark in this good work, not from party-spirit and self-conceit, as if they and their sect were depositaries of all truth and virtue, but from unaffected philanthropy and attachment to Jesus Christ, will have their reward. Even a degree of extravagance in such a cause may be forgiven. Men are willing that the imagination should be kindled on other subjects; that the judgment should sometimes slumber, and leave the affections to feed on hopes brighter than reality; that patriotism, and philanthropy, and the domestic affections, should sometimes break out in chivalrous enterprises, and should seek their ends by means on which the reason may look coldly. Why, then, shall we frown on every deviation from the strictest judiciousness in a concern which appeals so strongly to the heart as the extension of Christianity? Men may be too rational as well as too fervent; and the man whose pious wish of the speedy conversion of the world rises into a strong anticipation of the event, and who, taking his measure of duty from the primitive disciples, covets sacrifices in so good a cause, is an incomparably nobler spirit than he who, believing that the moral condition of the world is as invariable as the laws of material nature, and seeking pretexts for sloth in a heart-chilling philosophy, has no concern for the multitudes who are sitting in darkness, and does nothing to spread the religion which he believes to have come from heaven.

There is one danger, however, at a

period like the present, when we are aiming to send Christianity to a distance, which demands attention. It is the danger of neglecting the best methods of propagating Christianity, of overlooking much plainer obligations than that of converting heathens, of forgetting the claims of our religion at home and by our firesides. It happens that on this, as on almost every subject, our most important duties are quiet, retired, noiseless, attracting little notice, and administering little powerful excitement to the imagination. The surest efforts for extending Christianity are those which few observe, which are recorded in no magazine, blazoned at no anniversaries, immortalized by no eloquence. Such efforts, being enjoined only by conscience and God, and requiring steady, patient, unwearied toil, we are apt to overlook, and perhaps never more so than when the times furnish a popular substitute for them, and when we can discharge our consciences by labors which, demanding little self-denial, are yet talked of as the highest exploits of Christian charity. Hence it is that when most is said of labors to propagate Christianity, the least may be really and effectually done. We hear a torrent roaring, and imagine that the fields are plentifully watered, when the torrent owes its violence to a ruinous concentration of streams which before moved quietly in a thousand little channels, moistening the hidden roots, and publishing their course, not to the ear but to the eye, by the refreshing verdure which grew up around them. It is proper, then, when new methods are struck out for sending Christianity abroad, to remind men often of the old-fashioned methods of promoting it, to insist on the superiority of the means which are in almost every man's reach, which require no extensive associations, and which do not subject us to the temptations of exaggerated praise. We do not mean that any exertion which promises to extend our religion in any tolerable state of purity is to be declined. But the first rank is to be given to the efforts which God has made the plain duties of men in all ranks and conditions of life. Two of these methods will be briefly mentioned.

First, every individual should feel that, whilst his influence over other men's hearts and character is very bounded, his power over his own heart is great and constant, and that his zeal for extending Christianity is to appear chiefly in extending it through his own mind and life. Let him remember that he as truly enlarges God's kingdom by invigorating his own moral and religious principles, as by communicating them to others. Our first concern is at home, our chief work is in our own breasts. It is idle to talk of our anxiety for other men's souls if we neglect our own. Without personal virtue and religion we cannot, even if we would, do much for the cause of Christ. It is only by purifying our own conceptions of God and duty that we can give clear and useful views to others. We must first feel the power of religion, or we cannot recommend it with an unaffected and prevalent zeal. Would we, then, promote pure Christianity? Let us see that it be planted and take root in our own minds, and that no busy concern for others take us from the labor of self-inspection and the retired and silent offices of piety.

The second method is intimately connected with the first. It is example. This is a means within the reach of all. Be our station in life what it may, it has duties in performing which faithfully we give important aid to the cause of morality and piety. The efficacy of this means of advancing Christianity cannot be easily calculated. Example has an insinuating power, transforming the observer without noise, attracting him without the appearance of effort. A truly Christian life is better than large contributions of wealth for the propagation of Christianity. The most prominent instruction of Jesus on this point is that we must let men "see our good works," if we would lead them to "glorify our Father in heaven." Let men see in us that religion is something real, something more than high-sounding and empty words, a restraint from sin, a bulwark against temptation, a spring of upright and useful action; let them see it not an idle form, nor a transient feeling, but our companion through life, infusing its purity into our common pursuits, following us to our homes, setting a guard round our integrity in the resorts of business, sweetening our tempers in seasons of provocation, disposing us habitually to sympathy with others, to patience and cheerfulness under our

own afflictions, to candid judgment, and to sacrifices for others' good; and we may hope that our light will not shine uselessly, that some slumbering conscience will be roused by this testimony to the excellence and practicableness of religion, that some worldly professor of Christianity will learn his obligations and blush for his criminal inconsistency, and that some, in whom the common arguments for our religion may have failed to work a full belief, will be brought to the knowledge of the truth by this plain practical proof of the heavenly nature of Christianity. Every man is surrounded with beings who are moulded more or less by the principles of sympathy and imitation; and this social part of our nature he is bound to press into the service of Christianity.

It will not be supposed from these remarks on the duty of aiding Christianity by our example, that religion is to be worn ostentatiously, and that the Christian is studiously to exhibit himself and his good works for imitation. That same book which enjoins us to be patterns, tells us to avoid parade, and even to prefer entire secrecy in our charities and our prayers. Nothing destroys the weight of example so much as labor to make it striking and observed. Goodness, to be interesting, must be humble, modest, unassuming, not fond of show, not waiting for great and conspicuous occasions, but disclosing itself without labor and without design in pious and benevolent offices, so simple, so minute, so steady, so habitual, that they will carry a conviction of the singleness and purity of the heart from which they proceed. Such goodness is never lost. It glorifies itself by the very humility which encircles it, just as the lights of heaven often break with peculiar splendor through the cloud which threatened to obscure them.

A pure example, which is found to be more consistent in proportion as it is more known, is the best method of preaching and extending Christianity. Without it, zeal for converting men brings reproach on the cause. A bad man, or a man of only ordinary goodness, who puts himself forward in this work, throws a suspiciousness over the efforts of better men, and thus the world come to set down all labor for spreading Christianity as mere pretence. Let not him who will not submit to the toil of making himself better, become a reformer at home or abroad. Let not him who is known to be mean, or dishonest, or intriguing, or censorious, or unkind in his neighborhood, talk of his concern for other men's souls. His life is an injury to religion, which his contributions of zeal, or even of wealth, cannot repair, and its injuriousness is aggravated by these very attempts to expiate its guilt, to reconcile him to himself.

It is well known that the greatest obstruction to Christianity in heathen countries is the palpable and undeniable depravity of Christian nations. They abhor our religion because we are such unhappy specimens of it. They are unable to read our books, but they can read our lives; and what wonder if they reject with scorn a system under which the vices seem to have flourished so luxuriantly. The Indian of both hemispheres has reason to set down the Christian as little better than himself. He associates with the name perfidy, fraud, rapacity, and slaughter. Can we wonder that he is unwilling to receive a religion from the hand which has chained or robbed him? Thus, bad example is the great obstruction to Christianity abroad as well as at home; and perhaps little good is to be done abroad until we become better at home, until real Christians understand and practise their religion more thoroughly, and by their example and influence spread it among their neighbors and through their country, so that the aspect of Christian nations shall be less shocking and repulsive to the Jew, Mahometan, and Pagan. Our first labor should be upon ourselves: and indeed if our religion be incapable of bearing more fruit among ourselves, it hardly seems to deserve a very burning zeal for its propagation. The question is an important one, — Would much be gained to heathen countries were we to make them precisely what nations called Christians now are? That the change would be beneficial, we grant; but how many dark stains would remain on their characters! They would continue to fight and shed blood as they now do, to resent injuries hotly, to worship present gain and distinction, and to pursue the common business of life on the principles of undisguised selfishness; and they would

learn one lesson of iniquity which they have not yet acquired, and that is, to condemn and revile their brethren who should happen to view the most perplexed points of theology differently from themselves. The truth is, Christian nations want a genuine reformation, one worthy of the name. They need to have their zeal directed, not so much to the spreading of the gospel abroad, as to the application of its plain precepts to their daily business, to the education of their children, to the treatment of their domestics and dependants, and to their social and religious intercourse. They need to understand that a man's piety is to be estimated, not so much by his professions or direct religious exercises, as by a conscientious surrender of his will, passions, worldly interests, and prejudices, to the acknowledged duties of Christianity, and especially by a philanthropy resembling in its great features of mildness, activity, and endurance, that of Jesus Christ. They need to give up their severe inquisition into their neighbors' opinions, and to begin in earnest to seek for themselves, and to communicate to others, a nobler standard of temper and practice than they have yet derived from the Scriptures. In a word, they need to learn the real value and design of Christianity by the only thorough and effectual process; that is, by drinking deeply into its spirit of love to God and man. If, in this age of societies, we should think it wise to recommend another institution for the propagation of Christianity, it would be one the members of which should be pledged to assist and animate one another in living according to the Sermon on the Mount. How far such a measure would be effectual we venture not to predict; but of one thing we are sure, that, should it prosper, it would do more for spreading the gospel than all other associations which are now receiving the patronage of the Christian world.

THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY:

Discourse at the Dedication of Divinity Hall, Cambridge, 1826.

Luke iv. 32: "His word was with power."

We are assembled to set apart and consecrate this building to the education of teachers of the Christian religion. Regarding, as we do, this religion as God's best gift to mankind, we look on these simple walls, reared for this holy and benevolent work, with an interest which more splendid edifices, dedicated to inferior purposes, would fail to inspire. We thank God for the zeal which has erected them. We thank him for the hope that here will be trained, and hence will go forth, able ministers of the New Testament. God accept our offering and fulfil our trust! May He shed on this spot the copious dew of his grace, and compass it with his favor as with a shield!

To what end do we devote this building? How may this end be accomplished? These questions will guide our present reflections.

To what end is this edifice dedicated? The answer to this question may be given in various forms or expanded into various particulars. From this wide range of topics I shall select one which, from its comprehensiveness and importance, will be acknowledged to deserve peculiar attention. I say, then, that this edifice is dedicated to the training of ministers, whose word, like their Master's, shall be "*with power.*" Power, energy, efficiency, that is the endowment to be communicated most assiduously by a theological institution. Such is the truth which I would now develop. My meaning may easily be explained. By the power of which I have spoken I mean that strong action of the understanding, conscience, and heart, on

moral and religious truth, through which the preacher is quickened and qualified to awaken the same strong action in others. I mean energy of thought and feeling in the minister, creating for itself an appropriate expression, and propagating itself to the hearer. What this power is all men understand by experience. All know how the same truth differs when dispensed by different lips; how doctrines, inert and uninteresting as expounded by one teacher, come fraught with life from another, — arrest attention, rouse emotion, and give a new spring to the soul. In declaring this power to be the great object of a theological institution, I announce no discovery. I say nothing new. But this truth, like many others, is too often acknowledged only to be slighted. It needs to be brought out, to be made prominent, to become the living, guiding principle of education for the ministry. Power, then, I repeat it, is the great good to be communicated by theological institutions. To impart knowledge is indeed their indispensable duty, but not their whole, nor most arduous, nor highest work. Knowledge is the means, power the end. The former, when accumulated, as it often is, with no strong action of the intellect, no vividness of conception, no depth of conviction, no force of feeling, is of little or no worth to the preacher. It comes from him as a faint echo, with nothing of that mysterious energy which strong conviction throws into style and utterance. His breath, which should kindle, chills his hearers, and the nobler the truth with which he is charged the less he succeeds in carrying it far into men's souls. We want more than knowledge. We want force of thought, feeling, and purpose. What profits it to arm the pupil with weapons of heavenly temper, unless his hands be nerved to wield them with vigor and success? The word of God is indeed "quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword;" but when committed to him who has no kindred energy, it does not and cannot penetrate the mind. Power is the attribute which crowns all a minister's accomplishments. It is the centre and grand result in which all his studies, meditations, and prayers should meet, and without which his office becomes a form and a show. And yet how seldom is it distinctly and earnestly proposed as the chief qualification for the sacred office! How seldom do we meet it! How often does preaching remind us of a child's arrows shot against a fortress of adamant! How often does it seem a mock fight! We do not see the earnestness of real warfare; of men bent on the accomplishment of a great good. We want powerful ministers, not graceful declaimers, not elegant essayists, but men fitted to act on men, to make themselves *felt* in society.

I have said that the communication of power is the great end of a theological institution. Let not this word give alarm. I mean by it, as you must have seen, a very different power from that which ministers once possessed, and which some still covet. There have been times when the clergy were rivals in dominion with kings; when the mitre even towered above the diadem; when the priest, shutting God's word on the people, and converting its threatenings and promises into instruments of usurpation, was able to persuade men that the soul's everlasting doom hung on his ministry, and even succeeded in establishing a sway over fiery and ferocious spirits which revolted against all other control. This power, suited to barbarous times, and, as some imagine, a salutary element of society in rude, lawless ages, has been shaken almost everywhere by the progress of intellect; and in Protestant countries it is openly reprobated and renounced. It is not to re-establish this that these walls have been reared. We trust that they are to be bulwarks against its encroachments, and that they are to send forth influences more and more hostile to every form of spiritual usurpation.

Am I told that this kind of power is now so fallen and so contemned that to disclaim or to oppose it seems a waste of words? I should rejoice to yield myself to this belief. But unhappily the same enslaving and degrading power may grow up under Protestant as under Catholic institutions. In all ages and all churches terror confers a temendous influence on him who can spread it; and through this instrument the Protestant minister, while disclaiming Papal pretensions, is able, if so minded, to build up a spiritual despotism. That this means of subjugating the mind

should be too freely used and dreadfully perverted, we cannot wonder, when we consider that no talent is required to spread a panic, and that coarse minds and hard hearts are signally gifted for this work of torture. The progress of intelligence is undoubtedly narrowing the power which the minister gains by excessive appeals to men's fears, but has by no means destroyed it; for as yet the intellect, even in Protestant countries, has exerted itself comparatively little on religion; and ignorance begetting a passive, servile state of mind, the preacher, if so disposed, finds little difficulty in breaking some, if not many, spirits by terror. The effects of this ill-gotten power are mournful on the teacher and the taught. The panic-smitten hearer, instructed that safety is to be found in bowing to an unintelligible creed, and too agitated for deliberate and vigorous thought, resigns himself a passive subject to his spiritual guides, and receives a faith by which he is debased. Nor does the teacher escape unhurt; for all usurpation on men's understandings begets in him who exercises it a dread and resistance of the truth which threatens its subversion. Hence ministers have so often fallen behind their age, and been the chief foes of the master-spirits who have improved the world. They have felt their power totter at the tread of an independent thinker. By a kind of instinct, they have fought against the light before which the shades of superstition were vanishing, and have received their punishment in the darkness and degradation of their own minds. To such power as we have described we do not dedicate these walls. We would not train here, if we could, agents of terror to shake weak nerves, to disease the imagination, to lay a spell on men's faculties, to guard a creed by fires more consuming than those which burned on Sinai. Believing that this method of dominion is among the chief obstructions to an enlightened faith, and abhorring tyranny in the pulpit as truly as on the throne, we would consecrate this edifice to the subversion, not the participation, of this unhallowed power.

Is it, then, asked what I mean by the power which this institution should aim to communicate? I mean power to act on intelligent and free beings, by means proportioned to their nature. I mean power to call into healthy exertion the intellect, conscience, affections, and moral will of the hearer. I mean force of conception, and earnestness of style and elocution. I mean that truth should be a vital principle in the soul of the teacher, and should come from him as a reality. I mean that his whole moral and intellectual faculties should be summoned to his work; that a tone of force and resolution should pervade his efforts; that, throwing his soul into his cause, he should plead it with urgency, and should concentrate on his hearers all the influences which consist with their moral freedom.

Every view which we can take of the ministry will teach us that nothing less than the whole amount of power in the individual can satisfy its demands. This we learn, if we consider, first, the weight and grandeur of the subjects which the minister is to illustrate and enforce. He is to speak of God, the King and Father Eternal, whose praise no tongue of men or angels can worthily set forth. He is to speak of the soul, that ray of the Divinity, the partaker of God's own immortality, to which the outward universe was made to minister, and which, if true to itself, will one day be clad with a beauty and grandeur such as nature's loveliest and sublimest scenery never wears. He is to speak not of this world only, but of invisible and more advanced states of being; of a world too spiritual for the fleshly eye to see, but of which a presage and earnest may be found in the enlightened and purified mind. He has to speak of virtue, of human perfection, of the love which is due to the Universal Father and to fellow-beings, of the intercourse of the soul with its Creator, and of all the duties of life as hallowed and elevated by a reference to God and to the future world. He has to speak of sin, that essential evil, that only evil, which, by its unutterable fearfulness, makes all other calamities unworthy of the name. He is to treat not of ordinary life, nor of the most distinguished agents in ordinary history, but of God's supernatural interpositions; of his most sensible and immediate providence; of men inspired and empowered to work the most important revolutions in soci-

ety; and especially of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the theme of prophecy, the revealer of grace and truth, the Saviour from sin, the conqueror of death, who hath left us an example of immaculate virtue, whose love passeth knowledge, and whose history—combining the strange and touching contrasts of the cross, the resurrection, and a heavenly throne—surpasses all other records in interest and grandeur. He has to speak not of transitory concerns, but of happiness and misery transcending in duration and degree the most joyful and suffering condition of the present state. He has to speak of the faintly shadowed but solemn consummation of this world's eventful history; of the coming of the Son of Man, the resurrection, the judgment, the retributions of the last day. Here are subjects of intense interest. They claim and should call forth the mind's whole power, and are infinitely wronged when uttered with cold lips and from an unmoved heart.

If we next consider the effects which, through these truths, the minister is to produce, we shall see that his function demands and should be characterized by power. The first purpose of a minister's function, which is to enlighten the understanding on the subject of religion, is no easy task: for all religious truth is not obvious, plain, shining with an irresistible evidence, so that a glance of thought will give the hearer possession of the teacher's mind. We sometimes talk, indeed, of the simplicity of religion, as if it were as easy as a child's book, as if it might be taught with as little labor as the alphabet. But all analogy forbids us to believe that the sublimest truths can be imparted or gained with little thought or effort, and the prevalent ignorance confirms this presumption. Obstacles neither few nor small to a clear apprehension of religion are found in the invisibleness of its objects; in the disproportion between the Infinite Creator and the finite mind; in the proneness of human beings to judge of superior natures by their own, and to transfer to the spiritual world the properties of matter and the affections of sense; in the perpetual pressure of outward things upon the attention; in the darkness which sin spreads over the intellect; in the ignorance which yet prevails in regard to the human mind; and, though last not least, in the errors and superstitions which have come down to us from past ages, and which exert an unsuspected power on our whole modes of religious thinking. These obstacles are strengthened by the general indisposition to investigate religion freely and thoroughly. The tone of authority with which it has been taught, the terror and obscure phraseology in which it has been shrouded, and the unlovely aspect which it has been made to wear, have concurred to repel from it deliberate and earnest attention, and to reconcile men to a superficial mode of thinking which they would scorn on every other subject. Add to this, that the early inculcation and frequent repetition of religion, by making it familiar, expose it to neglect. The result of all these unfavorable influences is, that religious truth is more indistinctly apprehended, is more shadowy and unreal to the multitude, than any other truth; and, unhappily, this remark applies with almost equal truth to all ranks of society and all orders of intellect. The loose conceptions of Christianity which prevail among the high as well as the low, do not deserve the name of knowledge. The loftiest minds among us seldom put forth their strength on the very subject for which intelligence was especially given. A great revolution is needed here. The human intellect is to be brought to act on religion with new power. It ought to prosecute this inquiry with an intenseness with which no other subject is investigated. And does it require no energy in the teacher to awaken this power and earnestness of thought in others, to bring religion before the intellect as its worthiest object, to raise men's traditional, lifeless, superficial faith into deliberate, profound conviction?

That the ministry should be characterized by power and energy will be made more apparent, if we consider that it is instituted to quicken not only the intellect but the conscience; to enforce the obligations as well as illustrate the truth of religion. It is an important branch of the minister's duty to bring home the general principles of duty to the individual mind; to turn it upon itself; to rouse it to a resolute, impartial survey of its whole responsibilities and ill deserts. And is not energy needed to break through the barriers

of pride and self-love, and to place the individual before a tribunal in his own breast as solemn and searching as that which awaits him at the last day? It is not, indeed, so difficult to rouse in the timid and susceptible a morbid susceptibility of conscience, to terrify weak people into the idea that they are to answer for sins inherited from the first fallen pair, and entailed upon them by a stern necessity. But this feverish action of the conscience is its weakness, not its strength; and the teacher who would rouse the moral sense to discriminating judgment and healthful feeling, has need of a vastly higher kind of power than is required to darken and disease it.

Another proof that the ministry should be characterized by power, is given to us by the consideration that it is intended to act on the affections; to exhibit religion in its loveliness and venerableness, as well as in its truth and obligation; to concentrate upon it all the strength of moral feeling. The Christian teacher has a great work to do in the human heart. His function has for its highest aim to call forth towards God the profoundest awe, attachment, trust, and joy, of which human nature is capable. Religion demands that He who is supreme in the universe should be supreme in the human soul. God, to whom belongs the mysterious and incommunicable attribute of infinity; who is the fulness and source of life and thought, of beauty and power, of love and happiness; on whom we depend more intimately than the stream on the fountain, or the plant on the earth in which it is rooted, — this Great Being ought to call forth peculiar emotions, and to move and sway the soul, as He pervades creation, with unrivalled energy. It is his distinction, that He unites in his nature infinite majesty and infinite benignity, the most awful with the most endearing attributes, the tenderest relations to the individual with the grandeur of the universal sovereign; and, through this nature, He is fitted to act on the mind as no other being can, — to awaken a love more intense, a veneration more profound, a sensibility of which the soul knows not its capacity until it is penetrated and touched by God. To bring the created mind into living union with the Infinite Mind, so that it shall respond to him through its whole being, is the noblest function which this harmonious and beneficent universe performs. For this revelation was given. For this the ministry was instituted. The Christian teacher is to make more audible, and to interpret, the voice in which the beauty and awfulness of nature, the heavens, the earth, fruitful seasons, storms and thunders, recall men to their Creator. Still more, he is to turn them to the clearer, milder, more attractive splendors in which the Divinity is revealed by Jesus Christ. His great purpose, I repeat it, is to give vitality to the thought of God in the human mind; to make his presence felt; to make him a reality, and the most powerful reality to the soul. And is not this a work requiring energy of thought and utterance? Is it easy, in a world of matter and sense, amidst crowds of impressions rushing in from abroad, amidst the constant and visible agency of second causes, amidst the anxieties, toils, pleasures, dissipations, and competitions of life, in the stir and bustle of society, and in an age when luxury wars with spirituality, and the development of nature's resources is turning men's trust from the Creator, — is it easy, amidst these gross interests and distracting influences, to raise men's minds to the invisible Divinity, to fix impressions of God deeper and more enduring than those which are received from all other beings, to make him the supreme object, spring, and motive of the soul?

We have seen how deep and strong are the affections which the minister is to awaken towards God. But *strength* of religious impression is not his whole work. From the imperfections of our nature this very strength has its dangers. Religion, in becoming fervent, often becomes morbid. It is the minister's duty to inculcate a piety characterized by wisdom as much as by warmth; to mediate, if I may so speak, between the reason and the affections, so that, with joint energy and in blessed harmony, they may rise together and offer up the undivided soul to God. Whoever understands the strength of emotion in man's nature, and how hardly the balance of the soul is preserved, need not be told of the arduousness of this work. Devout people, through love of excitement, and through wrong views

of the love of God, are apt to cherish the devotional feelings, at the expense, if not to the exclusion, of other parts of our nature. They seem to imagine that piety, like the Upas tree, makes a desert where it grows, — that the mind, if not the body, needs a cloister. The natural movements of the soul are repressed; the social affections damped; the grace, and ornament, and innocent exhilarations of life frowned upon; and a gloomy, repulsive religion is cultivated, which, by way of compensation for its privations, claims a monopoly of God's favor, abandoning all to his wrath who will not assume its own sad livery and echo its own sepulchral tones. Through such exhibitions religion has lost its honor; and though the most ennobling of all sentiments, dilating the soul with vast thoughts and an unbounded hope, has been thought to contract and degrade it. The minister is to teach an earnest but enlightened religion, — a piety wnich, far from wasting or eradicating, will protect, nourish, freshen the mind's various affections and powers; which will add force to reason, as well as ardor to the heart; which will at once bind us to God, and cement and multiply our ties to our families, our country, and mankind; which will heighten the relish of life's pleasures, whilst it kindles an unquenchable thirst for a purer happiness in the life to come. Religion does not mutilate our nature. It does not lay waste our human interests and affections, that it may erect for God a throne amidst cheerless and solitary ruins, but widens the range of thought, feeling, and enjoyment. Such is religion; and the Christian ministry, — having for its end the communication of this healthful, well-proportioned, and all-comprehending piety, — demands every energy of thought, feeling, and utterance which the individual can bring to the work.

The time would fail me to speak of the other affections and sentiments which the ministry is instituted to excite and cherish, and I hasten to another object of the Christian teacher, which, to those who know themselves, will peculiarly illustrate the power which his office demands. It is his duty to rouse men to self-conflict, to warfare with the evil in their own hearts. This is, in truth, the supreme evil. The sorest calamities of life — sickness, poverty, scorn, dungeons, and death — form a less amount of desolation and suffering than is included in that one word, sin, — in revolt from God, in disloyalty to conscience, in the tyranny of the passions, in the thraldom of the soul's noblest powers. To redeem men from sin was Christ's great end. To pierce them with a new consciousness of sin, so that they shall groan under it, and strive against it, and, through prayer and watching, master it, is an essential part of the minister's work. Let him not satisfy himself with awakening by his eloquence occasional emotions of gratitude or sympathy. He must rouse the soul to solemn, stern resolve against its own deep and cherished corruptions, or he only makes a show of assault, and leaves the foe intrenched and unbroken within. We see, then, the arduousness of the minister's work. He is called to war with the might of the human passions, with the whole power of moral evil. He is to enlist men, not for a crusade, nor for extermination of heretics, but to fight a harder battle within, to expel sin in all its forms, and especially their besetting sins, from the strongholds of the heart. I know no task so arduous, none which demands equal power.

I shall take but one more view of the objects for which the Christian ministry was instituted, and from which we infer that it should be fraught with energy. It is the duty of the Christian teacher to call forth in the soul a conviction of its immortality, a thirst for a higher existence, and a grandeur and elevation of sentiment becoming a being who is to live, enjoy, and advance for ever. His business is with men, not as inhabitants of this world, but as related to invisible beings and to purer and happier worlds. The minister should look with reverence on the human soul as having within itself the germ of heaven. He should recognize, in the ignorant and unimproved, vast spiritual faculties given for perpetual enlargement, just as the artist of genius sees in the unhewn marble the capacity of being transformed into a majesty and grace which will command the admiration of ages. In correspondence with these views, let him strive to quicken men to a consciousness of their inward

nature and of its affinity with God, and to raise their steadfast aim and hope to its interminable progress and felicity. Such is his function. Perhaps I may be told that men are incapable of rising, under the best instruction, to this height of thought and feeling. But let us never despair of our race. There is, I am sure, in the human soul a deep consciousness, which responds to him who sincerely, and with the language of reality, speaks to it of the great and everlasting purposes for which it was created. There are sublime instincts in man. There is in human nature a want which the world cannot supply; a thirst for objects on which to pour forth more fervent admiration and love than visible things awaken; a thirst for the unseen, the infinite, and the everlasting. Most of you who hear have probably had moments when a new light has seemed to dawn, a new life to stir within you; when you have aspired after an unknown good; when you have been touched by moral greatness and disinterested love; when you have longed to break every chain of selfishness and sensuality, and enjoy a purer being. It is on this part of our nature that religion is founded. To this Christianity is addressed. The power to speak to this is the noblest which God has imparted to man or angel, and should be coveted above all things by the Christian teacher.

The need of power in the ministry has been made apparent, from the greatness of the truths to be dispensed and the effects to be wrought by the Christian teacher. The question then comes, How may the student of theology be aided in gaining or cherishing this power? Under what influences should he be placed? What are the springs or foundations of the energy which he needs? How may he be quickened and trained to act most efficiently on the minds of men? In answering these questions we of course determine the character which belongs to a theological institution, the spirit which it should cherish, the discipline, the mode of teaching, the excitements, which it should employ. From this wide range I shall select a few topics which are recommended at once by their own importance and by the circumstances in which we are now placed.

1. To train the student to power of thought and utterance, let him be left, and, still more, encouraged, to free investigation. Without this a theological institution becomes a prison to the intellect and a nuisance to the church. The mind grows by free action. Confine it to beaten paths, prescribe to it the results in which all study must end, and you rob it of elasticity and life. It will never spread to its full dimensions. Teach the young man that the instructions of others are designed to quicken, not supersede his own activity; that he has a divine intellect for which he is to answer to God, and that to surrender it to another is to cast the crown from his head, and to yield up his noblest birthright. Encourage him in all great questions to hear both sides, and to meet fairly the point of every hostile argument. Guard him against tampering with his own mind, against silencing its whispers and objections, that he may enjoy a favorite opinion undisturbed. Do not give him the shadow for the substance of freedom, by telling him to inquire, but prescribing to him the convictions at which he must stop. Better show him honestly his chains than mock the slave with the show of liberty.

I know the objection to this course. It puts to hazard, we are told, the religious principles of the young. The objection is not without foundation. The danger is not unreal. But I know no method of forming a manly intellect or a manly character without danger. Peril is the element in which power is developed. Remove the youth from every hazard, keep him in leading-strings lest he should stray into forbidden paths, surround him with down lest he should be injured by a fall, shield him from wind and storms, and you doom him to perpetual infancy. All liberty is perilous, as the despot truly affirms; but who would therefore seek shelter under a despot's throne? Freedom of will is almost a tremendous gift; but still a free agent, with all his capacity of crime, is infinitely more interesting and noble than the most harmonious and beautiful machine. Freedom is the nurse of intellectual and moral vigor. Better expose the mind to error than rob it of hardihood and individuality. Keep not the destined teacher of mankind from the perilous field where the

battle between truth and falsehood is fought. Let him grapple with difficulty, sophistry, and error. Truth is a conquest, and no man holds her so fast as he who has won her by conflict.

That cases of infidelity may occur in institutions conducted on free principles is very possible, though our own experience gives no ground for fear. But the student who, with all the aids to Christian belief which are furnished in a theological seminary, still falls a prey to scepticism, is not the man to be trusted with the cause of Christ. He is radically deficient. He wants that congeniality with spiritual and lofty truths without which the evidences of religion work no deep conviction, and without which the faith that might be instilled by a slavish institution would be of little avail. An upright mind may indeed be disturbed and shaken for a time by the arguments of scepticism; but these will be ultimately repelled, and, like conquered foes, will strengthen the principle by which they have been subdued.

Nothing, I am sure, can give power like a free action of the mind. Accumulate teachers and books, for these are indispensable. But the best teacher is he who awakens in his pupils the power of thought, and aids them to go alone. It is possible to weaken and encumber the mind by too much help. The very splendor of a teacher's talents may injure the pupil; and a superior man, who is more anxious to spread his own creed and his own praise than to nourish a strong intellect in others, will only waste his life in multiplying poor copies, and in sending forth into the churches tame mimics of himself.

To free inquiry, then, we dedicate these walls. We invite into them the ingenuous young man, who prizes liberty of mind more than aught within the gift of sects or of the world. Let heaven's free air circulate, and heaven's unobstructed light shine here, and let those who shall be sent hence go forth, not to echo with servility a creed imposed on their weakness, but to utter, in their own manly tones, what their own free investigation and deep conviction urge them to preach as the truth of God.

2. In the second place, to give power to the teacher, he should be imbued, by all possible inculcation and excitement, with a supreme and invincible love of truth. This is at once the best defence against the perils of free inquiry, and the inspirer of energy both in thought and utterance. The first duty of a rational being is to his own intellect; for it is through soundness and honesty of intellect that he is to learn all other duties. I know no virtue more important and appropriate to a teacher, and especially a religious teacher, than fairness and rectitude of understanding, — than a love of truth stronger than the love of gain, honor, life; and yet, so far from being cherished, this virtue has been warred against, hunted down, driven to exile, or doomed to the stake, in almost every Christian country, by ministers, churches, religious seminaries, or a maddened populace. In the glorious company of heroes and martyrs, a high rank belongs to him who, superior to the frowns or the sneers, the pity or the wrath, which change of views would bring upon him, and in opposition to the warping influences of patronage, of private friendship, or ambition, keeps his mind chaste, inviolate, a sacred temple for truth, ever open to new light from heaven; and who, faithful to his deliberate convictions, speaks simply and firmly what his uncorrupted mind believes. This love of truth gives power, for it secures a growing knowledge of truth; and truth is the mighty weapon by which the victories of religion are to be wrought out. This endures, whilst error carries with it the seeds of decay. Truth is an emanation from God, a beam of his wisdom, and immutable as its source; and although its first influences may seem to be exceeded by those of error, it grows stronger, and strikes deeper root, amidst the fluctuations and ruins of false opinions. Besides, this loyalty to truth not only leads to its acquisition, but, still more, begets a vital acquaintance with it, a peculiar conviction, which gives directness, energy, and authority to teaching. A minister who has been religiously just to his own understanding speaks with a tone of reality, of calm confidence, of conscious uprightness, which cannot be caught by the servile repeater of other men's notions, or by the passionate champion of an unexamined creed. A look, an accent, a word, from a single-hearted inquirer after truth, expressing his deliberate convictions, has a peculiar power in for-

tifying the convictions of others. To the love of truth, then, be these walls consecrated, and here may every influence be combined to build it up in the youthful heart!

3. To train powerful ministers, let an institution avail itself of the means of forming a devotional spirit, and imbuing the knowledge of the student with religious sensibility. Every man knows that a cultivated mind, under strong and generous emotion, acquires new command of its resources, new energy and fulness of thought and expression; whilst in individuals of a native vigor of intellect feeling almost supplies the place of culture, inspiring the unlettered teacher with a fervid, resistless eloquence, which no apparatus of books, teachers, criticism, ancient languages, and general literature can impart. This power of sensibility to fertilize and vivify the intellect is not difficult of explanation. A strong and pure affection concentrates the attention on its objects, fastens on them the whole soul, and thus gives vividness of conception. It associates intimately all the ideas which are congenial with itself, and thus causes a rush of thought into the mind in moments of excitement. Indeed, a strong emotion seems to stir up the soul from its foundations, and to attract to itself, and to impregnate with its own fire, whatever elements, conceptions, illustrations, can be pressed into its own service. Hence it is that even ordinary men, strongly moved, abound in arguments, analogies, and fervent appeals, which nothing but sensibility could have taught. Every minister can probably recollect periods when devotional feeling has seemed to open a new fountain of thought in the soul. Religious affection instinctively seeks and seizes the religious aspect of things. It discerns the marks of God, and proofs and illustrations of divine truth, in all nature and providence; and seems to surround the mind with an atmosphere which spreads its own warm hues on every object which enters it. This attraction, or affinity, if I may so say, which an emotion establishes among the thoughts which accord with itself, is one of the very important laws of the mind, and is chiefly manifested in poetry, eloquence, and all the higher efforts of intellect by which man sways his fellow-beings. Religious feeling, then, is indispensable to a powerful minister. Without it learning and fancy may please, but cannot move men profoundly and permanently. It is this which not only suggests ideas, but gives felicity and energy of expression. It prompts "the words that burn" — those mysterious combinations of speech, which send the speaker's soul like lightning through his hearers, which breathe new life into old and faded truths, and cause an instantaneous gush of thought and feeling in susceptible minds.

We dedicate this institution, then, to religious feeling. Here let the heart muse till the fire burns. Here let prayer, joined with meditation on nature and Scripture, and on the fervid writings of devout men, awaken the whole strength of the affections. But on no point is caution more needed than on this. Let it never be forgotten that we want genuine feeling; not its tones, looks, and gestures, not a forced ardor and factitious zeal. Woe to that institution where the young man is expected to repeat the language of emotion whether he feel it or not; where perpetual pains are taken to chafe the mind to a warmth which it cannot sustain! The affections are delicate, and must not be tampered with. They cannot be compelled. Hardly any thing is more blighting to genuine sensibility than to assume its tones and badge where it does not exist. Exhort the student to cherish devout feeling by intercourse with God, and with those whom God has touched. But exhort him as strenuously to abstain from every sign of emotion which the heart does not prompt. Teach him that nothing grieves more the Holy Spirit, or sooner closes the mind against heavenly influences, than insincerity. Teach him to be simple, ingenuous, true to his own soul. Better be cold than affect to feel. In truth, nothing is so cold as an assumed, noisy enthusiasm. Its best emblem is the northern blast of winter, which freezes as it roars. Be this spot sacred to Christian ingenuousness and sincerity! Let it never be polluted by pretence, by affected fervor, by cant and theatric show!

4. Another source of power in the ministry is faith; by which we mean not a general belief in the truths of Christianity, but a confidence in the

great results which this religion and the ministry are intended to promote. It has often been observed, that a strong faith tends to realize its objects: that all things become possible to him who thinks them so. Trust and hope breathe animation and force. He who despairs of great effects never accomplishes them. All great works have been the results of a strong confidence inspiring and sustaining strong exertion. The young man who cannot conceive of higher effects of the ministry than he now beholds, who thinks that Christianity has spent all its energies in producing the mediocrity of virtue which characterizes Christendom, and to whom the human soul seems to have put forth its whole power and to have reached its full growth in religion, has no call to the ministry. Let not such a man put forth his nerveless hands in defence of the Christian cause. A voice of confidence has been known to rally a retreating army and to lead it back to victory; and this spirit-stirring tone belongs to the leaders of the Christian host. The minister, indeed, ought to see and feel, more painfully than other men, the extent and power of moral evil in individuals, in the church, and in the world. Let him weep over the ravages of sin. But let him feel, too, that the mightiest power of the universe is on the side of truth and virtue; and with sorrow and fear let him join an unfaltering trust in the cause of human nature. Let him look on men as on mysterious beings endued with a spiritual life, with a deep central principle of holy and disinterested love, with an intellectual and moral nature which was made to be receptive of God. To nourish this hopeful spirit, this strengthening confidence, it is important that the minister should understand and feel that he is not acting alone in his efforts for religion, but in union with God and Christ, and good beings on earth and in heaven. Let him regard the spiritual renovation of mankind as God's chief purpose, for which nature and providence are leagued in holy co-operation. Let him feel himself joined in counsel and labor with that great body of which Christ is the head, with the noble brotherhood of apostles and martyrs, of the just made perfect and, I will add, of angels; and speaking with a faith becoming this sublime association, he will not speak in vain. To this faith, to prophetic hope, to a devout trust in the glorious issues of Christianity, we dedicate these walls; and may God here train up teachers worthy to mingle zeal and bear a part with the holy of both worlds in the cause of man's redemption!

5. Again, that the ministry may be imbued with new power, it needs a spirit of enterprise and reform. They who enter it should feel that it may be improved. We live in a stirring, advancing age; and shall not the noblest function on earth partake of the general progress? Why is the future ministry to be a servile continuation of the past? Have all the methods of operating on human beings been tried and exhausted? Are there no unessayed passages to the human heart? If we live in a new era, must not religion be exhibited under new aspects, or in new relations? Is not scepticism taking a new form? Has not Christianity new foes to contend with? And are there no new weapons and modes of warfare by which its triumphs are to be insured? If human nature is manifesting itself in new lights, and passing through a new and most interesting stage of its progress, shall it be described by the commonplaces, and appealed to exclusively by the motives, which belonged to earlier periods of society? May not the mind have become susceptible of nobler incitements than those which suited ruder times? Shall the minister linger behind his age, and be dragged along, as he often has been, in the last ranks of improvement? Let those who are to assume the ministry be taught that they have something more to do than to handle old topics in old ways, and to walk in beaten and long-worn paths. Let them inquire if new powers and agents may not be brought to bear on the human character. Is it incredible that the progress of intellect and knowledge should develop new resources for the teacher of religion as well as for the statesman, the artist, the philosopher? Are there no new combinations and new uses of the elements of thought as well as of the elements of nature? Is it impossible that in the vast compass of Scripture, of nature, of Providence, and of the soul, there should be undisclosed or dimly-defined truths which may give a new

impulse to the human mind? We dedicate this place not only to the continuance but to the improvement of the ministry; and let this improvement begin, at once, in those particulars where the public, if not the clergy, feel it to be wanted. Let those who are to be educated here be admonished against the frigid eloquence, the school-boy tone, the inanimate diction too common in the pulpit, and which would be endured nowhere else. Let them speak in tones of truth and nature, and adopt the style and elocution of men who have an urgent work in hand, and who are thirsting for the regeneration of individuals and society.

6. Another source of power, too obvious to need elucidation, yet too important to be omitted, is an independent spirit. By which I mean not an unfeeling defiance of the opinions and usages of society, but that moral courage which, through good report and evil report, reverently hears and fearlessly obeys the voice of conscience and God. He who would instruct men must not fear them. He who is to reform society must not be anxious to keep its level. Dread of opinion effeminates preaching and takes from truth its pungency. The minister so subdued may flourish his weapons in the air to the admiration of spectators, but will never pierce the conscience. The minister, like the good knight, should be without fear. Let him cultivate that boldness of speech for which Paul prayed. Let him not flatter great or small. Let him not wrap up reproof in a decorated verbiage. Let him make no compromise with evil because followed by a multitude, but for this very cause lift up against it a more earnest voice. Let him beware of the shackles which society insensibly fastens on the mind and the tongue. Moral courage is not the virtue of our times. The love of popularity is the all-tainting vice of a republic. Besides the increasing connection between a minister and the community, whilst it liberalizes the mind and counteracts professional prejudices, has a tendency to enslave him to opinion, to wear away the energy of virtuous resolution, and to change him from an intrepid guardian of virtue and foe of sin into a merely elegant and amiable companion. Against this dishonorable cowardice, which smoothes the thoughts and style of the teacher, until they glide through the ear and the mind without giving a shock to the most delicate nerves, let the young man be guarded. We dedicate this institution to Christian independence. May it send forth brave spirits to the vindication of truth and religion!

7. I shall now close with naming the chief source of power to the minister, — one, indeed, which has been in a measure anticipated, and all along implied, but which ought not to be dismissed without a more distinct annunciation. I refer to that spirit, or frame, or sentiment, in which the love of God, the love of men, the love of duty, meet as their highest result, and in which they are perfected and most gloriously displayed; I mean the spirit of self-sacrifice, — the spirit of martyrdom. This was the perfection of Christ, and it is the noblest inspiration which his followers derive from him. Say not that this is a height to which the generality of ministers must not be expected to rise. This spirit is of more universal obligation than many imagine. It enters into all the virtues which deeply interest us. In truth, there is no thorough virtue without it. Who is the upright man? He who would rather die than defraud. Who the good parent? He to whom his children are dearer than life. Who the good patriot? He who counts not life dear in his country's cause. Who the philanthropist? He who forgets himself in an absorbing zeal for the mitigation of human suffering, — for the freedom, virtue, and illumination of men. It is not Christianity alone which has taught self-sacrifice. Conscience and the divinity within us have in all ages borne testimony to its loveliness and grandeur, and history borrows from it her chief splendors. But Christ on his cross has taught it with a perfection unknown before, and his glory consists in the power with which he breathes it. Into this spirit Christ's meanest disciple is expected to drink. How much more the teachers and guides of his church! He who is not moved with this sublime feature of our religion, who cannot rise above himself, who cannot, by his own consciousness, comprehend the kindling energy and solemn joy which pain or peril in a noble cause has often inspired, — he to whom this language is a mystery wants one great

mark of his vocation to the sacred office. Let him enlist under any standard rather than the cross. To preach with power, a man must feel Christianity to be worthy of the blood which it has cost; and, espousing it as the chief hope of the human race, must contemn life's ordinary interests, compared with the glory and happiness of advancing it. This spirit of self-exposure and self-surrender throws into preachers an energy which no other principle can give. In truth, such power resides in disinterestedness, that no man can understand his full capacity of thought and feeling — his strength to do and suffer — until he gives himself, with a single heart, to a great and holy cause. New faculties seem to be created, and more than human might sometimes imparted, by a pure, fervent love. Most of us are probably strangers to the resources of power in our own breasts, through the weight and pressure of the chains of selfishness. We consecrate this institution, then, to that spirit of martyrdom, of disinterested attachment to the Christian cause, through which it first triumphed, and for want of which its triumphs are now slow. In an age of luxury and self-indulgence, we would devote these walls to the training of warm, manly, generous spirits. May they never shelter the self-seeking slaves of ease and comfort, — pupils of Epicurus rather than of Christ! God send from this place devoted and efficient friends of Christianity and the human race!

My friends, I have insisted on the need, and illustrated the sources, of power in the ministry. To this end may the institution in whose behalf we are now met together be steadily and sacredly devoted. I would say to its guardians and teachers, Let this be your chief aim. I would say to the students, Keep this in sight in all your studies. Never forget your great vocation, — that you are to prepare yourselves for a strong, deep, and beneficent agency on the minds of your fellow-beings. Everywhere I see a demand for the power on which I have now insisted. The cry comes to me from society and from the church. The condition of society needs a more efficient administration of Christianity. Great and radical changes are needed in the community to make it Christian. There are those, indeed, who, mistaking the courtesies and refinements of civilized life for virtue, see no necessity of a great revolution in the world. But civilization, in hiding the grossness, does not break the power of evil propensities. Let us not deceive ourselves. Multitudes are living with few thoughts of God, and of the true purpose and glory of their being. Among the nominal believers in a Deity and in a judgment to come, sensuality and ambition, and the love of the world, sit on their thrones and laugh to scorn the impotence of preaching. Christianity has yet a hard war to wage and many battles to win, and it needs intrepid, powerful ministers, who will find courage and excitement, not dismay, in the strength and number of their foes.

Christians, you have seen in this discourse the purposes and claims of this theological institution. Offer your fervent prayers for its prosperity. Besiege the throne of mercy in its behalf. Cherish it as the dearest hope of our churches. Enlarge its means of usefulness, and let your voice penetrate its walls, calling aloud and importunately for enlightened and powerful teachers. Thus joining in effort with the directors and instructors of this seminary, doubt not that God will here train up ministers worthy to bear his truth to present and future generations. If, on the contrary, you and they slumber, you will have erected these walls, not to nourish energy, but to be its tomb, not to bear witness to your zeal, but to be a melancholy monument of fainting effort and betrayed truth.

But let me not cast a cloud over the prospects of this day. In hope I began, — with hope I will end. This institution has noble distinctions, and has afforded animating pledges. It is eminently a free institution, — an asylum from the spiritual despotism which, in one shape or another, overspreads the greatest part of Christendom. It has already given to the churches a body of teachers who, in theological acquisitions and ministerial gifts, need not shrink from comparison with their predecessors or contemporaries. I see in it means and provisions, nowhere surpassed, for training up enlightened, free, magnanimous, self-sacrificing friends of truth. In this hope let us then proceed to the work which has brought us to-

gether. With trust in God, with love to mankind, with unaffected attachment to Christian truth, with earnest wishes for its propagation through all lands and its transmission to remotest ages, let us now, with one heart and one voice, dedicate this edifice to the One living and true God, to Christ and his Church, to the instruction and regeneration of the human soul.

THE DEMANDS OF THE AGE ON THE MINISTRY:

Discourse at the Ordination of the Rev. E. S. Gannett, Boston, 1824.

MATTHEW x. 16: "Behold I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves: be ye therefore wise as serpents and harmless as doves."

THE communication of moral and religious truth is the most important office committed to men. The Son of God came into the world not to legislate for nations, not to command armies, not to sit on the throne of universal monarchy; but to teach religion, to establish truth and holiness. The highest end of human nature is duty, virtue, piety, excellence, moral greatness, spiritual glory; and he who effectually labors for these is taking part with God, in God's noblest work. The Christian ministry, then, which has for its purpose men's spiritual improvement and salvation, and which is intrusted for this end with weapons of heavenly temper and power, deserves to be ranked amongst God's most beneficent institutions and men's most honorable labors. The occasion requires that this institution should be our principal topic.

How happy a change has taken place since the words of Christ in the text were spoken! Ministers are no longer sent forth into the midst of wolves. Through the labors, sufferings, and triumphs of apostles, martyrs, and good and great men in successive ages, Christianity has become the professed and honored religion of the most civilized nations, and its preachers are exposed to very different temptations from those of savage persecution. Still our text has an application to the present time. We see our Saviour commanding his Apostles to regard in their ministry the circumstances of the age in which they lived. Surrounded with foes, they were to exercise the wisdom or prudence of which the serpent was in ancient times the emblem, and to join with it the innocence and mildness of the dove. And, in like manner, the Christian minister is at all periods to regard the signs, the distinctive marks and character of the age to which he belongs, and must accommodate his ministry to its wants and demands. Accordingly, I propose to consider some of the leading traits of the present age, and the influence which they should have on a Christian teacher.

I. The state of the world, compared with the past, may be called enlightened, and requires an enlightened ministry. It hardly seems necessary to prove that religion should be dispensed by men who at least keep pace with the intellect of the age in which they live. Some passages of Scripture, however, have been wrested to prove that an unlearned ministry is that which God particularly honors. He always chooses, we are told, "the foolish things of the world to confound the wise." But texts of this description are misunderstood through the very ignorance which they are adduced to support. The wise, who are spoken of contemptuously in the New Testament, were not really enlightened men, but pretenders to wisdom, who substituted dreams of imagination and wild hypotheses for sober inquiry into God's works, and who knew comparatively nothing of nature or the human mind. The present age has a quite different illumination from that in which ancient philosophy prided itself. It is marked by great and obvious im-

provements in the methods of reasoning and inquiry, and by the consequent discovery and diffusion of a great mass of physical and moral truth wholly unknown in the time of Christ. Now we affirm that such an age demands an enlightened ministry. We want teachers who will be able to discern and unfold the consistency of revealed religion with the new lights which are breaking in from nature; and who will be able to draw, from all men's discoveries in the outward world and in their own souls, illustrations, analogies, and arguments for Christianity. We have reason to believe that God, the Author of nature and revelation, has established a harmony between them, and that their beams are intended to mingle and shed a joint radiance; and, consequently, other things being equal, that teacher is best fitted to dispense Christianity whose compass of mind enables him to compare what God is teaching in his works and in his word, and to present the truths of religion with those modifications and restraints which other acknowledged truths require. Christianity now needs dispensers who will make history, nature, and the improvements of society tributary to its elucidation and support; who will show its adaptation to man as an ever-progressive being; who will be able to meet the objections to its truth which will naturally be started in an active, stirring, inquiring age; and, though last not least, who will have enough of mental and moral courage to detect and renounce the errors in the church on which such objections are generally built. In such an age, a ministry is wanted which will furnish discussions of religious topics, not inferior at least in intelligence to those which people are accustomed to read and hear on other subjects. Christianity will suffer if, at a time when vigor and acuteness of thinking are carried into all other departments, the pulpit should send forth nothing but wild declamation, positive assertion, or dull commonplaces, with which even childhood is satiated. Religion must be seen to be the friend and quickener of intellect. It must be exhibited with clearness of reasoning and variety of illustration; nor ought it to be deprived of the benefits of a pure and felicitous diction and of rich and glowing imagery, where these gifts fall to the lot of the teacher. It is not meant that every minister must be a man of genius, — for genius is one of God's rarest inspirations; and of all the breathings of genius, perhaps the rarest is eloquence. I mean only to say that the age demands of those who devote themselves to the administration of Christianity, that they should feel themselves called upon for the highest cultivation and fullest development of the intellectual nature. Instead of thinking that the ministry is a refuge for dulness, and that whoever can escape from the plough is fit for God's spiritual husbandry, we ought to feel that no profession demands more enlarged thinking and more various acquisitions of truth.

In proportion as society becomes enlightened, talent acquires influence. In rude ages bodily strength is the most honorable distinction, and in subsequent times military prowess and skill confer mastery and eminence. But as society advances, mind, thought, becomes the sovereign of the world; and accordingly, at the present moment, profound and glowing thought, though breathing only from the silent page, exerts a kind of omnipotent and omnipresent energy. It crosses oceans and spreads through nations; and, at one and the same moment, the conceptions of a single mind are electrifying and kindling multitudes through wider regions than the Roman eagle overshadowed. This agency of mind on mind, I repeat it, is the true sovereignty of the world, and kings and heroes are becoming impotent by the side of men of deep and fervent thought. In such a state of things, religion would wage a very unequal war if divorced from talent and cultivated intellect, if committed to weak and untaught minds. God plainly intends that it should be advanced by human agency; and does He not then intend to summon to its aid the mightiest and noblest power with which man is gifted?

Let it not be said that Christianity has an intrinsic glory, a native beauty, which no art or talent of man can heighten; that Christianity is one and the same by whatever lips it is communicated, and that it needs nothing but the most naked exposition of its truths to accomplish its saving purposes. Who does not know that all truth takes a hue and

form from the soul through which it passes, that in every mind it is invested with peculiar associations, and that, consequently, the same truth is quite a different thing when exhibited by men of different habits of thought and feeling? Who does not know that the sublimest doctrines lose in some hands all their grandeur, and the loveliest all their attractiveness? Who does not know how much the diffusion and power of any system, whether physical, moral, or political, depend on the order according to which it is arranged, on the broad and consistent views which are given of it, on the connections which it is shown to hold with other truths, on the analogies by which it is illustrated, adorned, and enforced, and, though last not least, on the clearness and energy of the style in which it is conveyed? "Nothing is needed in religion," some say, "but the naked truth." But I apprehend that there is no such thing as naked truth, at least as far as moral subjects are concerned. Truth which relates to God, and duty, and happiness, and a future state, is always humanized, if I may so use the word, by passing through a human mind; and when communicated powerfully, it always comes to us in drapery thrown round it by the imagination, reason, and moral feelings of the teacher. It comes to us warm and living with the impressions and affections which it has produced in the soul from which it issues: and it ought so to come; for the highest evidence of moral truth is found in the moral principles and feelings of our nature, and therefore it fails of its best support unless it is seen to accord with and to act upon these. The evidence of Christianity which operates most universally is not history nor miracles, but its correspondence to the noblest capacities, deepest wants, and purest aspirations of our nature, to the cravings of an immortal spirit; and when it comes to us from a mind in which it has discovered nothing of this adaptation, and has touched none of these springs, it wants one of its chief signatures of divinity. Christianity is not, then, to be exhibited nakedly. It owes much of its power to the mind which communicates it: and the greater the enlargement and development of the mind of which it has possessed itself, and from which it flows, the wider and deeper will be its action on other souls.

It may be said without censoriousness, that the ordinary mode in which Christianity has been exhibited in past times does not suit the illumination of the present. That mode has been too narrow, technical, pedantic. Religion has been made a separate business, — and a dull, unsocial, melancholy business, too, — instead of being manifested as a truth which bears on and touches every thing human, as a universal spirit which ought to breathe through and modify all our desires and pursuits, all our trains of thought and emotion. And this narrow, forbidden mode of exhibiting Christianity is easily explained by its early history. Monks shut up in cells; a priesthood cut off by celibacy from the sympathies and most interesting relations of life; and universities enslaved to a scholastic logic, and taught to place wisdom in verbal subtilties and unintelligible definitions; these took Christianity into their keeping, and at their chilling touch this generous religion, so full of life and affection, became a dry, frigid, abstract system. Christianity, as it came from their hands, and has been transmitted by a majority of Protestant divines, reminds us of the human form compressed by swathing-bands, until every joint is rigid, every movement constrained, and almost all the beauty and grace of nature obliterated. Instead of regarding it as a heavenly institution, designed to perfect our whole nature, to offer awakening and purifying objects to the intellect, imagination, and heart, to develop every capacity of devout and social feeling, to form a rich, various, generous virtue, divines have cramped and tortured the gospel into various systems, composed in the main of theological riddles and contradictions; and this religion of love has been made to inculcate a monkish and dark-visaged piety, very hostile to the free expansion and full enjoyment of all our faculties and social affections. Great improvements indeed in this particular are taking place among Christians of almost every denomination. Religion has been brought from the cell of the monk and the school of the verbal disputant into life and society; and its connections with all our pursuits and feelings have been made manifest. Still,

Christianity, I apprehend, is not viewed in sufficiently broad lights to meet the spirit of an age which is tracing connections between all objects of thought and branches of knowledge, and which cannot but distrust an alleged revelation, in as far as it is seen to want harmonies and affinities with other parts of God's system, and especially with human nature and human life.

II. The age in which we live demands not only an enlightened but an earnest ministry, for it is an age of earnestness and excitement. Men feel and think at present with more energy than formerly. There is more of interest and fervor. We learn now from experience what might have been inferred from the purposes of our Creator, that civilization and refinement are not, as has been sometimes thought, inconsistent with sensibility; that the intellect may grow without exhausting or overshadowing the heart. The human mind was never more in earnest than at the present moment. The political revolutions which form such broad features and distinctions of our age have sprung from a new and deep working in the human soul. Men have caught glimpses, however indistinct, of the worth, dignity, rights, and great interests of their nature; and a thirst for untried good and impatience of long endured wrongs have broken out wildly, like the fires of Etna, and shaken and convulsed the earth. It is impossible not to discern this increased fervor of mind in every department of life. A new spirit of improvement is abroad. The imagination can no longer be confined to the acquisitions of past ages, but is kindling the passions by vague but noble ideas of blessings never yet attained. Multitudes, unwilling to wait the slow pace of that great innovator, Time, are taking the work of reform into their own hands. Accordingly, the reverence for antiquity and for age-hallowed establishments, and the passion for change and amelioration, are now arrayed against each other in open hostility, and all great questions affecting human happiness are debated with the eagerness of party. The character of the age is stamped very strongly on its literary productions. Who that can compare the present with the past is not struck with the bold and earnest spirit of the literature of our times? It refuses to waste itself on trifles or to minister to mere gratification. Almost all that is written has now some bearing on great interests of human nature. Fiction is no longer a mere amusement; but transcendent genius, accommodating itself to the character of the age, has seized upon this province of literature and turned fiction from a toy into a mighty engine; and under the light tale is breathing through the community either its reverence for the old or its thirst for the new, — communicates the spirit and lessons of history, unfolds the operations of religious and civil institutions, and defends or assails new theories of education or morals by exhibiting them in life and action. The poetry of the age is equally characteristic. It has a deeper and more impressive tone than comes to us from what has been called the Augustan age of English literature. The regular, elaborate, harmonious strains, which delighted a former generation, are now accused, I say not how justly, of playing too much on the surface of nature and of the heart. Men want and demand a more thrilling note, a poetry which pierces beneath the exterior of life to the depths of the soul, and which lays open its mysterious workings, borrowing from the whole outward creation fresh images and correspondences with which to illuminate the secrets of the world within us. So keen is this appetite, that extravagances of imagination, and gross violations both of taste and moral sentiment are forgiven, when conjoined with what awakens strong emotion; and unhappily the most stirring is the most popular poetry, even though it issue from the desolate soul of a misanthrope and a libertine, and exhale poison and death.

Now, religion ought to be dispensed in accommodation to this spirit and character of our age. Men desire excitement, and religion must be communicated in a more exciting form. It must be seen not only to correspond and to be adapted to the intellect, but to furnish nutriment and appeals to the highest and profoundest sentiments of our nature. It must not be exhibited in the dry, pedantic divisions of a scholastic theology; nor must it be set forth and tricked out in the light drapery of an artificial rhetoric, in prettinesses of style,

in measured sentences with an insipid floridness, and in the form of elegantly feeble essays. No; it must come from the soul in the language of earnest conviction and strong feeling. Men will not now be trifled with. They listen impatiently to great subjects treated with apathy. They want a religion which will take a strong hold upon them; and no system, I am sure, can now maintain its ground which wants the power of awakening real and deep interest in the soul. It is objected to Unitarian Christianity that it does not possess this heart-stirring energy; and if so, it will, and still more, it ought, to fall; for it does not suit the spirit of our times, nor the essential and abiding spirit of human nature. Men will prefer even a fanaticism which is in earnest, to a pretended rationality which leaves untouched all the great springs of the soul, which never lays a quickening hand on our love and veneration, our awe and fear, our hope and joy.

It is obvious, I think, that the spirit of the age, which demands a more exciting administration of Christianity, begins to be understood, and is responded to by preachers. Those of us whose memory extends back but a little way, can see a revolution taking place in this country. "The repose of the pulpit" has been disturbed. In England, the Established Church gives broad symptoms of awaking; and the slumbering incumbents of a state religion, either roused by sympathy, or aware of the necessity of self-defence, are beginning to exhibit the energy of the freer and more zealous sects around them.

In such an age, earnestness should characterize the ministry; and by this I mean not a louder voice or a more vehement gesture; I mean no tricks of oratory; but a solemn conviction that religion is a great concern, and a solemn purpose that its claims shall be felt by others. To suit such an age, a minister must communicate religion — not only as a result of reasoning but as a matter of experience — with that inexpressible character of reality, that life and power which accompany truths drawn from a man's own soul. We ought to speak of religion as something which we ourselves know. Its influences, struggles, joys, sorrows, triumphs, should be delineated from our own history. The life and sensibility which we would spread should be strong in our own breasts. This is the only genuine, unfailing spring of an earnest ministry. Men may work themselves for a time into a fervor by artificial means; but the flame is unsteady, "a crackling of thorns" on a cold hearth; and, after all, it is hard for the most successful art to give, even for a time, that soul-subduing tone to the voice, that air of native feeling to the countenance, and that raciness and freshness to the conceptions, which come from an experimental conviction of religious truth; and, accordingly, I would suggest that the most important part of theological education, even in this enlightened age, is not the communication of knowledge, essential as that is, but the conversion and exaltation of religious knowledge into a living, practical, and soul-kindling conviction. Much as the age requires intellectual culture in a minister, it requires still more that his acquisitions of truth should be instinct with life and feeling; that he should deliver his message, not mechanically and "in the line of his profession," but with the sincerity and earnestness of a man bent on great effects; that he should speak of God, of Christ, of the dignity and loveliness of Christian virtue, of heaven and redemption, not as of traditions and historical records about which he has only read, but as of realities which he understands and feels in the very depths of his soul.

III. The present is an age of free and earnest inquiry on the subject of religion, and, consequently, an age in which the extremes of scepticism and bigotry, and a multiplicity of sects, and a diversity of interpretations of the Sacred Volume, must be expected; and these circumstances of the times influence and modify the duties of the ministry. Free inquiry cannot exist without generating a degree of scepticism; and against this influence, more disastrous than any error of any sect, a minister is bound to erect every barrier. The human mind, by a natural reaction, is undoubtedly tending, after its long vassalage, to licentious speculation. Men have begun to send keen, searching glances into old institutions, whether of religion, literature, or policy; and have detected so many abuses, that a suspicion of what is old has in many cases taken place of the veneration for antiquity. In such an

age Christianity must be subjected to a rigid scrutiny. Church establishments and state patronage cannot screen it from investigation; and its ministers, far from being called to remove it from the bar of reason, where God has chosen that it should appear, are only bound to see that its claims be fairly and fully made known; and to this they are solemnly bound; and, consequently, it is one of their first duties to search deeply and understand thoroughly the true foundations and evidences on which the religion stands. Now it seems to me, that just in proportion as the human mind makes progress, the inward evidences of Christianity, the marks of divinity which it wears on its own brow, are becoming more and more important. I refer to the evidences which are drawn from its excellence, purity, and happy influences; from its adaptation to the spiritual wants, to the weakness and the greatness of human nature; from the original and unborrowed character, the greatness of soul, and the celestial loveliness of its Founder; from its unbounded benevolence, corresponding with the spirit of the universe; and from its views of God's parental character and purposes, of human duty and perfection, and of a future state, — views manifestly tending to the exaltation and perpetual improvement of our nature, yet wholly opposed to the character of the age in which they were unfolded. The historical and miraculous proofs of Christianity are indeed essential and impregnable; but, without superseding these, the inward proofs of which I speak are becoming more and more necessary, and exert a greater power, in proportion as the moral discernment and sensibilities of men are strengthened and enlarged. And, if this be true, then Christianity is endangered, and scepticism fortified by nothing so much as by representations of the religion which sully its native lustre and darken its inward signatures of a heavenly origin; and, accordingly, the first and most solemn duty of its ministers is to rescue it from such perversions; to see that it be not condemned for doctrines for which it is in no respect responsible; and to vindicate its character as eminently a rational religion, that is, a religion consistent with itself, with the great principles of human nature, with God's acknowledged attributes, and with those indestructible convictions which spring almost instinctively from our moral constitution, and which grow stronger and stronger as the human mind is developed. A professed revelation, carrying contradiction on its front, and wounding those sentiments of justice and goodness which are the highest tests of moral truth, cannot stand; and those who thus exhibit Christianity, however pure their aim are shaking its foundations more deeply than its open and inveterate foes.

But free inquiry not only generates occasional scepticism, but much more a diversity of opinion among the believers of Christianity; and to this the ministry must have a special adaptation. In such an age the ministry must in a measure be controversial. In particular, a minister who, after serious investigation, attaches himself to that class of Christians to which we of this religious society are known to belong, cannot but feel that the painful office of conflict with other denominations is laid upon him; for, whilst we deny the Christian name to none who acknowledge Jesus as their Saviour and Lord, we do deliberately believe that, by many who confess him, his religion is mournfully disfigured. We believe that piety at present is robbed in no small degree of its singleness, energy, and happiness, by the multiplication in the church of objects of supreme worship; by the division of the One God into three persons, who sustain different relations to mankind; and above all, by the dishonorable views formed of the moral character and administration of the Deity. Errors relating to God seem to us among the most pernicious that can grow up among Christians: for they darken, and, in the strong language of Scripture, "turn into blood" the Sun of the Spiritual Universe. Around just views of the Divine character all truths and all virtues naturally gather; and although some minds of native irrepressible vigor may rise to greatness in spite of dishonorable conceptions of God, yet, as a general rule, human nature cannot spread to its just and full proportions under their appalling, enslaving, heart-withering control. We discover very plainly, as we think, in the frequent torpor of the conscience

and heart in regard to religious obligation, the melancholy influences of that system, so prevalent among us, which robs our heavenly Father of his parental attributes. Indeed it seems impossible for the conscience, under such injurious representations of the divine character, to discharge intelligently its solemn office of enforcing love to God as man's highest duty; and, accordingly, when religious excitements take place under this gloomy system, they bear the marks of a morbid action much more than of a healthy restorative process of the moral nature.

These errors a minister of liberal views of Christianity will feel himself bound to withstand. But let me not be understood as if I would have the ministry given chiefly to controversy, and would turn the pulpit into a battery for the perpetual assault of adverse sects. Oh, no. Other strains than those of warfare should predominate in this sacred place. A minister may be faithful to truth without brandishing perpetually the weapons of controversy. Occasional discussions of disputed doctrines are indeed demanded by the zeal with which error is maintained. But it becomes the preacher to remember that there is a silent, indirect influence more sure and powerful than direct assault on false opinions. The most effectual method of expelling error is not to meet it sword in hand, but gradually to instil great truths with which it cannot easily coexist, and by which the mind outgrows it. Men who have been recovered from false systems will generally tell you that the first step of their deliverance was the admission of some principle which seemed not to menace their past opinions, but which prepared the mind for the entrance of another and another truth, until they were brought, almost without suspecting it, to look on almost every doctrine of religion with other eyes, and in another and more generous light. The old superstitions about ghosts and dreams were not expelled by argument, for hardly a book was written against them; but men gradually outgrew them; and the spectres which had haunted the terror-stricken soul for ages, fled before an improved philosophy, just as they were supposed to vanish before the rising sun. And in the same manner the errors which disfigure Christianity, and from which no creed is free, are to yield to the growth of the human mind. Instead of spending his strength in tracking and refuting error, let the minister who would serve the cause of truth labor to gain and diffuse more and more enlarged and lofty views of our religion, of its nature, spirit, and end. Let him labor to separate what is of universal and everlasting application from the local and the temporary; to penetrate beneath the letter to the spirit; to detach the primary, essential, and all-comprehending principles of Christianity from the incrustations, accidental associations, and subordinate appendages by which they are often obscured; and to fix and establish these in men's minds as the standard by which more partial views are to be tried. Let him especially set forth the great moral purpose of Christianity, always teaching that Christ came to deliver from the power still more than from the punishment of sin; that his most important operation is within us; and that the highest end of his mission is the erection of God's throne in the soul, the inspiration of a fervent filial piety, — a piety founded in confiding views of God's parental character, and manifested in a charity corresponding to God's unbounded and ever-active love. In addition to these efforts, let him strive to communicate the just principles of interpreting the Scriptures, that men, reading them more intelligently, may read them with new interest, and he will have discharged his chief duty in relation to controversy.

It is an interesting thought that, through the influences now described, a sensible progress is taking place in men's conceptions of Christianity. It is a plain matter-of-fact that the hard features of that religious system which has been "received by tradition from our fathers" are greatly softened; and that a necessity is felt by those who hold it, of accommodating their representations of it more and more to the improved philosophy of the human mind, and to the undeniable principles of natural and revealed religion. Unconditional election is seldom heard of among us. The imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity is hastening to join the exploded doctrine of transubstantiation.

The more revolting representations of man's state by nature are judiciously kept out of sight; and, what is of still greater importance, preaching is incomparably more practical than formerly. And all these changes are owing not to theological controversy so much as to the general progress of the human mind. This progress is especially discernible in the diminished importance now ascribed to the outward parts of Christianity. Christians, having grown up to understand that their religion is a spirit and not a form, are beginning to feel the puerility as well as guilt of breaking Christ's followers into factions, on such questions as these, How much a bishop differs from a presbyter? and, How great a quantity of water should be used in baptism? And, whilst they desire to ascertain the truth in these particulars, they look back on the uncharitable heat with which these and similar topics were once discussed with something of the wonder which they feel on recollecting the violence of the Papists during the memorable debate, Whether the Virgin Mary were born with original sin? It is a consoling and delightful thought that God, who uses Christianity to advance civilization and knowledge, makes use of this very advancement to bring back Christianity to a purer state, thus binding together and carrying forward by mutual action the cause of knowledge and the cause of religion, and strengthening perpetually their blended and blessed influences on human nature.

IV. The age is in many respects a corrupt one, and needs and demands in the ministry a spirit of reform. The age, I say, is corrupt; not because I consider it as falling below the purity of past times, but because it is obviously and grossly defective when measured by the Christian standard and by the lights and advantages which it enjoys. I know nothing to justify the cry of modern degeneracy, but rather incline to the belief that here at least the sense of religion was never stronger than at present. In comparing different periods as to virtue and piety, regard must be had to difference of circumstances. It would argue little wisdom or candor to expect the same freedom from luxury and dissipation in this opulent and flourishing community as marked the first settlement of our country, when the inhabitants, scarcely sheltered from the elements, and almost wholly cut off from intercourse with the civilized world, could command little more than the necessaries of life; and yet it is through superficial comparisons in such particulars that the past is often magnified at the expense of the present. I mean not to strike a balance between this age and former ones. I look on this age in the light of Christianity, as a minister ought to look upon it; and whilst I see much to cheer and encourage, I see much to make a good man mourn, and to stir up Christ's servants to prayer and toil. That our increased comforts, improved arts, and overflowing prosperity are often abused to licentiousness; that Christianity is with multitudes a mere name and form; that a practical atheism, which ascribes to nature and fortune the gifts and operations of God, and a practical infidelity, which lives and cares and provides only for the present state, abound on every side of us; that much which is called morality springs from a prudent balancing of the passions and a discreet regard to worldly interests; that there is an insensibility to God which, if our own hearts were not infected by it, would shock and amaze us; that education, instead of guarding and rearing the moral and religious nature as its supreme care, often betrays and sacrifices it to accomplishments and acquisitions which relate only to the present life; that there is a mournful prevalence of dissoluteness among the young, and of intemperance among the poor; that the very religion of peace is made a torch of discord; and that the fires of uncharitableness and bigotry, fires kindled from hell, often burn on altars consecrated to the true God;—that such evils exist, who does not know? What Christian can look round him and say that the state of society corresponds to what men may and should be under the light of the gospel, and in an age of advanced intelligence? As for that man who, on surveying the world, thinks its condition almost as healthy as can be desired or hoped; who sees but a few superficial blots on the general aspect of society; who thinks the ministry established for no higher end than to perpetuate the present state of morals and religion; whose heart is never burdened and sorrow-smitten by

the fearful doom to which multitudes around him are thoughtlessly hastening; — Oh! let not that man take on him the care of souls. The physician, who should enter a hospital to congratulate his dying patients on their pleasant sensations and rapid convalescence, would be as faithful to his trust as the minister who sees no deep moral maladies around him. No man is fitted to withstand great evils with energy unless he be impressed by their greatness. No man is fitted to enter upon that warfare with moral evil to which the ministry is set apart who is not pained and pierced by its extent and woes, — who does not burn to witness and advance a great moral revolution in the world.

Am I told that "romantic expectations of great changes in society will do more harm than good; that the world will move along in its present course, let the ministry do what it may; that we must take the present state as God has made it, and not waste our strength in useless lamentation for incurable evils"? I hold this language, though it takes the name of philosophy, to be wholly unwarranted by experience and revelation. If there be one striking feature in human nature, it is its susceptibleness of improvement; and who is authorized to say that the limit of Christian improvement is reached? that, whilst science and art, intellect and imagination, are extending their domains, the conscience and affections, the moral and religious principles of our nature, are incapable of increased power and elevation? Have we not pledges in man's admiration of disinterested, heroic love: in his power of conceiving and thirsting for unattained heights of excellence; and in the splendor and sublimity of virtue already manifested in not a few who "shine as lights" in the darkness of past ages, that man was created for perpetual moral and religious progress? True, the minister should not yield himself to romantic anticipations; for disappointment may deject him. Let him not expect to break in a moment chains of habit which years have riveted, or to bring back to immediate intimacy with God souls which have wandered long and far from him. This is romance; but there is something to be dreaded by the minister more than this, — I mean that frigid tameness of mind, too common in Christian teachers, which confounds the actual and the possible; which cannot burst the shackles of custom; which never kindles at the thought of great improvements of human nature; which is satisfied if religion receive an outward respect, and never dreams of enthroning it in men's souls; which looks on the strongholds of sin with despair; which utters by rote the solemn and magnificent language of the gospel, without expecting it to "work mightily;" which sees in the ministry a part of the mechanism of society, a useful guardian of public order, but never suspects the powers with which it is armed by Christianity.

The ministry is indeed armed with great powers for great effects. The doctrines which Christianity commits to its teachers are mighty engines. The perfect character of God; the tender and solemn attributes which belong to him as our Father and Judge; his purposes of infinite and everlasting mercy towards the human race; the character and history of Christ; his entire, self-immolating devotion to the cause of mankind; his intimate union with his followers; his sufferings and cross, his resurrection, ascension, and intercession; the promised aids of the Holy Spirit; the immortality of man; the retributions which await the unrepenting, and the felicities and glories of heaven, — here are truths able to move the whole soul and to war victoriously with its host of passions. The teacher to whom are committed the infinite realities of the spiritual world, the sanctions of eternity, "the powers of the life to come," has instruments to work with which turn to feebleness all other means of influence. There is not heard on earth a voice so powerful, so penetrating, as that of an enlightened minister, who, under the absorbing influence of these mighty truths, devotes himself a living sacrifice, a whole burnt-offering, to the cause of enlightening and saving his fellow-creatures.

No; there is no romance in a minister's proposing and hoping to forward a great moral revolution on the earth; for the religion which he is appointed to preach was intended and is adapted to work deeply and widely, and to change the face of society. Christianity was

not ushered into the world with such a stupendous preparation; it was not foreshown through so many ages by enraptured prophets; it was not proclaimed so joyfully by the songs of angels; it was not preached by such holy lips, and sealed by such precious blood, to be only a pageant, a form, a sound, a show. Oh, no. It has come from heaven, with heaven's life and power, — come to "make all things new," to make "the wilderness glad and the desert blossom as the rose," to break the stony heart, to set free the guilt-burdened and earth-bound spirit, and to "present it faultless before God's glory with exceeding joy." With courage and hope becoming such a religion, let the minister bring to his work the concentrated powers of intellect and affection, and God, in whose cause he labors, will accompany and crown the labor with an almighty blessing.

My brother, you are now to be set apart to the Christian ministry. I bid you welcome to its duties, and implore for you strength to discharge them, a long and prosperous course, increasing success, and everlasting rewards. I also welcome you to the connection which is this day formed between you and myself. I thank God for an associate in whose virtues and endowments I have the promise of personal comfort and relief, and, still more, the pledges of usefulness to this people. I have lived too long to expect unmingled good in this or in any relation of life; nor am I ignorant of the difficulties and trials which are thought to attend the union of different minds and different hands in the care of the same church. God grant us that singleness of purpose, that sincere concern for the salvation of our hearers, which will make the success of each the happiness of both! I know, for I have borne, the anxieties and sufferings which belong to the first years of the Christian ministry, and I beg you to avail yourself of whatever aid my experience can give you. But no human aid can lift every burden from your mind; nor would the truest kindness desire for you exemption from the universal lot. May the discipline which awaits you give purity and loftiness to your motives; give energy and tenderness to your character, and prepare you to minister to the wants of a tempted and afflicted world, with that sympathy and wisdom which fellowship in suffering can alone bestow! May you grow in grace and in the spirit of the ministry as you grow in years; and when the voice which now speaks to you shall cease to be heard within these walls, may you, my brother, be left to enjoy and reward the confidence, to point out the path and the perils, to fortify the virtues, to animate the piety, to comfort the sorrows, to save the souls of this much-loved people!

Brethren of this Christian society! I rejoice in the proof which this day affords of your desire to secure the administration of Christ's word and ordinances to yourselves and your children; and I congratulate you on the prospects which it opens before you. The recollections which rush upon my mind of your sympathy and uninterrupted kindness through the vicissitudes of my health and the frequent suspensions of my labors, encourage me to anticipate for my young brother that kindness and candor on which the happiness of a minister so much depends. I cannot ask for him sincerer attachment than it has been my lot to enjoy. I remember, however, that the reciprocation of kind feelings is not the highest end of the ministry; and, accordingly, my most earnest desire and prayer to God is, that with a new pastor He may send you new influences of his Spirit, and that, through our joint labors, Christianity, being rooted in your understandings and hearts, may spring up into a rich harvest of universal goodness. May a more earnest concern for salvation, and a thirst for more generous improvement, be excited in your breasts! May a new life breathe through the worship of this house, and a new love join the hearts of the worshippers! May our ministry produce everlasting fruits: and on that great day which will summon the teacher and the taught before the judgment-seat of Christ, may you, my much-loved and respected people, be "our joy and crown;" and may we, when all hearts shall be revealed, be seen to have sought your good with unfeigned and disinterested love!

THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION:

Being Extracts from Observations on the Proposition for Increasing the Means of such Education at the University in Cambridge. 1816.

As a proposition is now before the public for increasing the means of theological education at Harvard University, it is thought that a few observations on the subject may be acceptable to those who have not been able to give to it much attention, and whose aid and patronage may be solicited.

It may perhaps be asked by some, though I hope the question will be confined to a few, Why ought we to be so solicitous for the education of ministers? The answer is obvious. The object of the ministry is peculiarly important. To the Christian minister are intrusted in a measure the dearest and most valuable interests of the human race. He is called to watch over the morals of society, and to awaken and cultivate the principles of piety and virtue in the hearts of individuals. He is set apart to dispense that religion which, as we believe, came from God, which was given to reform, exalt, and console us, and on the reception of which the happiness of the future life depends. Ought we not to be solicitous for the wise and effectual training of those by whom this religion is to be unfolded and enforced, and to whose influence our own minds and those of our children are to be so often exposed?

Our interest in a minister is very peculiar. He is to us what no other professional man can be. We want him, not to transact our business and to receive a compensation, but to be our friend, our guide, an inmate in our families; to enter our houses in affliction; and to be able to give us light, admonition, and consolation, in suffering, sickness, and the last hours of life.

Our connection with men of other professions is transient, accidental, rare. With a minister it is habitual. Once in the week, at least, we are to meet him and sit under his instructions. We are to give up our minds in a measure to his influence, and to receive from him impressions on a subject which, more than all others, concerns us, and with which our improvement and tranquillity through life and our future peace are intimately connected.

We want the minister of religion to address our understandings with clearness; to extend and brighten our moral and religious conceptions; to throw light over the obscurities of the Sacred Volume; to assist us in repelling those doubts which sometimes shake our convictions of Christian truth; and to establish us in a firm and rational belief.

We want him not only to address the understanding with clearness, but, still more, to speak to the conscience and heart with power; to force, as it were, our thoughts from the world; to rouse us from the slumbers of an unreflecting life; to exhibit religion in an interesting form, and to engage our affections on the side of duty. Such are the offices and aids which we need from the Christian minister. Who does not see in a moment that much preparation of the intellect and heart is required to render him successful in these high and generous labors?

These reasons for being interested in the education of ministers grow out of the nature and importance of religion. Another important remark is, that the state of our country demands that greater care than ever should be given to this object. It will not be denied, I presume, that this country is, on the whole, advancing in intelligence. The means of improvement are more liberally and more generally afforded to the young than in former times. A closer connection subsists with the cultivated minds in other countries. A variety of institutions are

awakening our powers, and communicating a degree of general knowledge which was not formerly diffused among us. Taste is more extensively cultivated, and the finest productions of polite literature find their way into many of our families. Now, in this state of things, in this increasing activity of intellect, there is peculiar need of an enlightened ministry. Religion should not be left to feeble and ignorant advocates, to men of narrow and unfurnished minds. Its ministers should be practical proofs that it may be connected with the noblest improvements of the understanding; and they should be able to convert into weapons for its defence the discoveries of philosophy and the speculations of genius. Religion must be adapted, in its mode of exhibition, to the state of society. The form in which we present it to the infant will not satisfy and interest the advanced understanding. In the same manner, if in a cultivated age religious instruction does not partake the general elevation, it will be slighted by the very minds whose influence it is most desirable to engage on the side of virtue and piety.

I have observed that an enlightened age requires an enlightened ministry. On the other hand, it may be observed, that an enlightened ministry is a powerful agent in continuing and accelerating the progress of light, of refinement, and of all social improvements. The limits of this essay will not admit the full development of this sentiment. I will only observe, that perhaps the most reflecting men are not aware how far a society is indebted for activity of intellect, delicacy of manners, and the strength of all its institutions, to the silent, subtile influence of the thoughts and feelings which are kept alive in the breasts of multitudes by religious instruction.

There is another most important consideration for promoting an enlightened ministry. Religious teachers there certainly will be, of one description or another; and if men of well-furnished minds cannot be found for this office, we shall be overwhelmed by the ignorant and fanatical. The human heart is disposed, by its very nature, to religious impressions, and it wants guidance, wants direction, wants the light and fervor of other minds, in this most interesting concern. Conscious of weakness, and delighting in excitement, it will follow the blindest guide who speaks with confidence of his communications with God, rather than advance alone in the religious life. An enlightened ministry is the only barrier against fanaticism. Remove this, and popular enthusiasts would sweep away the multitude as with a torrent, would operate with an unresisted power on the ardent imagination of youth, and on the devotional susceptibility of woman, and would even prostrate cultivated minds in which feeling is the most prominent trait. Few of us consider the proneness of the human heart to extravagance and fanaticism, or how much we are all indebted for our safety to the good sense and intellectual and religious improvement of ministers of religion.

Ignorant ministers are driven almost by necessity to fanaticism. Unable to interest their hearers by appeals to the understanding, and by clear, judicious, and affecting delineations of religion, they can only acquire and maintain the ascendency which is so dear to them by inflaming the passions, by exciting a distempered and ungoverned sensibility, and by perpetuating ignorance and error. Every man of observation must have seen melancholy illustrations of this truth; and what an argument does it afford in favor of an enlightened ministry!

Nothing more is needed to show the great interest which the community ought to feel in the education of young men for the ministry. But it will be asked, Are not our present means sufficient? Are not our pulpits filled with well-furnished and enlightened teachers? Why seek to obtain additional aids for this important end? I answer, first, that a sufficient number of enlightened ministers is not trained for our pulpits. There is a demand beyond the supply, even if we look no farther than this Commonwealth; and if we look through the whole country, we shall see an immense tract of the spiritual vineyard uncultivated, and uncultivated for want of laborers. I answer, in the second place, that whilst in our pulpits we have ministers whose gifts and endowments entitle them to respect, we yet need and ought to possess a more enlightened ministry. Many of our religious teach-

ers will lament to us the deficiencies of their education, will lament that the narrowness of their circumstances compelled them to too early an entrance on their work, will lament that they were deprived, by the imperfection of our institutions, of many aids which the preparation for the ministry requires. We have indeed many good ministers. But we ought to have better. We may have better. But unless we will sow more liberally, we cannot expect a richer harvest. The education of ministers decides very much their future character, and where this is incomplete, we must not expect to be blessed with powerful and impressive instruction. The sum is, we need an increase of the means of theological education.

But it will be asked, Why shall we advance funds for the education of ministers rather than of physicians or lawyers? Why are such peculiar aid and encouragements needed for this profession? Will not the demand for ministers obtain a supply, just as the demand for every other species of talent? This reasoning is founded on a principle generally true, that demand creates a supply; but every general rule has its exceptions, and it is one of the highest offices of practical wisdom to discern the cases where the rule fails in its application.

All reasoning should give place to fact. Now it is an undeniable fact, that whilst the other learned professions in our country are crowded and overstocked, whilst the supply vastly surpasses the demand, the profession of the ministry is comparatively deserted, and candidates of respectable standing, instead of obtruding themselves in crowds, are often to be sought with a degree of care and difficulty.

The reason of this is to be found in the difference between the ministry and other professions. Other professions hold out the strong lures of profit and distinction. They appeal to the ambition, the love of gain, the desire of rising in the world, which are so operative on youthful minds. These lures are not, and ought not to be, exhibited by the ministry. This profession makes its chief appeal to the moral and religious feelings of the young; and we all know how much fainter these are than those which I have previously mentioned. Can we wonder, then, that the ministry is less crowded?

I proceed to another remark. The professions of law and medicine do not imperiously demand any high moral qualifications in those who embrace them. A young man, whose habits are not altogether pure, or whose character is marked by levity, may enter on the study of these professions without incurring the reproach of impropriety or inconsistency of conduct. The ministry, on the other hand, demands not merely unexceptionable morals, but a seriousness of mind, and a propensity to contemplative and devout habits, which are not the ordinary characteristics of that age when a choice must be made of the business of life. On this account, the number of the young who are inclined by their own feelings, and advised by others, to enter the ministry, is comparatively small.

I am now led to another reflection, growing out of the last. The profession of the ministry has an aspect not inviting to the young. Youth is the period of animation and gayety. But, to the hasty observation of youth, there is a gloominess, a solemnity, a painful self-restraint belonging to the life of a minister. Even young men of pure morals and of devotional susceptibility shrink from an employment which they think will separate them from the world, and impose a rigorous discipline and painful circumspection. That path, which they would probably find most tranquil and most flowery, seems to them beset with thorns. Do we not see many obstructions to a sufficient supply of students of theology?

I now proceed to another most important consideration. We have seen that a large number of young men, qualified by their habits and feelings for the ministry, is not to be expected. It is also a fact, and a very decisive fact, that young men thus qualified generally belong to families whose circumstances are confined, and whose means of educating their children are exceedingly narrow. From this class of society the ministerial profession, as is well known, receives its largest supplies. Do we not at once discover from this statement, that this profession demands from the community peculiar encouragement? Let me briefly repeat what I

have said. From the nature of the ministry, but a small proportion of the young are disposed or fitted to enter it, and of this number a considerable part are unable to defray the expenses of their education; and yet the community has the highest possible interest in giving them the best education which the improvements of the age and the opulence of the country will admit. Is it not clear that there ought to be provided liberal funds for this most valuable object?

Will it here be asked, why the candidate for the ministry cannot borrow money to defray the charges of his education? I answer, it is not always easy for him to borrow. Besides, a debt is a most distressing incumbrance to a man who has a prospect of a salary so small that, without exertions foreign to his profession, it will hardly support him. Can we wonder that the profession is declined, in preference to such a burden?

Where this burden, however, is chosen, the effect is unhappy, and the cause of religion is often a sufferer. The candidate, unwilling to contract a larger debt than is indispensable to his object, hurries through his studies, and enters unfurnished and unprepared on the ministry. His first care is, as it should be, to free himself from his pecuniary obligations; and for this end he endeavors to unite some secular employment with his sacred calling. In this way the spirit of study and of his profession is damped. He forms negligent habits in his preparation for the pulpit, which he soon thinks are justified by the wants of a growing family. His imperfect education, therefore, is never completed. His mind remains stationary. A meagre library, which he is unable to enlarge, furnishes the weekly food for his flock, who are forced to subsist on an uninteresting repetition of the same dull thoughts.

This is the melancholy history of too many who enter the ministry. Few young men among us are in fact sufficiently prepared, and the consequence is that religious instruction is not what it should be. The community at large cannot perhaps understand how extensive a preparation the ministry requires. There is one idea, however, which should teach them that it ought to be more extensive than that which is demanded for any other profession. A lawyer and physician begin their employment with a small number of clients or patients, and their practice is confined to the least important cases within their respective departments. They have therefore much leisure for preparation after entering on their pursuits, and gradually rise into public notice. Not so the minister. He enters at once on the stage. All the duties of a parish immediately devolve upon him. His connection at the first moment extends to as large a number as he will ever be called to serve. His station is at first conspicuous. He is literally burdened and pressed with duties. The mere labor of composing as many sermons as are demanded of him is enough to exhaust his time and strength. If, then, his education has been deficient, how is it to be repaired? Amidst these disadvantages, can we wonder that the mind loses its spring, and soon becomes satisfied with very humble productions? How important is it that a good foundation should be laid, that the theological student should have time to accumulate some intellectual treasures, and that he should be trained under circumstances more suited to give him an unconquerable love of his profession, of study, and of the cause to which he is devoted!

CHARGE AT THE ORDINATION OF THE REV. JOHN SULLIVAN DWIGHT,

As Pastor of the Second Congregational Church in Northampton, Massachusetts, May 20, 1840.

MY YOUNG FRIEND, — The Ecclesiastical Council, assembled here to introduce you to the office of a Christian minister, according to the simple and affecting rites of the Congregational churches, have appointed me to deliver the Charge; or, in other words, to expound to you and to enforce the duties of the sacred office. In doing this, I claim no right to dictate to your faith, I ask no passive obedience or assent: and yet there is an authority of divine truth, and in proportion as a man is possessed by it, he cannot but speak with the energy of a divine messenger, and with the consciousness of a right to respectful attention.

I shall confine myself to your duties as a public teacher of religion; not that the more private labors of your office want importance; but because it will be more useful to enter with some thoroughness into a part, than to give superficial notices of the whole, of your functions.

It is well to start with some comprehensive view of our work, be it what it may; and I therefore begin with observing that the great idea which ought to shine out in all preaching is that of moral perfection. This is the very essence of God; our highest conception of the divinity being that of absolute, unbounded, eternal, omnipotent rectitude and love. Of this perfection, Christ is the bright, unsullied image. To bring men to this was the grand purpose of his coming, teaching, miracles, and cross. In this we have the explanation of our present being, the end of all its duties, temptations, conflicts, and pains. This is, in truth, the everlasting life, the heaven, which he came to unfold and promise to mankind. Your fitness for your office is to be measured by your comprehension of this perfection, by your faith in it, by your aspirations after it, by the power with which this supreme beauty smites and stirs your soul, and by your power of awakening the thought and desire of it in the souls of others. Your work, then, is to preach the perfect. Preach the perfection of God, that He may be loved, not with passion or selfish regards, but with enlightened, disinterested, ever-growing love. Preach the perfection of Christ. Strive to seize the true idea of his character, to penetrate the mists with which the errors of ages have shrouded him, to see him in his simple majesty, to trace in his history the working of his soul, the peculiarity of his love, the grandeur of his purpose. Be not anxious to settle his rank in the universe, but to comprehend the divinity of his spirit, that you may awaken towards him generous, purifying affections. Preach the perfection to which man is called by Christianity. Preach the nobleness and beauty of human virtue. Believe in man as destined to make progress without end. Help him to understand his high calling as a Christian, and to see God working within and around him for his perfection. These views might easily be extended, but these are sufficient to show you the grandeur of thought which belongs to your profession. Moral perfection is its beginning and end. How sublime and awakening the theme of the ministry! And yet religion, in consequence of its being so familiar, and of its having been cramped so long in human creeds, shrinks in most minds into a small compass, and wears any form but that of grandeur. You have seen in schools the solar system, with its majestic worlds, represented by circles of wire and balls

of pith. In like manner, religion is dwarfed and degraded. Strive to think of it nobly, justly, vividly, and hold it forth as the sublimest reality.

You are to preach the perfect; and for what end? Not simply that men may discern and admire it. This is but the beginning of your work. The great aim must be to stir up men to the solemn, stern, invincible purpose of doing, of becoming, what they acknowledge and admire, of realizing their conceptions of the right, the perfect, the divine. The highest office of the ministry is to breathe this energy, this indomitable force of will. It is not enough to awaken enthusiasm by touching manifestations of moral beauty, of Christian greatness of soul. Sensibility without moral resolution avails nothing. All duties, and especially the highest, are resisted in the breasts of our hearers, by strong temptations, by the senses, the passions, by selfish hopes and fears, by bad habits and sins; and unless you can awaken energy to put down this resistance, you preach in vain. It is the existence of this mighty antagonist force to virtue in human nature which makes Christianity necessary, which makes the ministry necessary. The grand purpose of all the doctrines, teachings, promises, institutions, and spiritual aids of our religion, is to infuse an all-conquering will in opposition to temptation, to bind the soul to the choice and pursuit of perfection in the face of pleasure, pain, honor, interest, loss, and death. Propose distinctly to yourself, as your grand work, the excitement of this energy of the will; and this single thought will do much to give a living power to your preaching.

Having spoken of the end of the Christian teacher, I proceed to consider the means by which it is to be accomplished. His great instrument is the truth revealed by God through Jesus Christ, and through his own soul. To gain this must, of course, be the labor of his life; and he is to gain it chiefly by study and by inward experience. A minister must be a student, — a patient, laborious student. There are those, indeed, who seem to think that religious truth comes by inspiration; and it is certain that light often flashes on the mind as from heaven. But inspiration does not visit the idle, passive mind. We receive it in the use and faithful use of our powers. You must study, you must work. Your parish must contain no harder laborer than yourself. To study is not to read, that we may know what others have thought; but to put forth the utmost strength of our faculties for the acquisition of just, strong, living convictions of truth. It is to concentrate the mind; to pierce beneath the apparent and particular, to the real and permanent and universal; to grapple with difficulties; to separate false associations and accidental adjuncts from the truth. Study human nature and the divine. Study human life, that you may penetrate through its mysteries and endless mutations to its one all-comprehending design. Study God's works, that amidst their infinite agencies you may discern the one power and spirit from which all spring. Study, especially, the Holy Scriptures, the records of God's successive revelations to the human race. Strive to gain profound, generous, and fruitful conceptions of Christianity; to penetrate into the import of its records; to seize its distinctive character, and to rise above what was local, temporary, partial in Christ's teaching, to his universal, all-comprehending truth. To gain this knowledge of Christianity, your first and chief resort will be, of course, to the New Testament; but remember, that there are difficulties in the way of a just interpretation of this venerable record. Other books are left to act on our minds freely and without control, to exert on us their native, genuine influence; but such a host of interpreters thrust themselves between the sacred volume and the reader, so many false associations of ideas with its phraseology are formed from the cradle, and long familiarity has so hardened us to its most quickening passages, that it is more difficult to bring ourselves into near communication with a sacred writer than with any other. The student in theology must labor earnestly to escape the power of habit, and to receive immediate impressions from the Scriptures; and when by his efforts he is able to catch the spirit which had before lain hid beneath the letter; to feel a new power in words which had often fallen lifelessly on his ear; to place himself in the midst of the past, and thus to pierce into the heart of

passages which he had been accustomed to interpret according to modern modes of thought; he ought to rejoice as in the acquisition of untold treasure, and to feel that he is arming himself with the most effectual weapons for his spiritual warfare.

You will, of course, read other books besides the Bible; but beware lest these diminish your power. Perhaps in no department of literature are works of vigorous and original thought rarer than in theology. No profession is so overwhelmed with commonplace, weak, worthless books as ours. No text has been so obscured and oppressed by undiscerning commentators as the Bible. In theology, as in all branches of knowledge, confine yourself very much to the works of men who have written not from tradition or imitation, but from consciousness, experience, reflection, and research; and study these, that your own faculties may be roused to a kindred energy. Especially beware of giving yourself up to the popular literature of the day; which, however innocent or useful as an amusement, is the last nutriment to form a powerful mind, and which, I fear, is more pernicious to men of our profession than of any other.

Study laboriously, for much is to be learned. Do not destroy your intellectual life by imagining that all truth is discovered, and that you have nothing to do but to repeat what others have taught. I know not a more fatal mistake to a teacher. It were better for you to burn your books, and to devote yourself to solitary, painful researches after truth, than to sleep on others' acquisitions, than to make the activity of others' minds a substitute for your own. It is intended by our Creator that truth should be our own discovery, and therefore He has surrounded us with fallible beings, whom we are impelled to distrust. Paradoxical as it may seem, we ought to discover the truths which we have been taught by others; for the light which our own earnest free thought will throw on these will make them so different from what they were when first passively received, that they will be virtually rediscovered by ourselves.

Study laboriously, for much is to be learned. Do not feel as if Christianity had spoken its last word, and had nothing more to say. It is the characteristic of divine truth that it is inexhaustible, infinitely fruitful. It does not stand alone in the mind, but combines with, explains, irradiates our other knowledge. It is the office of a great moral truth to touch the deep springs of thought within us, to awaken the soul to new activity, to start a throng of suggestions to be followed out by patient contemplation. An arid, barren religion, which reveals a precise, rigid doctrine, admitting no expansion, and kindling no new life in the intellect, cannot be from God. It wants an essential mark of having come from the Creator of the human soul, for the great distinction of soul is its desire to burst its limits and grow for ever.

But I need not in this town urge the importance of study. Can a minister breathe the atmosphere in which Edwards lived, and content himself with taking passively what others teach? I exhort you to visit the spot where Edwards brought forth his profound works; and let the spiritual presence of that intensest thinker of the New World and of the age in which he lived stir you up to energy of thought. His name has shed a consecration over this place. In many things, indeed, you differ from him; but you will not therefore reverence the less his single-hearted and unwearied devotion of his great powers to the investigation of truth; and in the wide and continued influence of his writings you will learn that secret study, silent thought, is, after all, the mightiest agent in human affairs.

I have enlarged beyond my purpose on study; I proceed to observe that something more than the action of intellect is needed to secure to you a living knowledge of Christian truth. On moral subjects no study can avail us without inward experience. To comprehend religion, you must be religious. A new revelation of truth is gained by bringing the truth to bear on our own hearts and lives. Study the best books; but remember that no "tongue of men or angels," no language of heaven or earth, can give you that intimate perception of God, that faith in the invisible, which comes from inward purity, from likeness to the Divinity. There is a light to which others are strangers, that visits the inward eye of the man who contends with evil in himself, and is true to his convic-

tions of duty. This is the highest inspiration, surpassing that of prophets; for the ancient prophet comprehended but imperfectly the revelation with which he was charged, and sometimes shrank from communicating it to the world. Christian truth will never become your own until something congenial with it is unfolded in your own soul. We learn the Divinity through a divine principle within ourselves. We learn the majesty and happiness of virtue by consciousness, by experience, by giving up all to virtue, and in no other way. Disinterested, impartial love is the perfection of the intellect as well as of the heart. Without it, thought is barren and superficial, clinging to things narrow, selfish, and earthly. This love gave being, unity, harmony to the universe, and is the only light in which the universe can be read. Preach from this highest inspiration, and you will preach with power. Without this inward experience, intellect, imagination, passion, rhetoric, genius, may dazzle, and be rapturously praised and admired, but they cannot reach the depths of the human soul. Watch, then, over your own spiritual life; be what you preach; know by consciousness what you inculcate. Remember that the best preparation for enforcing any Christian virtue is to bring it into vigorous action in your own breast. Let the thirst for perfection grow up in you into a holy enthusiasm, and you will have taken the most effectual step towards perfecting them that hear you.

I have now spoken of the two principal means of obtaining Christian truth; they are study and inward experience. Having thus sought the truth, how shall it be communicated? A few suggestions only can be made. I exhort you, first, to communicate it with all possible plainness and simplicity. Put confidence in the power of pure, unsophisticated truth. Do not disguise or distort it, or overlay it with ornaments or false colors, to make it more effectual. Bring it out in its native shape and hues, and, if possible, in noonday brightness. Beware of ambiguous words, of cant, of vague abstractions, of new-fangled phrases, of ingenious subtilties. Especially exaggerate nothing for effect, — that most common sin of the pulpit. Be willing to disappoint your hearers, to be unimpressive, to seem cold, rather than to "o'erstep the modesty" of truth. In the long run, nothing is so strong as simplicity. Do not, to be striking, dress up truth in paradoxes. Do not make it virtually falsehood, by throwing it out without just modification and restraint. Do not destroy its fair proportions by extravagance. Undoubtedly strong emotion often breaks out in hyperboles. It cannot stop to weigh its words; and this free, bold language of nature I do not mean to condemn; for this, even when most daring, is simple and intelligible. I would caution you, not against nature, but against artificial processes, against distrust of simple truth, against straining for effect, against efforts to startle or dazzle the hearer, against the quackery which would pass off old thoughts for new, or common thoughts for more than their worth, by means of involved or ambitious phraseology. Prefer the true to the dazzling, the steady sunlight to the meteor. Truth is the power which is to conquer the world; and you cannot toil too much to give clear perceptions of it. I may seem to waste words on so plain a point; but I apprehend that few ministers understand the importance of helping men to see religious truth distinctly. No truth, I fear, is so faintly apprehended. On the subject of religion, most men walk in a mist. The words of the Bible and of the preacher convey to multitudes no definite import. Theology, being generally taught without method, and as a matter of authority, and before the mind can comprehend it, is too often the darkest and most confused of all the subjects of thought. How little distinct comprehension is carried away by multitudes from our most important discourses! My brother, help men to *see*. Christianity was called light, and you will be its worthy teacher only by being, like its first ministers, a "light of the world." It is a common error that, to avoid dulness, — the most unpardonable sin of the pulpit, — the preacher can find more effectual means than the clear expression of simple truth. Accordingly, some have recourse to crude novelties; some to mysticism, as if truth, to be imposing, must be enthroned in clouds; some to vehemence; some to strong utterance of feeling. Of course, I would say nothing in disparagement of feeling; but I am satisfied

that there is no more effectual security against dulness than the unfolding of truth distinctly and vividly, so that the hearer can lay a strong hold on great principles, can take in a larger extent of thought, and can feel that he has a rock for faith and opinion to rest on. In the natural world it is light that wakes us in the morning, and keeps us awake through the day; and I believe that to bring light into God's house is one of the surest ways of driving slumber out of its walls. Let me add, that to give at once clearness and interest to preaching, nothing is more necessary than that comprehensive wisdom which discerns what is prominent and commanding in a subject, which seizes on its great points, its main features, and throws lesser matters into the background, thus securing unity and, of consequence, distinctness of impression. Nothing is so dull as a dead level, as monotony, as want of relief and perspective, want of light and shade; and this is among the most common causes of the dulness of the pulpit.

The remarks made under the present head are liable to a misapprehension, which may be usefully guarded against. I have condemned affected and obscure phraseology. Do not imagine that I would recommend to you a hackneyed style. The minister, to give distinct, vivid impression, must especially beware of running the round of commonplace expressions. He must break away from the worn-out phraseology of the pulpit. He must not confine himself to terms and modes of speech which familiarity has deadened. So mighty is the influence of time and habit in emptying words of life and significance, that truth in every age needs new forms, fresh manifestations. Happy the teacher who is able to give out truth in language original and bold, yet simple and unforced, and such as causes no offence to cultivated taste or religious feeling.

Perhaps it may be objected to the advice now given, that I have recommended a plainness and distinctness not to be attained by the preacher. It may be said that religion relates to the Infinite; that its great object is the Incomprehensible God; that human life is surrounded with abysses of mystery and darkness; that the themes on which the minister is to speak stretch out beyond the power of imagination, and of course do not admit of mathematical preciseness of statement; that he has aspirations and feelings too high, and deep, and vast, to be accurately defined; that at times he only catches glimpses of truth, and cannot set it forth in all its proportions. All this is true. But it is also true that a minister speaks to be understood; and if he cannot make himself intelligible he should hold his peace. Language has but one function, and that is to help another to understand what passes in the speaker's breast. What though he is surrounded with the incomprehensible? Is he, therefore, authorized to speak in an unknown tongue? Amid the vague and the obscure, are there not facts, principles, realities, of unutterable moment, on which he and others may lay hold? Even when he catches broken glimpses, he can report these simply and faithfully, so as to be apprehended by a prepared mind. The more difficult the subject, the more anxiously the art of clear expression should be cultivated; and the pulpit, which gathers together the multitude, and addresses its rapid instruction to the ear, demands such culture above all other spheres. This is the last place for dark sayings; and yet he who carefully studies expression will find the pulpit a place for communicating a great amount of profound and soul-stirring thought to the world.

I have said, you must preach plainly. I now add, preach with zeal, fervor, earnestness. To rouse, to quicken, is the end of all preaching, and plainness which does not minister to this is of little worth. This topic is too familiar to need expansion; and I introduce it simply to guard you against construing it too narrowly. The minister is often exhorted to be earnest in the pulpit. You will be told that fervor in delivering your discourse is the great means of impression. I would rather exhort you to be fervent in preparing it. Write with earnestness, and you will find little difficulty in preaching earnestly; and if you have not poured out your soul in writing, vehemence of delivery will be of little avail. To enunciate with voice of thunder and vehement gestures a cold discourse, is to make it colder still. The fire which is to burn in the pulpit must be kindled in the study. Preach with zeal. But let it be a kindly zeal. Al-

ways speak in love. Let not earnestness be a cover for anger, or for a spirit of menace and dictation. Always speak as a brother. With the boldest, sternest, most scornful, most indignant reproofs of baseness and crime, let the spirit of humanity, of sorrowful concern be blended. In too much of the zeal of the pulpit there is a hardness, unfeelingness, inhumanity, more intolerable to a good mind than sleepy dulness or icy indifference.

I have said, preach plainly and preach earnestly; I now say, preach with moral courage. Fear no man, high or low, rich or poor, taught or untaught. Honor all men; love all men; but fear none. Speak what you account great truths frankly, strongly, boldly. Do not spoil them of life to avoid offence. Do not seek to propitiate passion and prejudice by compromise and concession. Beware of the sophistry which reconciles the conscience to the suppression, or vague, lifeless utterance of unpopular truth. Do not wink at wrong deeds or unholy prejudices, because sheltered by custom or respected names. Let your words breathe a heroic valor. You are bound indeed to listen candidly and respectfully to whatever objections may be urged against your views of truth and duty. You must also take heed lest you baptize your rash, crude notions, your hereditary or sectarian opinions, with the name of Christian doctrine. But having deliberately, conscientiously sought the truth, abide by your conviction at all hazards. Never shrink from speaking your mind through dread of reproach. Wait not to be backed by numbers. Wait not till you are sure of an echo from a crowd. The fewer the voices on the side of truth, the more distinct and strong must be your own. Put faith in truth as mightier than error, prejudice, or passion, and be ready to take a place among its martyrs. Feel that truth is not a local, temporary influence, but immutable, everlasting, the same in all worlds, one with God, and armed with his omnipotence. Courage even on the side of error is power. How must it prove on the side of truth! A minister speaking not from selfish calculation, but giving out his mind in godly sincerity, uttering his convictions in natural tones, and always faithful to the light which he has received, however he may give occasional offence, will not speak in vain; he will have an ally in the moral sense, the principle of justice, the reverence for virtue, which is never wholly extinguished in the human soul.

You are peculiarly called to cherish moral courage, because it is not the virtue of our times and country, and because ministers are especially tempted to moral weakness. The Protestant minister, mixing freely with society, sustaining all its relations, and depending on opinion for bread, has strong inducements to make a compromise with the world. Is there not reason to fear that, under these influences, religion and the world often shake hands? Is there not a secret understanding that the ministry, while it condemns sin in the mass, must touch gently the prejudices, wrongs, and abuses which the community has taken under its wing? Is not preaching often disarmed by this silent, almost unconscious, concession to the world? Whether a ministry sustained as it now is can be morally free, is a problem yet to be solved. If not, the minister must now, as of old, leave all for Christ, looking solely for aid to those, however few or poor, who share his own deep interest in the Christian cause. Better earn your bread with the sweat of your brow, than part with moral freedom.

It is natural that you should desire to win the affection of your people; but beware lest this interfere with moral courage. There is always danger to dignity and force of character in aiming to win the hearts of others. Dear as affection is, we must be able to renounce it, to live without sympathy, to forfeit this man's confidence and that man's friendship by speaking truth. I exhort you to prize respect more than affection. Respect, gradually won by faithfulness to principle, is more unwavering than personal attachment, and secures more intelligent attention to preaching. We are indeed told that truth is never so effectual as from the lips of him whom we love. But it is to be desired that truth should be received for its own sake, that it should have its root in the hearer's reason and conscience, and not in the partiality of friendship. I wish for you the love of this congregation; but still more that they may reverence you as ever ready to sacrifice human love and honor to principle and truth.

Hitherto I have guarded you against selfish fear. There is a more refined fear, to which ingenuous minds are liable. I refer to the apprehension which springs from a consciousness of inferiority and inability. This often disheartens the minister, subdues his voice, tames his countenance, dims the eye, throws an air of constraint over his form and motions, locks up his soul, suffering no sensibility to gush out, no quickening communication to be established between his own and other souls. To defend yourself from this fear, impress yourself deeply with the divine original and the infinite dignity of the religion you are to preach. You will, indeed, often stand before your superiors in age and acquisitions. But do not fear. Remember that you are preaching a religion, in the presence of which all human wisdom ought to be humble, and that you are teaching a virtue which ought to strike a conviction of deep deficiency into the most improved, and by which the most gifted and powerful are soon to be judged. In the contemplation of the majesty of Christian truth, of the work which it is appointed to accomplish, and of the omnipotence by which it is sustained, you should forget yourself; you should forget the world's ephemeral dignities, and speak with the native, unaffected authority of a witness to immortal verities, of a messenger of the Most High.

I am aware that what has been said to encourage a spirit of fearlessness and independence is liable to abuse. There are those who confound moral courage with defiance of established opinion, and Christian independence with an overweening fondness for their own conceits. I trust to your humility and soundness of mind for a sober construction of my counsels. I trust you will feel such a respect for past times, and for the maxims and institutions of the society to which you belong, as will induce you to weigh cautiously and with self-distrust whatever peculiar views spring up in your mind. You are too wise to bolt from the beaten path, in order to prove that you do not tamely follow others' steps; too wise to be lawless, that you may escape the reproach of servility. The authority of usage is a wholesome restraint on the freaks, follies, and rash experiments of youth and inexperience. But usage must not restrain the intellect and heart. Whilst deferring to the rules which society has settled, you must still act from your own convictions. You must stand out as an individual, and not be melted in the common mass. Whilst you honor antiquity, you must remember that the past has not done and could not do the work of the present; that in religion, as in all things, progress is the law and happiness of the race; that our own time has its task, and has wants which the provisions of earlier times cannot satisfy. Remember, too, that each man has his own way of working, and can work powerfully in no other, and do not anxiously and timidly model yourself after those whom you admire. To escape the sin of presumption, do not be mechanical. To escape eccentricity, do not shut your eyes on what is peculiar in your lot, and fear to meet it by peculiar efforts. The minister too often speaks feebly, because his voice is only the echo of echoes, because he dares not trust to the inspirations of his own soul. To conclude this head, — be humble, be modest, but be not weak. Fear God and not man. Respect your deliberately consulted conscience. This energy of spirit will give a greater power to your ministry than all the calculations of selfish prudence or all the compromises of selfish fear.

My brother, one exhortation more. Feel the greatness of your office. Let not its humble exterior, or the opinion of the world, or its frequent inefficacy, hide from you its unspeakable dignity. Regard it as the highest human vocation, as greater than thrones, or any other distinctions which relate merely to the present life. The noblest work on earth, or in heaven, is to act on the soul; to inspire it with wisdom and magnanimity, with reverence for God, and love towards man. This is the highest function of sages and inspired poets, and also of statesmen worthy of the name, who comprehend that a nation's greatness is to be laid in its soul. Glory in your office. Feel that it associates you with the elect of past ages, with Jesus Christ, and apostles, and confessors, and martyrs, and reformers; with all who have toiled and suffered to raise men to intelligence and moral greatness; and let the consciousness of this spiritual brotherhood fortify you

for like suffering and toil. Glory in your office. You delight in poetry and the fine arts; but remember that the divinest art is that which studies and creates the beauty, not of outward form, but of immortal virtue; which creates not statues and pictures, but holy and disinterested men; which awakens the godlike in the breast of our brother. No poem is so glorious as a Christian life; and he who incites a fellow-creature to this produces a work which will outlast all other works of the mind. Glory in your office, especially, as instituted to carry forward the human soul to wider and higher action than it has yet attained. Other men are laboring with instruments, the power of which can be measured: but who can measure the energy which resides in Christian truth, or the spiritual life and elevation which this truth, rightly administered, may communicate? Regard your office as meant not to perpetuate what exists, but to introduce a higher condition of the church and the world. Christ was eminently the Reformer; and reform is the spirit of the ministry. Without this spirit, our churches are painted sepulchres, and the preaching in them but sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. Comprehend the greatness of your spiritual function. You are intrusted with a truth that is to create a new heaven and a new earth, to prostrate the abuses and corruptions of ages, to unite men by new ties to God and to one another, to revive the Divine Image in the human soul. Keep your mind in harmony with this great end. Let not pleasures, cares, honors, common example, or opinion, or any worldly interest, sever you from it. Cherish a living faith in a higher operation of Christianity than is yet seen in any community or any church. This faith is far from being universal, and for want of it the ministry is weak. But is there no ground for it? Is it an illusion? I know not a weightier question for a minister to answer. Other points of controversy will solicit your attention. But the greatest question which you have to determine is, Whether Christianity has done its work and spent its force, or whether a more regenerating manifestation of truth is not to be hoped? whether a new application of the Christian law to private and public life is not to be longed for and prayed for, and confidently expected? whether Christendom is not to wear another aspect? whether the idea of perfection, of disinterested virtue, which shone forth in the character of Jesus, is not to possess more livingly the human soul, and to be more and more realized in human life? Your answer to this question will decide very much whether your ministry shall be a mechanical round, a name, a sleep, or be fraught with life and power. In answering it, do not consult with flesh and blood; but listen to the prophetic words of Jesus Christ; listen to the aspirations of your own soul; listen to that deep discontent with the present forms of Christianity which is spreading in the community, which breaks out in murmurs, now of scorn, now of grief, and which hungers and thirsts for a new coming of the kingdom of God.

My brother, much might be added, but I hasten to the close of this unusually protracted service. We wish you prosperity. May you establish yourself in the hearts of this people! May you find a lasting home in this beautiful part of our land! Here may you live in peace, here grow old in honor, here close your eyes amid the tears of a grateful people! This we hope; and we have ground of hope in the spirit of the congregation to which you are to minister. But we cannot speak of your prospects as sure. You live in a trying day. The spirit of change which characterizes our times has penetrated the church, and shaken the old stability of the ministry. In no profession are men exposed to greater changes than in ours. Prepare yourself for the worst, while you hope for the best. Cherish, as among the first virtues of your office, a firm, manly, self-denying spirit. Let not the comforts of life grow into your soul. Be simple in your habits, in food, raiment, pleasures. Be frugal, that you may be just, may "have to give to him that needeth," and may be fitted to sustain privations with dignity. Build up in yourself an energy of purpose, an iron strength of principle, a loftiness of sentiment, which will disarm outward changes, and give power to your ministry, whether in a prosperous or adverse lot. "Be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might." "Be thou faithful unto death, and he shall give thee a crown of life."

LIKENESS TO GOD:

Discourse at the Ordination of the Rev. F. A. Farley, Providence, R. I., 1828.

EPHESIANS v. 1: "Be ye therefore followers of God, as dear children."

To promote true religion is the purpose of the Christian ministry. For this it was ordained. On the present occasion, therefore, when a new teacher is to be given to the church, a discourse on the character of true religion will not be inappropriate. I do not mean that I shall attempt, in the limits to which I am now confined, to set before you all its properties, signs, and operations; for in so doing I should burden your memories with divisions and vague generalities as uninteresting as they would be unprofitable. My purpose is to select one view of the subject which seems to me of primary dignity and importance; and I select this because it is greatly neglected, and because I attribute to this neglect much of the inefficacy and many of the corruptions of religion.

The text calls us to follow or imitate God, to seek accordance with or likeness to him; and to do this not fearfully and faintly, but with the spirit and hope of beloved children. The doctrine which I propose to illustrate is derived immediately from these words, and is incorporated with the whole New Testament. I affirm, and would maintain, that true religion consists in proposing, as our great end, a growing likeness to the Supreme Being. Its noblest influence consists in making us more and more partakers of the Divinity. For this it is to be preached. Religious instruction should aim chiefly to turn men's aspirations and efforts to that perfection of the soul which constitutes it a bright image of God. Such is the topic now to be discussed; and I implore Him whose glory I seek to aid me in unfolding and enforcing it with simplicity and clearness, with a calm and pure zeal, and with unfeigned charity.

I begin with observing, what all indeed will understand, that the likeness to God, of which I propose to speak, belongs to man's higher or spiritual nature. It has its foundation in the original and essential capacities of the mind. In proportion as these are unfolded by right and vigorous exertion, it is extended and brightened. In proportion as these lie dormant, it is obscured. In proportion as they are perverted and overpowered by the appetites and passions, it is blotted out. In truth, moral evil, if unresisted and habitual, may so blight and lay waste these capacities, that the image of God in man may seem to be wholly destroyed.

The importance of this assimilation to our Creator is a topic which needs no labored discussion. All men, of whatever name, or sect, or opinion, will meet me on this ground. All, I presume, will allow that no good in the compass of the universe, or within the gift of omnipotence, can be compared to a resemblance of God, or to a participation of his attributes. I fear no contradiction here. Likeness to God is the supreme gift. He can communicate nothing so precious, glorious, blessed as himself. To hold intellectual and moral affinity with the Supreme Being, to partake his spirit, to be his children by derivations of kindred excellence, to bear a growing conformity to the perfection which we adore, — this is a felicity which obscures and annihilates all other good.

It is only in proportion to this likeness that we can enjoy either God or the universe. That God can be known and enjoyed only through sympathy or kindred attributes, is a doctrine which even Gentile philosophy discerned. That the pure in heart can alone see and commune with the pure Divinity, was the sublime instruction of ancient sages

as well as of inspired prophets. It is indeed the lesson of daily experience. To understand a great and good being, we must have the seeds of the same excellence. How quickly, by what an instinct, do accordant minds recognize one another! No attraction is so powerful as that which subsists between the truly wise and good; whilst the brightest excellence is lost on those who have nothing congenial in their own breasts. God becomes a real being to us in proportion as his own nature is unfolded within us. To a man who is growing in the likeness of God, faith begins even here to change into vision. He carries within himself a proof of a Deity, which can only be understood by experience. He more than believes, he feels the Divine presence; and gradually rises to an intercourse with his Maker, to which it is not irreverent to apply the name of friendship and intimacy. The Apostle John intended to express this truth, when he tells us that he in whom a principle of divine charity or benevolence has become a habit and life "dwells in God and God in him."

It is plain, too, that likeness to God is the true and only preparation for the enjoyment of the universe. In proportion as we approach and resemble the mind of God, we are brought into harmony with the creation; for in that proportion we possess the principles from which the universe sprung; we carry within ourselves the perfections of which its beauty, magnificence, order, benevolent adaptations, and boundless purposes are the results and manifestations. God unfolds himself in his works to a kindred mind. It is possible that the brevity of these hints may expose to the charge of mysticism what seems to me the calmest and clearest truth. I think, however, that every reflecting man will feel that likeness to God must be a principle of sympathy or accordance with his creation; for the creation is a birth and shining forth of the Divine Mind, a work through which his spirit breathes. In proportion as we receive this spirit we possess within ourselves the explanation of what we see. We discern more and more of God in every thing, from the frail flower to the everlasting stars. Even in evil, that dark cloud which hangs over the creation, we discern rays of light and hope, and gradually come to see, in suffering and temptation, proofs and instruments of the sublimest purposes of wisdom and love.

I have offered these very imperfect views that I may show the great importance of the doctrine which I am solicitous to enforce. I would teach that likeness to God is a good so unutterably surpassing all other good, that whoever admits it as attainable must acknowledge it to be the chief aim of life. I would show that the highest and happiest office of religion is to bring the mind into growing accordance with God; and that by the tendency of religious systems to this end their truth and worth are to be chiefly tried.

I am aware that it may be said that the Scriptures, in speaking of man as made in the image of God, and in calling us to imitate him, use bold and figurative language. It may be said that there is danger from too literal an interpretation; that God is an unapproachable being; that I am not warranted in ascribing to man a like nature to the divine; that we and all things illustrate the Creator by contrast, not by resemblance; that religion manifests itself chiefly in convictions and acknowledgments of utter worthlessness; and that to talk of the greatness and divinity of the human soul is to inflate that pride through which Satan fell, and through which man involves himself in that fallen spirit's ruin.

I answer that, to me, Scripture and reason hold a different language. In Christianity, particularly, I meet perpetual testimonies to the divinity of human nature. This whole religion expresses an infinite concern of God for the human soul, and teaches that He deems no methods too expensive for its recovery and exaltation. Christianity, with one voice, calls me to turn my regards and care to the spirit within me, as of more worth than the whole outward world. It calls us to "be perfect as our Father in heaven is perfect;" and everywhere, in the sublimity of its precepts, it implies and recognizes the sublime capacities of the being to whom they are addressed. It assures us that human virtue is "in the sight of God of great price," and speaks of the return of a human being to virtue as an event which increases the joy of heaven. In the New Testament, Jesus Christ, the

Son of God, the brightness of his glory, the express and unsullied image of the Divinity, is seen mingling with men as a friend and brother, offering himself as their example, and promising to his true followers a share in all his splendors and joys. In the New Testament God is said to communicate his own spirit and all his fulness to the human soul. In the New Testament man is exhorted to aspire after "honor, glory, and immortality;" and heaven, a word expressing the nearest approach to God and a divine happiness, is everywhere proposed as the end of his being. In truth, the very essence of Christian faith is that we trust in God's mercy as revealed in Jesus Christ, for a state of celestial purity in which we shall grow for ever in the likeness and knowledge and enjoyment of the Infinite Father. Lofty views of the nature of man are bound up and interwoven with the whole Christian system. Say not that these are at war with humility; for who was ever humbler than Jesus, and yet who ever possessed such a consciousness of greatness and divinity? Say not that man's business is to think of his sin and not of his dignity; for great sin implies a great capacity; it is the abuse of a noble nature; and no man can be deeply and rationally contrite but he who feels that in wrong-doing he has resisted a divine voice, and warred against a divine principle in his own soul. I need not, I trust, pursue the argument from revelation. There is an argument from nature and reason which seems to me so convincing, and is at the same time so fitted to explain what I mean by man's possession of a like nature to God, that I shall pass at once to its exposition.

That man has a kindred nature with God, and may bear most important and ennobling relations to him, seems to me to be established by a striking proof. This proof you will understand by considering, for a moment, how we obtain our ideas of God. Whence come the conceptions which we include under that august name? Whence do we derive our knowledge of the attributes and perfections which constitute the Supreme Being? I answer, we derive them from our own souls. The divine attributes are first developed in ourselves, and thence transferred to our Creator. The idea of God, sublime and awful as it is, is the idea of our own spiritual nature, purified and enlarged to infinity. In ourselves are the elements of the Divinity. God, then, does not sustain a figurative resemblance to man. It is the resemblance of a parent to a child, the likeness of a kindred nature.

We call God a Mind. He has revealed himself as a Spirit. But what do we know of mind but through the unfolding of this principle in our own breasts? That unbounded spiritual energy which we call God is conceived by us only through consciousness, through the knowledge of ourselves. We ascribe thought or intelligence to the Deity, as one of his most glorious attributes. And what means this language? These terms we have framed to express operations or faculties of our own souls. The Infinite Light would be for ever hidden from us did not kindred rays dawn and brighten within us. God is another name for human intelligence raised above all error and imperfection, and extended to all possible truth.

The same is true of God's goodness. How do we understand this but by the principle of love implanted in the human breast? Whence is it that this divine attribute is so faintly comprehended, but from the feeble development of it in the multitude of men? Who can understand the strength, purity, fulness, and extent of divine philanthropy, but he in whom selfishness has been swallowed up in love?

The same is true of all the moral perfections of the Deity. These are comprehended by us only through our own moral nature. It is conscience within us which, by its approving and condemning voice, interprets to us God's love of virtue and hatred of sin; and without conscience, these glorious conceptions would never have opened on the mind. It is the law-giver in our own breasts which gives us the idea of divine authority, and binds us to obey it. The soul, by its sense of right, or its perception of moral distinctions, is clothed with sovereignty over itself, and through this alone it understands and recognizes the Sovereign of the universe. Men, as by a natural inspiration, have agreed to speak of conscience as the voice of God, as the Divinity within us. This principle, reverently obeyed, makes us more and more partakers of the moral perfec-

tion of the Supreme Being, of that very excellence which constitutes the rightfulness of his sceptre, and enthrones him over the universe. Without this inward law we should be as incapable of receiving a law from heaven as the brute. Without this, the thunders of Sinai might startle the outward ear, but would have no meaning, no authority to the mind. I have expressed here a great truth. Nothing teaches so encouragingly our relation and resemblance to God; for the glory of the Supreme Being is eminently moral. We blind ourselves to his chief splendor if we think only or mainly of his power, and overlook those attributes of rectitude and goodness to which He subjects his omnipotence, and which are the foundations and very substance of his universal and immutable law. And are these attributes revealed to us through the principles and convictions of our own souls? Do we understand through sympathy God's perception of the right, the good, the holy, the just? Then with what propriety is it said that in his own image He made man!

I am aware that it may be objected to these views, that we receive our idea of God from the universe, from his works, and not so exclusively from our own souls. The universe, I know, is full of God. The heavens and earth declare his glory. In other words, the effects and signs of power, wisdom, and goodness, are apparent through the whole creation. But apparent to what? Not to the outward eye; not to the acutest organs of sense; but to a kindred mind, which interprets the universe by itself. It is only through that energy of thought by which we adapt various and complicated means to distant ends, and give harmony and a common bearing to multiplied exertions, that we understand the creative intelligence which has established the order, dependencies, and harmony of nature. We see God around us because He dwells within us. It is by a kindred wisdom that we discern his wisdom in his works. The brute, with an eye as piercing as ours, looks on the universe; and the page, which to us is radiant with characters of greatness and goodness, is to him a blank. In truth, the beauty and glory of God's works are revealed to the mind by a light beaming from itself. We discern the impress of God's attributes in the universe by accordance of nature, and enjoy them through sympathy. I hardly need observe that these remarks in relation to the universe apply with equal if not greater force to revelation.

I shall now be met by another objection, which to many may seem strong. It will be said that these various attributes of which I have spoken exist in God in infinite perfection, and that this destroys all affinity between the human and the divine mind. To this I have two replies. In the first place, an attribute by becoming perfect does not part with its essence. Love, wisdom, power, and purity do not change their nature by enlargement. If they did, we should lose the Supreme Being through his very infinity. Our ideas of him would fade away into mere sounds. For example, if wisdom in God, because unbounded, have no affinity with that attribute in man, why apply to him that term? It must signify nothing. Let me ask what we mean when we say that we discern the marks of intelligence in the universe? We mean that we meet there the proofs of a mind like our own. We certainly discern proofs of no other: so that to deny this doctrine would be to deny the evidences of a God, and utterly to subvert the foundations of religious belief. What man can examine the structure of a plant or an animal, and see the adaptation of its parts to each other and to common ends, and not feel that it is the work of an intelligence akin to his own, and that he traces these marks of design by the same spiritual energy in which they had their origin?

But I would offer another answer to this objection, that God's infinity places him beyond the resemblance and approach of man. I affirm, and trust that I do not speak too strongly, that there are traces of infinity in the human mind; and that, in this very respect, it bears a likeness to God. The very conception of infinity is the mark of a nature to which no limit can be prescribed. This thought, indeed, comes to us not so much from abroad as from our own souls. We ascribe this attribute to God, because we possess capacities and wants which only an unbounded being can fill, and because we are conscious of a tendency in spiritual faculties to unlimited expansion. We believe in the divine

infinity through something congenial with it in our own breasts. I hope I speak clearly, and if not, I would ask those to whom I am obscure to pause before they condemn. To me it seems that the soul, in all its higher actions, in original thought, in the creations of genius, in the soarings of imagination, in its love of beauty and grandeur, in its aspirations after a pure and unknown joy, and especially in disinterestedness, in the spirit of self-sacrifice, and in enlightened devotion, has a character of infinity. There is often a depth in human love which may be strictly called unfathomable. There is sometimes a lofty strength in moral principle which all the power of the outward universe cannot overcome. There seems a might within which can more than balance all might without. There is, too, a piety which swells into a transport too vast for utterance, and into an immeasurable joy. I am speaking, indeed, of what is uncommon, but still of realities. We see, however, the tendency of the soul to the infinite in more familiar and ordinary forms. Take, for example, the delight which we find in the vast scenes of nature, in prospects which spread around us without limits, in the immensity of the heavens and the ocean, and especially in the rush and roar of mighty winds, waves, and torrents, when, amidst our deep awe, a power within seems to respond to the omnipotence around us. The same principle is seen in the delight ministered to us by works of fiction or of imaginative art, in which our own nature is set before us in more than human beauty and power. In truth, the soul is always bursting its limits. It thirsts continually for wider knowledge. It rushes forward to untried happiness. It has deep wants, which nothing limited can appease. Its true element and end is an unbounded good. Thus, God's infinity has its image in the soul; and through the soul, much more than through the universe, we arrive at this conception of the Deity.

In these remarks I have spoken strongly. But I have no fear of expressing too strongly the connection between the divine and the human mind. My only fear is that I shall dishonor the great subject. The danger to which we are most exposed is that of severing the Creator from his creatures. The propensity of human sovereigns to cut off communication between themselves and their subjects, and to disclaim a common nature with their inferiors, has led the multitude of men, who think of God chiefly under the character of a king, to conceive of him as a being who places his glory in multiplying distinctions between himself and all other beings. The truth is, that the union between the Creator and the creature surpasses all other bonds in strength and intimacy. He penetrates all things, and delights to irradiate all with his glory. Nature, in all its lowest and inanimate forms, is pervaded by his power; and when quickened by the mysterious property of life, how wonderfully does it show forth the perfections of its Author! How much of God may be seen in the structure of a single leaf, which, though so frail as to tremble in every wind, yet holds connections and living communications with the earth, the air, the clouds, and the distant sun, and, through these sympathies with the universe, is itself a revelation of an omnipotent mind! God delights to diffuse himself everywhere. Through his energy unconscious matter clothes itself with proportions, powers, and beauties, which reflect his wisdom and love. How much more must He delight to frame conscious and happy recipients of his perfections, in whom his wisdom and love may substantially dwell, with whom He may form spiritual ties, and to whom He may be an everlasting spring of moral energy and happiness! How far the Supreme Being may communicate his attributes to his intelligent offspring, I stop not to inquire. But that his almighty goodness will impart to them powers and glories of which the material universe is but a faint emblem, I cannot doubt. That the soul, if true to itself and its Maker, will be filled with God, and will manifest him more than the sun, I cannot doubt. Who can doubt it, that believes and understands the doctrine of human immortality?

The views which I have given in this discourse respecting man's participation of the Divine nature, seem to me to receive strong confirmation from the title or relation most frequently applied to God in the New Testament; and I have reserved this as the last corroboration of this doctrine, because, to my own mind, it is singularly affecting.

In the New Testament God is made known to us as a Father; and a brighter feature of that book cannot be named. Our worship is to be directed to him as our Father. Our whole religion is to take its character from this view of the Divinity. In this He is to rise always to our minds. And what is it to be a father? It is to communicate one's own nature, to give life to kindred beings; and the highest function of a father is to educate the mind of the child, and to impart to it what is noblest and happiest in his own mind. God is our Father, not merely because He created us, or because He gives us enjoyment; for He created the flower and the insect, yet we call him not their Father. This bond is a spiritual one. This name belongs to God, because He frames spirits like himself, and delights to give them what is most glorious and blessed in his own nature. Accordingly, Christianity is said with special propriety to reveal God as the Father, because it reveals him as sending his Son to cleanse the mind from every stain, and to replenish it for ever with the spirit and moral attributes of its Author. Separate from God this idea of his creating and training up beings after his own likeness, and you rob him of the paternal character. This relation vanishes, and with it vanishes the glory of the gospel, and the dearest hopes of the human soul.

The greatest use which I would make of the principles laid down in this discourse, is to derive from them just and clear views of the nature of religion. What, then, is religion? I answer, it is not the adoration of a God with whom we have no common properties; of a distinct, foreign, separate being; but of an all-communicating Parent. It recognizes and adores God as a being whom we know through our own souls; who has made man in his own image; who is the perfection of our own spiritual nature; who has sympathies with us as kindred beings; who is near us, not in place only like this all-surrounding atmosphere, but by spiritual influence and love; who looks on us with parental interest, and whose great design it is to communicate to us for ever, and in freer and fuller streams, his own power, goodness, and joy. The conviction of this near and ennobling relation of God to the soul, and of his great purposes towards it, belongs to the very essence of true religion; and true religion manifests itself chiefly and most conspicuously in desires, hopes, and efforts, corresponding to this truth. It desires and seeks supremely the assimilation of the mind to God, or the perpetual unfolding and enlargement of those powers and virtues by which it is constituted his glorious image. The mind, in proportion as it is enlightened and penetrated by true religion, thirsts and labors for a godlike elevation. What else, indeed, can it seek if this good be placed within its reach? If I am capable of receiving and reflecting the intellectual and moral glory of my Creator, what else in comparison shall I desire? Shall I deem a property in the outward universe as the highest good, when I may become partaker of the very mind from which it springs, of the prompting love, the disposing wisdom, the quickening power, through which its order, beauty, and beneficent influences subsist? True religion is known by these high aspirations, hopes, and efforts. And this is the religion which most truly honors God. To honor him is not to tremble before him as an unapproachable sovereign, not to utter barren praise which leaves us as it found us. It is to become what we praise. It is to approach God as an inexhaustible fountain of light, power, and purity. It is to feel the quickening and transforming energy of his perfections. It is to thirst for the growth and invigoration of the divine principle within us. It is to seek the very spirit of God. It is to trust in, to bless, to thank him for that rich grace, mercy, love, which was revealed and proffered by Jesus Christ, and which proposes as its great end the perfection of the human soul.

I regard this view of religion as infinitely important. It does more than all things to make our connection with our Creator ennobling and happy; and, in proportion as we want it, there is danger that the thought of God may itself become the instrument of our degradation. That religion has been so dispensed as to depress the human mind, I need not tell you; and it is a truth which ought to be known, that the greatness of the Deity, when separated in our thoughts from his parental

character, especially tends to crush human energy and hope. To a frail, dependent creature, an omnipotent Creator easily becomes a terror, and his worship easily degenerates into servility, flattery, self-contempt, and selfish calculation. Religion only ennobles us, in as far as it reveals to us the tender and intimate connection of God with his creatures, and teaches us to see in the very greatness which might give alarm the source of great and glorious communications to the human soul. You cannot, my hearers, think too highly of the majesty of God. But let not this majesty sever him from you. Remember that his greatness is the infinity of attributes which yourselves possess. Adore his infinite wisdom; but remember that this wisdom rejoices to diffuse itself, and let an exhilarating hope spring up at the thought of the immeasurable intelligence which such a Father must communicate to his children. In like manner adore his power. Let the boundless creation fill you with awe and admiration of the energy which sustains it. But remember that God has a nobler work than the outward creation, even the spirit within yourselves; and that it is his purpose to replenish this with his own energy, and to crown it with growing power and triumphs over the material universe. Above all, adore his unutterable goodness. But remember that this attribute is particularly proposed to you as your model; that God calls you, both by nature and revelation, to a fellowship in his philanthropy; that he has placed you in social relations for the very end of rendering you ministers and representatives of his benevolence; that he even summons you to espouse and to advance the sublimest purpose of his goodness, the redemption of the human race, by extending the knowledge and power of Christian truth. It is through such views that religion raises up the soul, and binds man by ennobling bonds to his Maker.

To complete my views of this topic, I beg to add an important caution. I have said that the great work of religion is to conform ourselves to God, or to unfold the divine likeness within us. Let none infer from this language that I place religion in unnatural effort, in straining after excitements which do not belong to the present state, or in any thing separate from the clear and simple duties of life. I exhort you to no extravagance. I reverence human nature too much to do it violence. I see too much divinity in its ordinary operations to urge on it a forced and vehement virtue. To grow in the likeness of God we need not cease to be men. This likeness does not consist in extraordinary or miraculous gifts, in supernatural additions to the soul, or in any thing foreign to our original constitution; but in our essential faculties, unfolded by vigorous and conscientious exertion in the ordinary circumstances assigned by God. To resemble our Creator we need not fly from society, and entrance ourselves in lonely contemplation and prayer. Such processes might give a feverish strength to one class of emotions, but would result in disproportion, distortion, and sickliness of mind. Our proper work is to approach God by the free and natural unfolding of our highest powers, — of understanding, conscience, love, and the moral will.

Shall I be told that, by such language, I ascribe to nature the effects which can only be wrought in the soul by the Holy Spirit? I anticipate this objection, and wish to meet it by a simple exposition of my views. I would on no account disparage the gracious aids and influences which God imparts to the human soul. The promise of the Holy Spirit is among the most precious in the Sacred Volume. Worlds could not tempt me to part with the doctrine of God's intimate connection with the mind, and of his free and full communications to it. But these views are in no respect at variance with what I have taught, of the method by which we are to grow in the likeness of God. Scripture and experience concur in teaching that, by the Holy Spirit, we are to understand a divine assistance adapted to our moral freedom, and accordant with the fundamental truth that virtue is the mind's own work. By the Holy Spirit, I understand an aid which must be gained and made effectual by our own activity; an aid which no more interferes with our faculties than the assistance which we receive from our fellow-beings; an aid which silently mingles and conspires with all

other helps and means of goodness; an aid by which we unfold our natural powers in a natural order, and by which we are strengthened to understand and apply the resources derived from our munificent Creator. This aid we cannot prize too much, or pray for too earnestly. But wherein, let me ask, does it war with the doctrine that God is to be approached by the exercise and unfolding of our highest powers and affections, in the ordinary circumstances of human life?

I repeat it, to resemble our Maker we need not quarrel with our nature or our lot. Our present state, made up as it is of aids and trials, is worthy of God, and may be used throughout to assimilate us to him. For example, our domestic ties, the relations of neighborhood and country, the daily interchanges of thoughts and feelings, the daily occasions of kindness, the daily claims of want and suffering, — these and the other circumstances of our social state form the best sphere and school for that benevolence which is God's brightest attribute; and we should make a sad exchange, by substituting for these natural aids any self-invented artificial means of sanctity. Christianity, our great guide to God, never leads us away from the path of nature, and never wars with the unsophisticated dictates of conscience. We approach our Creator by every right exertion of the powers He gives us. Whenever we invigorate the understanding by honestly and resolutely seeking truth, and by withstanding whatever might warp the judgment; whenever we invigorate the conscience by following it in opposition to the passions; whenever we receive a blessing gratefully, bear a trial patiently, or encounter peril or scorn with moral courage; whenever we perform a disinterested deed; whenever we lift up the heart in true adoration to God; whenever we war against a habit or desire which is strengthening itself against our higher principles; whenever we think, speak, or act, with moral energy and resolute devotion to duty, be the occasion ever so humble, obscure, familiar; — then the divinity is growing within us, and we are ascending towards our Author. True religion thus blends itself with common life. We are thus to draw nigh to God without forsaking men. We are thus, without parting with our human nature, to clothe ourselves with the divine.

My views on the great subject of this discourse have now been given. I shall close with a brief consideration of a few objections, in the course of which I shall offer some views of the Christian ministry, which this occasion and the state of the world seem to me to demand. I anticipate from some an objection to this discourse, drawn as they will say from experience. I may be told that I have talked of the godlike capacities of human nature, and have spoken of man as a divinity; and where, it will be asked, are the warrants of this high estimate of our race? I may be told that I dream, and that I have peopled the world with the creatures of my lonely imagination. What! Is it only in dreams that beauty and loveliness have beamed on me from the human countenance, that I have heard tones of kindness which have thrilled through my heart, that I have found sympathy in suffering, and a sacred joy in friendship? Are all the great and good men of past ages only dreams? Are such names as Moses, Socrates, Paul, Alfred, Milton, only the fictions of my disturbed slumbers? Are the great deeds of history, the discoveries of philosophy, the creations of genius, only visions? Oh, no. I do not dream when I speak of the divine capacities of human nature. It is a real page in which I read of patriots and martyrs, of Fénélon and Howard, of Hampden and Washington. And tell me not that these were prodigies, miracles, immeasurably separated from their race; for the very reverence which has treasured up and hallowed their memories, the very sentiments of admiration and love with which their names are now heard, show that the principles of their greatness are diffused through all your breasts. The germs of sublime virtue are scattered liberally on our earth. How often have I seen in the obscurity of domestic life a strength of love, of endurance, of pious trust, of virtuous resolution, which in a public sphere would have attracted public homage! I cannot but pity the man who recognizes nothing godlike in his own nature. I see the marks of God in the heavens and the earth, but how much more in a

liberal intellect, in magnanimity, in unconquerable rectitude, in a philanthropy which forgives every wrong, and which never despairs of the cause of Christ and human virtue! I do and I must reverence human nature. Neither the sneers of a worldly scepticism nor the groans of a gloomy theology disturb my faith in its godlike powers and tendencies. I know how it is despised, how it has been oppressed, how civil and religious establishments have for ages conspired to crush it. I know its history. I shut my eyes on none of its weaknesses and crimes. I understand the proofs by which despotism demonstrates that man is a wild beast, in want of a master, and only safe in chains. But injured, trampled on, and scorned as our nature is, I still turn to it with intense sympathy and strong hope. The signatures of its origin and its end are impressed too deeply to be ever wholly effaced. I bless it for its kind affections, for its strong and tender love. I honor it for its struggles against oppression, for its growth and progress under the weight of so many chains and prejudices, for its achievements in science and art, and still more for its examples of heroic and saintly virtue. These are marks of a divine origin and the pledges of a celestial inheritance; and I thank God that my own lot is bound up with that of the human race.

But another objection starts up. It may be said, "Allow these views to be true; are they fitted for the pulpit? fitted to act on common minds? They may be prized by men of cultivated intellect and taste; but can the multitude understand them? Will the multitude feel them? On whom has a minister to act? On men immersed in business, and buried in the flesh; on men whose whole power of thought has been spent on pleasure or gain; on men chained by habit and wedded to sin. Sooner may adamant be riven by a child's touch than the human heart be pierced by refined and elevated sentiment. Gross instruments will alone act on gross minds. Men sleep, and nothing but thunder, nothing but flashes from the everlasting fire of hell, will thoroughly wake them."

I have all along felt that such objections would be made to the views I have urged. But they do not move me. I answer, that I think these views singularly adapted to the pulpit, and I think them full of power. The objection is that they are refined. But I see God accomplishing his noblest purposes by what may be called refined means. All the great agents of nature — attraction, heat, and the principle of life — are refined, spiritual, invisible, acting gently, silently, imperceptibly; and yet brute matter feels their power, and is transformed by them into surpassing beauty. The electric fluid, unseen, unfelt, and everywhere diffused, is infinitely more efficient, and ministers to infinitely nobler productions, than when it breaks forth in thunder. Much less can I believe that in the moral world noise, menace, and violent appeals to gross passions, to fear and selfishness, are God's chosen means of calling forth spiritual life, beauty, and greatness. It is seldom that human nature throws off all susceptibility of grateful and generous impressions, all sympathy with superior virtue; and here are springs and principles to which a generous teaching, if simple, sincere, and fresh from the soul, may confidently appeal.

It is said men cannot understand the views which seem to me so precious. This objection I am anxious to repel, for the common intellect has been grievously kept down and wronged through the belief of its incapacity. The pulpit would do more good were not the mass of men looked upon and treated as children. Happily for the race, the time is passing away in which intellect was thought the monopoly of a few, and the majority were given over to hopeless ignorance. Science is leaving her solitudes to enlighten the multitude. How much more may religious teachers take courage to speak to men on subjects which are nearer to them than the properties and laws of matter, — I mean their own souls. The multitude, you say, want capacity to receive great truths relating to their spiritual nature. But what, let me ask you, is the Christian religion? A spiritual system, intended to turn men's minds upon themselves, to frame them to watchfulness over thought, imagination, and passion, to establish them in an intimacy with their own souls. What are all the Christian virtues which men are exhorted to love and seek? I answer, pure and high motions

or determinations of the mind. That refinement of thought which, I am told, transcends the common intellect, belongs to the very essence of Christianity. In confirmation of these views, the human mind seems to me to be turning itself more and more inward, and to be growing more alive to its own worth and its capacities of progress. The spirit of education shows this, and so does the spirit of freedom. There is a spreading conviction that man was made for a higher purpose than to be a beast of burden, or a creature of sense. The divinity is stirring within the human breast, and demanding a culture and a liberty worthy of the child of God. Let religious teaching correspond to this advancement of the mind. Let it rise above the technical, obscure, and frigid theology which has come down to us from times of ignorance, superstition, and slavery. Let it penetrate the human soul, and reveal it to itself. No preaching, I believe, is so intelligible as that which is true to human nature, and helps men to read their own spirits.

But the objection which I have stated not only represents men as incapable of understanding, but still more of being moved, quickened, sanctified, and saved, by such views as I have given. If by this objection nothing more is meant than that these views are not alone or of themselves sufficient, I shall not dispute it; for, true and glorious as they are, they do not constitute the whole truth, and I do not expect great moral effects from narrow and partial views of our nature. I have spoken of the godlike capacities of the soul. But other and very different elements enter into the human being. Man has animal propensities as well as intellectual and moral powers. He has a body as well as mind. He has passions to war with reason, and self-love with conscience. He is a free being, and a tempted being, and thus constituted he may and does sin, and often sins grievously. To such a being religion, or virtue, is a conflict, requiring great spiritual effort, put forth in habitual watchfulness and prayer; and all the motives are needed by which force and constancy may be communicated to the will. I exhort not the preacher to talk perpetually of man as "made but a little lower than the angels." I would not narrow him to any class of topics. Let him adapt himself to our whole and various nature. Let him summon to his aid all the powers of this world and the world to come. Let him bring to bear on the conscience and the heart God's milder and more awful attributes, the promises and threatenings of the divine word, the lessons of history, the warnings of experience. Let the wages of sin here and hereafter be taught clearly and earnestly. But amidst the various motives to spiritual effort which belong to the minister, none are more quickening than those drawn from the soul itself, and from God's desire and purpose to exalt it by every aid consistent with its freedom. These views I conceive are to mix with all others, and without them all others fail to promote a generous virtue. Is it said that the minister's proper work is to preach Christ, and not the dignity of human nature? I answer, that Christ's greatness is manifested in the greatness of the nature which he was sent to redeem; and that his chief glory consists in this, that he came to restore God's image where it was obscured or effaced, and to give an everlasting impulse and life to what is divine within us. Is it said that the malignity of sin is to be the minister's great theme? I answer, that this malignity can only be understood and felt when sin is viewed as the ruin of God's noblest work, as darkening a light brighter than the sun, as carrying discord, bondage, disease, and death into a mind framed for perpetual progress towards its Author. Is it said that terror is the chief instrument of saving the soul? I answer, that if by terror be meant a rational and moral fear, a conviction and dread of the unutterable evil incurred by a mind which wrongs, betrays, and destroys itself, then I am the last to deny its importance. But a fear like this, which regards the debasement of the soul as the greatest of evils, is plainly founded upon and proportioned to our conceptions of the greatness of our nature. The more common terror excited by vivid images of torture and bodily pain is a very questionable means of virtue. When strongly awakened, it generally injures the character, breaks men into cowards and slaves, brings the intellect to cringe before human authority, makes man abject before his Maker, and, by a natural reaction of the mind,

often terminates in a presumptuous confidence altogether distinct from virtuous self-respect, and singularly hostile to the unassuming, charitable spirit of Christianity. The preacher should rather strive to fortify the soul against physical pains than to bow it to their mastery, teaching it to dread nothing in comparison with sin, and to dread sin as the ruin of a noble nature.

Men, I repeat it, are to be quickened and raised by appeals to their highest principles. Even the convicts of a prison may be touched by kindness, generosity, and especially by a tone, look, and address, expressing hope and respect for their nature. I know that the doctrine of ages has been that terror, restraint, and bondage are the chief safeguards of human virtue and peace. But we have begun to learn that affection, confidence, respect, and freedom are mightier as well as nobler agents. Men can be wrought upon by generous influences. I would that this truth were better understood by religious teachers. From the pulpit generous influences too seldom proceed. In the church men too seldom hear a voice to quicken and exalt them. Religion, speaking through her public organs, seems often to forget her natural tone of elevation. The character of God, the principles of his government, his relations to the human family, the purposes for which He brought us into being, the nature which He has given us, and the condition in which He has placed us, — these and the like topics, though the sublimest which can enter the mind, are not unfrequently so set forth as to narrow and degrade the hearers, disheartening and oppressing with gloom the timid and sensitive, and infecting coarser minds with the unhallowed spirit of intolerance, presumption, and exclusive pretension to the favor of God. I know, and rejoice to know, that preaching in its worst forms does good; for so bright and piercing is the light of Christianity that it penetrates in a measure the thickest clouds in which men contrive to involve it. But that evil mixes with the good, I also know; and I should be unfaithful to my deep convictions did I not say that human nature requires for its elevation more generous treatment from the teachers of religion.

I conclude with saying, let the minister cherish a reverence for his own nature. Let him never despise it even in its most forbidding forms. Let him delight in its beautiful and lofty manifestations. Let him hold fast, as one of the great qualifications for his office, a faith in the greatness of the human soul, — that faith which looks beneath the perishing body, beneath the sweat of the laborer, beneath the rags and ignorance of the poor, beneath the vices of the sensual and selfish, and discerns in the depths of the soul a divine principle, a ray of the Infinite Light, which may yet break forth and "shine as the sun" in the kingdom of God. Let him strive to awaken in men a consciousness of the heavenly treasure within them, a consciousness of possessing what is of more worth than the outward universe. Let hope give life to all his labors. Let him speak to men as to beings liberally gifted and made for God. Let him always look round on a congregation with the encouraging trust that he has hearers prepared to respond to the simple, unaffected utterance of great truths, and to the noblest workings of his own mind. Let him feel deeply for those in whom the divine nature is overwhelmed by the passions. Let him sympathize tenderly with those in whom it begins to struggle, to mourn for sin, to thirst for a new life. Let him guide and animate to higher and diviner virtue those in whom it has gained strength. Let him strive to infuse courage, enterprise, devout trust, and an inflexible will into men's labors for their own perfection. In one word, let him cherish an unfaltering and growing faith in God as the Father and quickener of the human mind, and in Christ as its triumphant and immortal friend. That by such preaching he is to work miracles, I do not say. That he will rival in sudden and outward effects what is wrought by the preachers of a low and terrifying theology, I do not expect or desire. That all will be made better, I am far from believing. His office is to act on free beings, who, after all, must determine themselves; who have power to withstand all foreign agency; who are to be saved, not by mere preaching, but by their own prayers and toil. Still I believe that such a minister will be a benefactor beyond all praise to the human soul. I believe, and know, that on those who will admit his influence he

will work deeply, powerfully, gloriously. His function is the sublimest under heaven; and his reward will be a growing power of spreading truth, virtue, moral strength, love, and happiness, without limit and without end.

CHARACTER OF CHRIST.

MATTHEW xvii. 5: "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased."

THE character of Christ may be studied for various purposes. It is singularly fitted to call forth the heart, to awaken love, admiration, and moral delight. As an example, it has no rival. As an evidence of his religion, perhaps it yields to no other proof; perhaps no other has so often conquered unbelief. It is chiefly to this last view of it that I now ask your attention. The character of Christ is a strong confirmation of the truth of his religion. As such, I would now place it before you. I shall not, however, think only of confirming your faith; the very illustrations which I shall adduce for this purpose will show the claims of Jesus to our reverence, obedience, imitation, and fervent love.

The more we contemplate Christ's character, as exhibited in the gospel, the more we shall be impressed with its genuineness and reality. It was plainly drawn from the life. The narratives of the Evangelists bear the marks of truth perhaps beyond all other histories. They set before us the most extraordinary being who ever appeared on earth, and yet they are as artless as the stories of childhood. The authors do not think of themselves. They have plainly but one aim, to show us their Master; and they manifest the deep veneration which he inspired by leaving him to reveal himself, by giving us his actions and sayings without comment, explanation, or eulogy. You see in these narratives no varnishing, no high coloring, no attempts to make his actions striking, or to bring out the beauties of his character. We are never pointed to any circumstance as illustrative of his greatness. The Evangelists write with a calm trust in his character, with a feeling that it needed no aid from their hands, and with a deep veneration, as if comment or praise of their own were not worthy to mingle with the recital of such a life.

It is the effect of our familiarity with the history of Jesus that we are not struck by it as we ought to be. We read it before we are capable of understanding its excellence. His stupendous works become as familiar to us as the events of ordinary life, and his high offices seem as much matters of course as the common relations which men bear to each other. On this account, it is fit for the ministers of religion to do what the Evangelists did not attempt, to offer comments on Christ's character, to bring out its features, to point men to its higher beauties, to awaken their awe by unfolding its wonderful majesty. Indeed, one of our most important functions, as teachers, is to give freshness and vividness to truths which have become worn, I had almost said tarnished, by long and familiar handling. We have to fight with the power of habit. Through habit men look on this glorious creation with insensibility, and are less moved by the all-enlightening sun than by a show of fire-works. It is the duty of a moral and religious teacher almost to create a new sense in men, that they may learn in what a world of beauty and magnificence they live. And so in regard to Christ's character; men become used to it, until they imagine that there is something more admirable in a great man of their own day — a statesman or a conqueror — than in him the latchet of whose shoes statesmen and conquerors are not worthy to unloose.

In this discourse I wish to show that the character of Christ, taken as a whole, is one which could not have entered the thoughts of man, could not have been imagined or feigned; that it bears every mark of genuineness and truth; that it ought, therefore, to be acknowledged as real and of divine original.

It is all-important, my friends, if we

would feel the force of this argument, to transport ourselves to the times when Jesus lived. We are very apt to think that he was moving about in such a city as this, or among a people agreeing with ourselves in modes of thinking and habits of life. But the truth is, he lived in a state of society singularly remote from our own. Of all nations, the Jewish was the most strongly marked. The Jew hardly felt himself to belong to the human family. He was accustomed to speak of himself as chosen by God, holy, clean; whilst the Gentiles were sinners, dogs, polluted, unclean. His common dress, the phylactery on his brow or arm, the hem of his garment, his food, the ordinary circumstances of his life, as well as his temple, his sacrifices, his ablutions, all held him up to himself as a peculiar favorite of God, and all separated him from the rest of the world. With other nations he could not eat or marry. They were unworthy of his communion. Still, with all these notions of superiority, he saw himself conquered by those whom he despised. He was obliged to wear the shackles of Rome, to see Roman legions in his territory, a Roman guard near his temple, and a Roman tax-gatherer extorting, for the support of an idolatrous government and an idolatrous worship, what he regarded as due only to God. The hatred which burned in the breast of the Jew towards his foreign oppressor perhaps never glowed with equal intenseness in any other conquered state. He had, however, his secret consolation. The time was near, the prophetic age was at hand, when Judea was to break her chains and rise from the dust. Her long-promised king and deliverer was near, and was coming to wear the crown of universal empire. From Jerusalem was to go forth his law, and all nations were to serve the chosen people of God. To this conqueror the Jews indeed ascribed the office of promoting religion; but the religion of Moses, corrupted into an outward service, was to them the perfection of human nature. They clung to its forms with the whole energy of their souls. To the Mosaic institution they ascribed their distinction from all other nations. It lay at the foundation of their hopes of dominion. I believe no strength of prejudice ever equalled the intense attachment of the Jew to his peculiar national religion. You may judge of its power by the fact of its having been transmitted through so many ages, amidst persecution and sufferings which would have subdued any spirit but that of a Jew. You must bring these things to your mind. You must place yourselves in the midst of this singular people.

Among this singular people, burning with impatient expectation, appeared Jesus of Nazareth. His first words were, "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." These words we hear with little emotion; but to the Jews, who had been watching for this kingdom for ages, and who were looking for its immediate manifestation, they must have been awakening as an earthquake. Accordingly, we find Jesus thronged by multitudes which no building could contain. He repairs to a mountain, as affording him advantages for addressing the crowd. I see them surrounding him with eager looks, and ready to drink in every word from his lips. And what do I hear? Not one word of Judea, of Rome, of freedom, of conquest, of the glories of God's chosen people, and of the thronging of all nations to the temple on Mount Zion. Almost every word was a death-blow to the hopes and feelings which glowed through the whole people, and were consecrated under the name of religion. He speaks of the long-expected kingdom of heaven; but speaks of it as a felicity promised to, and only to be partaken by, the humble and pure in heart. The righteousness of the Pharisees, that which was deemed the perfection of religion, and which the new deliverer was expected to spread far and wide, he pronounces worthless, and declares the kingdom of heaven, or of the Messiah, to be shut against all who do not cultivate a new, spiritual, and disinterested virtue. Instead of war and victory, he commands his impatient hearers to love, to forgive, to bless their enemies; and holds forth this spirit of benignity, mercy, peace, as the special badge of the people of the true Messiah. Instead of national interests and glories, he commands them to seek first a spirit of impartial charity and love, unconfined by the bounds of tribe or nation, and proclaims this to be the happiness and honor of the reign for which they hoped.

Instead of this world's riches, which they expected to flow from all lands into their own, he commands them to lay up treasures in heaven, and directs them to an incorruptible, immortal life, as the true end of their being. Nor is this all. He does not merely offer himself as a spiritual deliverer, as the founder of a new empire of inward piety and universal charity; he closes with language announcing a more mysterious office. "Many will say unto me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name? and in thy name done many wonderful works? And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you, depart from me, ye that work iniquity." Here I meet the annunciation of a character as august as it must have been startling. I hear him foretelling a dominion to be exercised in the future world. He begins to announce, what entered largely into his future teaching, that his power was not bounded to this earth. These words I better understand when I hear him subsequently declaring that, after a painful death, he was to rise again and ascend to heaven, and there, in a state of pre-eminent power and glory, was to be the advocate and judge of the human race.

Such are some of the views given by Jesus of his character and reign in the Sermon on the Mount. Immediately afterwards I hear another lesson from him, bringing out some of these truths still more strongly. A Roman centurion makes application to him for the cure of a servant whom he particularly valued: and on expressing, in a strong manner, his conviction of the power of Jesus to heal at a distance, Jesus, according to the historian, "marvelled, and said to those that followed, Verily I say unto you, I have not found so great faith in Israel; and I say unto you, that many shall come from the east and the west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven; but the children of the kingdom" (that is, the Jews) "shall be cast out." Here all the hopes which the Jews had cherished of an exclusive or peculiar possession of the Messiah's kingdom were crushed: and the reception of the despised Gentile world to all his blessings, or, in other words, the extension of his pure religion to the ends of the earth, began to be proclaimed.

Here I pause for the present, and I ask you whether the character of Jesus be not the most extraordinary in history, and wholly inexplicable on human principles. Review the ground over which we have gone. Recollect that he was born and grew up a Jew, in the midst of Jews, a people burning with one passion, and throwing their whole souls into the expectation of a national and earthly deliverer. He grew up among them in poverty, seclusion, and labors fitted to contract his thoughts, purposes, and hopes; and yet we find him escaping every influence of education and society. We find him as untouched by the feelings which prevailed universally around him, which religion and patriotism concurred to consecrate, which the mother breathed into the ear of the child, and which the teacher of the synagogue strengthened in the adult, as if he had been brought up in another world. We find him conceiving a sublime purpose, such as had never dawned on sage or hero, and see him possessed with a consciousness of sustaining a relation to God and mankind, and of being invested with powers in this world and the world to come such as had never entered the human mind. Whence now, I ask, came the conception of this character?

Will any say it had its origin in imposture, — that it was a fabrication of a deceiver? I answer, the character claimed by Christ excludes this supposition by its very nature. It was so remote from all the ideas and anticipations of the times, so unfit to awaken sympathy, so unattractive to the heathen, so exasperating to the Jew, that it was the last to enter the mind of an impostor. A deceiver of the dullest vision must have foreseen that it would expose him to bitter scorn, abhorrence, and persecution, and that he would be left to carry on his work alone, just as Jesus always stood alone, and could find not an individual to enter into his spirit and design. What allurements an unprincipled, self-seeking man could find to such an enterprise, no common ingenuity can discover.

I affirm next, that the sublimity of the character claimed by Christ forbids us to trace it to imposture. That a selfish, designing, depraved mind could have formed the idea and purpose of a work unparalleled in beneficence, in vastness,

and in moral grandeur, would certainly be a strange departure from the laws of the human mind. I add, that if an impostor could have lighted on the conception of so sublime and wonderful a work as that claimed by Jesus, he could not — I say, he *could* not — have thrown into his personation of it the air of truth and reality. The part would have been too high for him. He would have overacted it or fallen short of it perpetually. His true character would have rebelled against his assumed one. We should have seen something strained, forced, artificial, awkward, showing that he was not in his true sphere. To act up to a character so singular and grand, and one for which no precedent could be found, seems to me utterly impossible for a man who had not the true spirit of it, or who was only wearing it as a mask.

Now, how stands the case with Jesus? Bred a Jewish peasant or carpenter, he issues from obscurity and claims for himself a divine office, a superhuman dignity, such as had not been imagined; and in no instance does he fall below the character. The peasant, and still more the Jew, wholly disappears. We feel that a new being, of a new order of mind, is taking a part in human affairs. There is a native tone of grandeur and authority in his teaching. He speaks as a being related to the whole human race. His mind never shrinks within the ordinary limits of human agency. A narrower sphere than the world never enters his thoughts. He speaks in a natural, spontaneous style of accomplishing the most arduous and important change in human affairs. This unlabored manner of expressing great thoughts is particularly worthy of attention. You never hear from Jesus that swelling, pompous, ostentatious language which almost necessarily springs from an attempt to sustain a character above our powers. He talks of his glories as one to whom they were familiar, and of his intimacy and oneness with God, as simply as a child speaks of his connection with his parents. He speaks of saving and judging the world, of drawing all men to himself, and of giving everlasting life, as we speak of the ordinary powers which we exert. He makes no set harangues about the grandeur of his office and character. His consciousness of it gives a hue to his whole language, breaks out in indirect, undesigned expressions, showing that it was the deepest and most familiar of his convictions. This argument is only to be understood by reading the Gospels with a wakeful mind and heart. It does not lie on their surface, and it is the stronger for lying beneath it. When I read these books with care, when I trace the unaffected majesty which runs through the life of Jesus, and see him never falling below his sublime claims amidst poverty and scorn, and in his last agony, I have a feeling of the reality of his character which I cannot express. I feel that the Jewish carpenter could no more have conceived and sustained this character under motives of imposture than an infant's arm could repeat the deeds of Hercules, or his unawakened intellect comprehend and rival the matchless works of genius.

Am I told that the claims of Jesus had their origin not in imposture but in enthusiasm; that the imagination, kindled by strong feeling, overpowered the judgment so far as to give him the notion of being destined to some strange and unparalleled work? I know that enthusiasm, or a kindled imagination, has great power; and we are never to lose sight of it, in judging of the claims of religious teachers. But I say first, that, except in cases where it amounts to insanity, enthusiasm works, in a greater or less degree, according to a man's previous conceptions and modes of thought. In Judea, where the minds of men were burning with feverish expectation of a Messiah, I can easily conceive of a Jew imagining that in himself this ardent conception, this ideal of glory, was to be realized. I can conceive of his seating himself in fancy on the throne of David, and secretly pondering the means of his appointed triumphs. But that a Jew should fancy himself the Messiah, and at the same time should strip that character of all the attributes which had fired his youthful imagination and heart, — that he should start aside from all the feelings and hopes of his age, and should acquire a consciousness of being destined to a wholly new career, and one as unbounded as it was new, — this is exceedingly improbable; and one thing is certain, that an imagination so erratic, so ungoverned, and able to

generate the conviction of being destined to a work so immeasurably disproportioned to the power of the individual, must have partaken of insanity. Now, is it conceivable that an individual, mastered by so wild and fervid an imagination, should have sustained the dignity claimed by Christ, should have acted worthily the highest part ever assumed on earth? Would not his enthusiasm have broken out amidst the peculiar excitements of the life of Jesus, and have left a touch of madness on his teaching and conduct? Is it to such a man that we should look for the inculcation of a new and perfect form of virtue, and for the exemplification of humanity in its fairest form?

The charge of an extravagant, self-deluding enthusiasm is the last to be fastened on Jesus. Where can we find the traces of it in his history? Do we detect them in the calm authority of his precepts; in the mild, practical, and beneficent spirit of his religion; in the unlabored simplicity of the language with which he unfolds his high powers, and the sublime truths of religion; or in the good sense, the knowledge of human nature, which he always discovers in his estimate and treatment of the different classes of men with whom he acted? Do we discover this enthusiasm in the singular fact that, whilst he claimed power in the future world, and always turned men's minds to heaven, he never indulged his own imagination, or stimulated that of his disciples, by giving vivid pictures or any minute description of that unseen state? The truth is that, remarkable as was the character of Jesus, it was distinguished by nothing more than by calmness and self-possession. This trait pervades his other excellencies. How calm was his piety! Point me, if you can, to one vehement, passionate expression of his religious feelings. Does the Lord's Prayer breathe a feverish enthusiasm? The habitual style of Jesus on the subject of religion, if introduced into many churches of his followers at the present day, would be charged with coldness. The calm and the rational character of his piety is particularly seen in the doctrine which he so earnestly inculcates, that disinterested love and self-denying service to our fellow-creatures are the most acceptable worship we can offer to our Creator. His benevolence, too, though singularly earnest and deep, was composed and serene. He never lost the possession of himself in his sympathy with others: was never hurried into the impatient and rash enterprises of an enthusiastic philanthropy; but did good with the tranquillity and constancy which mark the providence of God. The depth of his calmness may best be understood by considering the opposition made to his claims. His labors were everywhere insidiously watched and industriously thwarted by vindictive foes, who had even conspired to compass through his death the ruin of his cause. Now, a feverish enthusiasm, which fancies itself to be intrusted with a great work of God, is singularly liable to impatient indignation under furious and malignant opposition. Obstacles increase its vehemence; it becomes more eager and hurried in the accomplishment of its purposes in proportion as they are withstood. Be it therefore remembered that the malignity of Christ's foes, though never surpassed, and for the time triumphant, never robbed him of self-possession, roused no passion, and threw no vehemence or precipitation into his exertions. He did not disguise from himself or his followers the impression made on the multitude by his adversaries. He distinctly foresaw the violent death towards which he was fast approaching. Yet, confiding in God, and in the silent progress of his truth, he possessed his soul in peace. Not only was he calm, but his calmness rises into sublimity when we consider the storms which raged around him, and the vastness of the prospects in which his spirit found repose. I say, then, that serenity and self-possession were peculiarly the attributes of Jesus. I affirm that the singular and sublime character claimed by Jesus can be traced neither to imposture nor to an ungoverned, insane imagination. It can only be accounted for by its truth, its reality.

I began with observing how our long familiarity with Jesus blunts our minds to his singular excellence. We probably have often read of the character which he claimed, without a thought of its extraordinary nature. But I know nothing so sublime. The plans and labors of statesmen sink into the sports of children when compared with the work which Jesus announced, and to which he de-

voted himself in life and death, with a thorough consciousness of its reality. The idea of changing the moral aspect of the whole earth, of recovering all nations to the pure and inward worship of one God, and to a spirit of divine and fraternal love, was one of which we meet not a trace in philosopher or legislator before him. The human mind had given no promise of this extent of view. The conception of this enterprise, and the calm, unshaken expectation of success, in one who had no station and no wealth, who cast from him the sword with abhorrence, and who forbade his disciples to use any weapons but those of love, discover a wonderful trust in the power of God and the power of love; and when to this we add that Jesus looked not only to the triumph of his pure faith in the present world, but to a mighty and beneficent power in heaven, we witness a vastness of purpose, a grandeur of thought and feeling, so original, so superior to the workings of all other minds, that nothing but our familiarity can prevent our contemplation of it with wonder and profound awe. I confess, when I can escape the deadening power of habit, and can receive the full import of such passages as the following, — "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest," — "I am come to seek and to save that which was lost," — "He that confesseth me before men, him will I confess before my Father in heaven," — "Whosoever shall be ashamed of me before men, of him shall the Son of Man be ashamed when he cometh in the glory of the Father with the holy angels," — "In my Father's house are many mansions; I go to prepare a place for you;" — I say, when I can succeed in realizing the import of such passages, I feel myself listening to a being such as never before and never since spoke in human language. I am awed by the consciousness of greatness which these simple words express; and when I connect this greatness with the proofs of Christ's miracles which I gave you in a former discourse, I am compelled to exclaim with the centurion, "Truly, this was the Son of God."

I have thus, my friends, set before you one view of Jesus Christ which shows him to have been the most extraordinary being who ever lived. I invite your attention to another; and I am not sure but that it is still more striking. You have seen the consciousness of greatness that Jesus possessed; I now ask you to consider how, with this consciousness, he lived among men. To convey my meaning more distinctly, let me avail myself of an imaginary case. Suppose you had never heard the particulars of Christ's history, but were told in general that, ages ago, an extraordinary man appeared in the world, whose mind was wholly possessed with the idea of having come from God, who regarded himself as clothed with divine power and charged with the sublimest work in the universe, who had the consciousness of sustaining a relation of unexampled authority and beneficence, not to one nation or age but to all nations and all times, — and who anticipated a spiritual kingdom and everlasting power beyond the grave. Suppose you should be told that, on entering the world, he found not one mind able to comprehend his views, and felt himself immeasurably exalted in thought and purpose above all around him; and suppose you should then be asked what appearance, what mode of life, what tone, what air, what deportment, what intercourse with the multitude seemed to you to suit such a character, and were probably adopted by him; how would you represent him to your minds? Would you not suppose that, with this peculiar character, he adopted some peculiar mode of life, expressive of his superiority to and separation from all other men? Would you not expect something distinctive in his appearance? Would you not expect him to assume some badge, and to exact some homage? Would you not expect that, with a mind revolving such vast thoughts, and raised above the earth, he would look coldly on the ordinary gratifications of men? that, with a mind spreading itself over the world, and meditating its subjection to his truth, he would take little interest in ordinary individuals? and that possessing, in his own doctrine and character, a standard of sublime virtue, he would attach little importance to the low attainments of the ignorant and superstitious around him? Would you not make him a public character, and expect to see him laboring to establish his ascendancy among public men? Would you not

expect to see his natural affections absorbed in his universal philanthropy; and would not private attachments seem to you quite inconsistent with his vast superiority, and the immensity of his purposes? Would you not expect him to avail himself of the best accommodations the world could afford? Would you not expect the great Teacher to select the most sacred spots for his teaching, and the Lord of all to erect some conspicuous seat from which should go forth the laws which were to reach the ends of the earth? Would you not, in a word, expect this extraordinary personage to surround himself with extraordinary circumstances, and to maintain a separation from the degraded multitude around him?

Such, I believe, would be the expectation of us all; and what was the case with Jesus? Read his history. He comes with the consciousness of more than human greatness to accomplish an infinite work; and where do you find him? What is his look? what his manner? How does he converse, how live with men? His appearance, mode of life, and intercourse are directly the reverse of what we should have supposed. He comes in the ordinary dress of the class of society in which he had grown up. He retreats to no solitude, like John, to strike awe, nor seeks any spot which had been consecrated in Jewish history. Would you find him? Go to the house of Peter, the fisherman. Go to the well of Samaria, where he rests after the fatigues of his journey. Would you hear him teach? You may find him, indeed, sometimes in the temple, for that was a place of general resort; but commonly you may find him instructing in the open air, now from a boat on the Galilean lake, now on a mount, and now in the streets of the crowded city. He has no place wherein to lay his head, nor will he have one. A rich ruler comes and falls at his feet. He says, "Go, sell what thou hast, and give to the poor, and then come and follow me." Nor was this all. Something more striking remains to be told. He did not merely live in the streets, and in the houses of fishermen. In these places, had he pleased, he might have cleared a space around him, and raised a barrier between himself and others. But in these places, and everywhere, he lived with men as a man, a brother, a friend, sometimes a servant; and entered, with a deep, unexampled sympathy, into the feelings, interests, wants, sorrows of individuals, of ordinary men, and even of the most depressed, despised, and forsaken of the race. Here is the most striking view of Jesus. This combination of the spirit of humanity in its lowliest, tenderest form, with the consciousness of unrivalled and divine glories, is the most wonderful distinction of this wonderful character. Here we learn the chief reason why he chose poverty, and refused every peculiarity of manner and appearance. He did this because he desired to come near to the multitude of men, to make himself accessible to all, to pour out the fulness of his sympathy upon all, to know and weep over their sorrows and sins, and to manifest his interest in their affections and joys.

I can offer but a few instances of this sympathy of Christ with human nature in all its varieties of character and condition. But how beautiful are they! At the very opening of his ministry we find him present at a marriage to which he and his disciples had been called. Among the Jews this was an occasion of peculiar exhilaration and festivity; but Jesus did not therefore decline it. He knew what affections, joys, sorrows, and moral influences are bound up in this institution, and he went to the celebration, not as an ascetic, to frown on its bright hopes and warm congratulations, but to sanction it by his presence and to heighten its enjoyments. How little does this comport with the solitary dignity which we should have pronounced most accordant with his character, and what a spirit of humanity does it breathe! But this event stands almost alone in his history. His chief sympathy was not with them that rejoice, but with the ignorant, sinful, sorrowful; and with these we find him cultivating an habitual intimacy. Though so exalted in thought and purpose, he chose uneducated men to be his chief disciples; and he lived with them, not as a superior giving occasional and formal instruction, but became their companion, travelled with them on foot, slept in their dwellings, sat at their tables, partook their plain fare, communicated to them his truth in the simplest form; and though

they constantly misunderstood him, and never received his full meaning, he was never wearied with teaching them. So familiar was his intercourse, that we find Peter reproving him with an affectionate zeal for announcing his approaching death, and we find John leaning on his bosom. Of his last discourse to these disciples I need not speak. It stands alone among all writings for the union of tenderness and majesty. His own sorrows are forgotten in his solicitude to speak peace and comfort to his humble followers.

The depth of his human sympathies was beautifully manifested when children were brought to him. His disciples, judging as all men would judge, thought that he who was sent to wear the crown of universal empire had too great a work before him to give his time and attention to children, and reproved the parents who brought them; but Jesus, rebuking his disciples, called to him the children. Never, I believe, did childhood awaken such deep love as at that moment. He took them in his arms and blessed them, and not only said that "of such was the kingdom of heaven," but added, "He that receiveth a little child in my name receiveth me;" so entirely did he identify himself with this primitive, innocent, beautiful form of human nature.

There was no class of human beings so low as to be beneath his sympathy. He not merely taught the publican and sinner, but, with all his consciousness of purity, sat down and dined with them, and, when reproved by the malignant Pharisee for such companionship, answered by the touching parables of the Lost Sheep and the Prodigal Son, and said, "I am come to seek and to save that which was lost."

No personal suffering dried up this fountain of love in his breast. On his way to the cross he heard some women of Jerusalem bewailing him, and at the sound, forgetting his own grief, he turned to them and said, "Women of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves and your children." On the cross, whilst his mind was divided between intense suffering and the contemplation of the infinite blessings in which his sufferings were to issue, his eye lighted on his mother and John, and the sensibilities of a son and a friend mingled with the sublime consciousness of the universal Lord and Saviour. Never before did natural affection find so tender and beautiful an utterance. To his mother he said, directing her to John, "*Behold thy son;* I leave my beloved disciple to take my place, to perform my filial offices, and to enjoy a share of that affection with which you have followed me through life;" and to John he said, "*Behold thy mother;* I bequeath to you the happiness of ministering to my dearest earthly friend." Nor is this all. The spirit of humanity had one higher triumph. Whilst his enemies surrounded him with a malignity unsoftened by his last agonies, and, to give the keenest edge to insult, reminded him scoffingly of the high character and office which he had claimed, his only notice of them was the prayer, "Father, forgive them, they know not what they do."

Thus Jesus lived with men; with the consciousness of unutterable majesty he joined a lowliness, gentleness, humanity, and sympathy, which have no example in human history. I ask you to contemplate this wonderful union. In proportion to the superiority of Jesus to all around him was the intimacy, the brotherly love, with which he bound himself to them. I maintain that this is a character wholly remote from human conception. To imagine it to be the production of imposture or enthusiasm shows a strange unsoundness of mind. I contemplate it with a veneration second only to the profound awe with which I look up to God. It bears no mark of human invention. It was real. It belonged to and it manifested the beloved Son of God.

But I have not done. May I ask your attention a few moments more? We have not yet reached the depth of Christ's character. We have not touched the great principle on which his wonderful sympathy was founded, and which endeared to him his office of universal Saviour. Do you ask what this deep principle was? I answer, it was his conviction of the greatness of the human soul. He saw in man the impress and image of the Divinity, and therefore thirsted for his redemption, and took the tenderest interest in him, whatever might be the rank, character, or condition in which he was found. This spiritual view

of man pervades and distinguishes the teaching of Christ. Jesus looked on men with an eye which pierced beneath the material frame. The body vanished before him. The trappings of the rich, the rags of the poor, were nothing to him. He looked through them, as though they did not exist, to the soul; and there, amidst clouds of ignorance and plague-spots of sin, he recognized a spiritual and immortal nature, and the germs of power and perfection which might be unfolded for ever. In the most fallen and depraved man he saw a being who might become an angel of light. Still more, he felt that there was nothing in himself to which men might not ascend. His own lofty consciousness did not sever him from the multitude; for he saw in his own greatness the model of what men might become. So deeply was he thus impressed, that again and again, in speaking of his future glories, he announced that in these his true followers were to share. They were to sit on his throne and partake of his beneficent power.

Here I pause, and indeed I know not what can be added to heighten the wonder, reverence, and love, which are due to Jesus. When I consider him, not only as possessed with the consciousness of an unexampled and unbounded majesty, but as recognizing a kindred nature in human beings, and living and dying to raise them to a participation of his divine glories; and when I see him under these views allying himself to men by the tenderest ties, embracing them with a spirit of humanity which no insult, injury, or pain could for a moment repel or overpower, I am filled with wonder as well as reverence and love. I feel that this character is not of human invention, that it was not assumed through fraud or struck out by enthusiasm; for it is infinitely above their reach. When I add this character of Jesus to the other evidences of his religion, it gives to what before seemed so strong a new and a vast accession of strength; I feel as if I could not be deceived. The Gospels must be true; they were drawn from a living original; they were founded on reality. The character of Jesus is not a fiction; he was what he claimed to be, and what his followers attested. Nor is this all. Jesus not only *was*, he is still the Son of God, the Saviour of the world. He exists now; he has entered that heaven to which he always looked forward on earth. There he lives and reigns. With a clear, calm faith, I see him in that state of glory; and I confidently expect, at no distant period, to see him face to face. We have indeed no absent friend whom we shall so surely meet. Let us then, my hearers, by imitation of his virtues and obedience to his word, prepare ourselves to join him in those pure mansions where he is surrounding himself with the good and pure of our race, and will communicate to them for ever his own spirit, power, and joy.

THE IMITABLENESS OF CHRIST'S CHARACTER.

1 Peter ii. 21: "Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that ye should follow his steps."

The example of Jesus is our topic. To incite you to follow it is the aim of this discourse. Christ came to give us a religion, — but this is not all. By a wise and beautiful ordination of Providence he was sent to show forth his religion in himself. He did not come to sit in a hall of legislation, and from some commanding eminence to pronounce laws and promises. He is not a mere channel through which certain communications are made from God; not a mere messenger appointed to utter the words which he had heard, and then to disappear, and to sustain no further connection with his message. He came not only to teach with his lips but to be a living manifestation of his religion, — to

be, in an important sense, the religion itself.

This is a peculiarity worthy of attention. Christianity is not a mere code of laws, not an abstract system such as theologians frame. It is a living, embodied religion. It comes to us in a human form; it offers itself to our eyes as well as ears; it breathes, it moves in our sight. It is more than precept; it is example and action.

The importance of example, who does not understand? How much do most of us suffer from the presence, conversation, spirit of men of low minds by whom we are surrounded! The temptation is strong to take as our standard the average character of the society in which we live, and to satisfy ourselves with decencies and attainments which secure to us among the multitude the name of respectable men. On the other hand, there is a power (have you not felt it?) in the presence, conversation, and example of a man of strong principle and magnanimity, to lift us, at least for the moment, from our vulgar and tame habits of thought, and to kindle some generous aspirations after the excellence which we were made to attain. I hardly need say to you that it is impossible to place ourselves under any influence of this nature so quickening as the example of Jesus. This introduces us to the highest order of virtues. This is fitted to awaken the whole mind. Nothing has equal power to neutralize the coarse, selfish, and sensual influences amidst which we are plunged, to refine our conception of duty, and to reveal to us the perfection on which our hopes and most strenuous desires should habitually fasten.

There is one cause which has done much to defeat this good influence of Christ's character and example, and which ought to be exposed. It is this. Multitudes — I am afraid great multitudes — think of Jesus as a being to be admired rather than approached. They have some vague conceptions of a glory in his nature and character which makes it presumption to think of proposing him as their standard. He is thrown so far from them that he does them little good. Many feel that a close resemblance of Jesus Christ is not to be expected; that this, like many other topics, may serve for declamation in the pulpit, but is utterly incapable of being reduced to practice. I think I am touching here an error which exerts a blighting influence on not a few minds. Until men think of the religion and character of Christ as truly applicable to them, as intended to be brought into continual operation, as what they must incorporate with their whole spiritual nature, they will derive little good from Christ. Men think, indeed, to honor Jesus when they place him so high as to discourage all effort to approach him. They really degrade him. They do not understand his character; they throw a glare over it which hides its true features. This vague admiration is the poorest tribute which they can pay him.

The manner in which Jesus Christ is conceived and spoken of by many reminds me of what is often seen in Catholic countries, where a superstitious priesthood and people imagine that they honor the Virgin Mary by loading her image with sparkling jewels and the gaudiest attire. A Protestant of an uncorrupted taste is at first shocked, as if there was something like profanation in thus decking out, as for a theatre, the meek, modest, gentle, pure, and tender mother of Jesus. It seems to me that something of the same superstition is seen in the indefinite epithets of admiration heaped upon Jesus; and the effect is that the mild and simple beauty of his character is not seen. Its sublimity, which had nothing gaudy or dazzling, which was plain and unaffected, is not felt; and its suitableness as an example to mankind is discredited or denied.

I wish, in this discourse, to prevent the discouraging influence of the greatness of Jesus Christ; to show that, however exalted, he is not placed beyond the reach of our sympathy and imitation.

I begin with the general observation that real greatness of character, greatness of the highest order, far from being repulsive and discouraging, is singularly accessible and imitable, and, instead of severing a being from others, fits him to be their friend and model. A man who stands apart from his race, who has few points of contact with other men, who has a style and manner

which strike awe and keep others far from him, whatever rank he may hold in his own and others' eyes, wants, after all, true grandeur of mind; and the spirit of this remark I think may be extended beyond men to higher orders of beings, to angels and to Jesus Christ. A great soul is known by its enlarged, strong, and tender sympathies. True elevation of mind does not take a being out of the circle of those who are below him, but binds him faster to them, and gives them advantages for a closer attachment and conformity to him.

Greatness of character is a communicable attribute, — I should say, singularly communicable. It has nothing exclusive in its nature. It cannot be the monopoly of an individual, for it is the enlarged and generous action of faculties and affections which enter into and constitute all minds, — I mean reason, conscience, and love, — so that its elements exist in all. It is not a peculiar or exclusive knowledge, which can be shut up in one or a few understandings, but the comprehension of great and universal truths, which are the proper objects of every rational being. It is not a devotion to peculiar exclusive objects, but the adoption of public interests, the consecration of the mind to the cause of virtue and happiness in the creation, that is, to the very cause which all intelligent beings are bound to espouse. Greatness is not a secret, solitary principle, working by itself and refusing participation, but frank and open-hearted, — so large in its views, so liberal in its feelings, so expansive in its purposes, so beneficent in its labors, as naturally and necessarily to attract sympathy and co-operation. It is selfishness that repels men; and true greatness has not a stronger characteristic than its freedom from every selfish taint. So far from being imprisoned in private interests, it covets nothing which it may not impart. So far from being absorbed in its own distinctions, it discerns nothing so quickly and joyfully as the capacities and pledges of greatness in others, and counts no labor so noble as to call forth noble sentiments, and the consciousness of a divine power, in less improved minds.

I know that those who call themselves great on earth are apt to estrange themselves from their inferiors; and the multitude, cast down by their high bearing, never think of proposing them as examples. But this springs wholly from the low conceptions of those whom we call the great, and shows a mixture of vulgarity of mind with their superior endowments. Genuine greatness is marked by simplicity, unostentatiousness, self-forgetfulness, a hearty interest in others, a feeling of brotherhood with the human family, and a respect for every intellectual and immortal being as capable of progress towards its own elevation. A superior mind, enlightened and kindled by just views of God and of the creation, regards its gifts and powers as so many bonds of union with other beings, as given it not to nourish self-elation, but to be employed for others, and still more to be communicated to others. Such greatness has no reserve, and especially no affected dignity of deportment. It is too conscious of its own power to need, and too benevolent to desire, to entrench itself behind forms and ceremonies; and when circumstances permit such a character to manifest itself to inferior beings, it is beyond all others the most winning, and most fitted to impart itself, or to call forth a kindred elevation of feeling. I know not in history an individual so easily comprehended as Jesus Christ, for nothing is so intelligible as sincere, disinterested love. I know not any being who is so fitted to take hold on all orders of minds; and accordingly he drew after him the unenlightened, the publican, and the sinner. It is a sad mistake, then, that Jesus Christ is too great to allow us to think of intimacy with him, and to think of making him our standard.

Let me confirm this truth by another order of reflections. You tell me, my hearers, that Jesus Christ is so high that he cannot be your model; I grant the exaltation of his character. I believe him to be a more than human being. In truth, all Christians so believe him. Those who suppose him not to have existed before his birth do not regard him as a mere man, though so reproached. They always separate him by broad distinctions from other men. They consider him as enjoying a communion with God, and as having received gifts, endowments, aid, lights from him, granted to no other, and as having exhibited a

spotless purity, which is the highest distinction of heaven. All admit, and joyfully admit, that Jesus Christ, by his greatness and goodness, throws all other human attainments into obscurity. But on this account he is not less a standard, nor is he to discourage us, but, on the contrary, to breathe into us a more exhilarating hope; for though so far above us he is still one of us, and is only an illustration of the capacities which we all possess. This is a great truth. Let me strive to unfold it. Perhaps I cannot better express my views than by saying that I regard all minds as of one family. When we speak of higher orders of beings, of angels and archangels, we are apt to conceive of distinct kinds or races of beings, separated from us and from each other by impassable barriers. But it is not so. All minds are of one family. There is no such partition in the spiritual world as you see in the material. In material nature you see wholly distinct classes of beings. A mineral is not a vegetable, and makes no approach to it; these two great kingdoms of nature are divided by immeasurable spaces. So, when we look at different races of animals, though all partake of that mysterious property, life, yet what an immense and impassable distance is there between the insect and the lion. They have no bond of union, no possibility of communication. During the lapse of ages, the animalcules which sport in the sunbeams a summer's day and then perish have made no approximation to the king of the forests. But in the intellectual world there are no such barriers. All minds are essentially of one origin, one nature, kindled from one divine flame, and are all tending to one centre, one happiness. This great truth, to us the greatest of truths, which lies at the foundation of all religion and all hope, seems to me not only sustained by proofs which satisfy the reason, but to be one of the deep instincts of our nature. It mingles, unperceived, with all our worship of God, which uniformly takes for granted that He is a Mind having thought, affection, and volition like ourselves. It runs through false religions; and whilst, by its perversion, it has made them false, it has also given to them whatever purifying power they possess. But passing over this instinct, which is felt more and more to be unerring as the intellect is improved, this great truth of the unity or likeness of all minds seems to me demonstrable from this consideration, that truth, the object and nutriment of mind, is one and immutable, so that the whole family of intelligent beings must have the same views, the same motives, and the same general ends. For example, a truth of mathematics is not a truth only in this world, a truth to our minds, but a truth everywhere, — a truth in heaven, a truth to God, who has indeed framed his creation according to the laws of this universal science. So, happiness and misery, which lie at the foundation of morals, must be to all intelligent beings what they are to us, the objects, one of desire and hope and the other of aversion; and who can doubt that virtue and vice are the same everywhere as on earth, that in every community of beings the mind which devotes itself to the general weal must be more reverenced than a mind which would subordinate the general interest to its own? Thus all souls are one in nature, approach one another, and have grounds and bonds of communion with one another. I am not only one of the human race; I am one of the great intellectual family of God. There is no spirit so exalted with which I have not common thoughts and feelings. That conception which I have gained of One Universal Father, whose love is the fountain and centre of all things, is the dawn of the highest and most magnificent views in the universe; and if I look up to this Being with filial love, I have the spring and beginning of the noblest sentiments and joys which are known in the universe. No greatness, therefore, of a being separates me from him or makes him unapproachable by me. The mind of Jesus Christ, my hearer, and your mind are of one family; nor was there any thing in his of which you have not the principle, the capacity, the promise in yourself. This is the very impression which he intends to give. He never held himself up as an inimitable and unapproachable being; but directly the reverse. He always spoke of himself as having come to communicate himself to others. He always invited men to believe on and adhere to him, that they might receive that very spirit, that pure, celestial spirit,

by which he was himself actuated. "Follow me," is his lesson. The relation which he came to establish between himself and mankind was not that of master and slave, but that of friends. He compares himself, in a spirit of divine benevolence, to a vine, which, you know, sends its own sap, that by which it is itself nourished, into all its branches. We read, too, these remarkable words in his prayer for his disciples, "I have given to them the glory thou gavest me;" and I am persuaded that there is not a glory, a virtue, a power, a joy, possessed by Jesus Christ, to which his disciples will not successively rise. In the spirit of these remarks, the Apostles say, "Let the same mind be in you which was also in Christ."

I have said that all minds being of one family, the greatness of the mind of Christ is no discouragement to our adoption of him as our model. I now observe that there is one attribute of mind to which I have alluded, that should particularly animate us to propose to ourselves a sublime standard, as sublime as Jesus Christ. I refer to the principle of growth in human nature. We were made to grow. Our faculties are germs, and given for an expansion to which nothing authorizes us to set bounds. The soul bears the impress of illimitableness in the thirst, the unquenchable thirst, which it brings with it into being, for a power, knowledge, happiness, which it never gains, and which always carry it forward into futurity. The body soon reaches its limit. But intellect, affection, moral energy, in proportion to their growth, tend to further enlargement, and every acquisition is an impulse to something higher. When I consider this principle or capacity of the human soul, I cannot restrain the hope which it awakens. The partition-walls which imagination has reared between men and higher orders of beings vanish. I no longer see aught to prevent our becoming whatever was good and great in Jesus on earth. In truth, I feel my utter inability to conceive what a mind is to attain which is to advance for ever. Add but that element, eternity, to man's progress, and the results of his existence surpass not only human but angelic thought. Give me this, and the future glory of the human mind becomes to me as incomprehensible as God himself. To encourage these thoughts and hopes, our Creator has set before us delightful exemplifications, even now, of this principle of growth both in outward nature and in the human mind. We meet them in nature. Suppose you were to carry a man, wholly unacquainted with vegetation, to the most majestic tree in our forests, and, whilst he was admiring its extent and proportions, suppose you should take from the earth at its root a little downy substance, which a breath might blow away, and say to him, That tree was once such a seed as this; it was wrapped up here; it once lived only within these delicate fibres, this narrow compass. With what incredulous wonder would he regard you! And if by an effort of imagination somewhat oriental, we should suppose this little seed to be suddenly endued with thought, and to be told that it was one day to become this mighty tree, and to cast out branches which would spread an equal shade, and wave with equal grace, and withstand the winter winds; with what amazement may we suppose it to anticipate its future lot! Such growth we witness in nature. A nobler hope we Christians are to cherish; and still more striking examples of the growth of mind are set before us in human history. We wonder, indeed, when we are told that one day we shall be as the angels of God. I apprehend that as great a wonder has been realized already on the earth. I apprehend that the distance between the mind of Newton and of a Hottentot may have been as great as between Newton and an angel. There is another view still more striking. This Newton, who lifted his calm, sublime eye to the heavens, and read among the planets and the stars the great law of the material universe, was, forty or fifty years before, an infant, without one clear perception, and unable to distinguish his nurse's arm from the pillow on which he slept. Howard, too, who, under the strength of an all-sacrificing benevolence, explored the depths of human suffering, was, forty or fifty years before, an infant wholly absorbed in himself, grasping at all he saw, and almost breaking his little heart with fits of passion when the idlest toy was withheld. Has not man already traversed as wide a space as separates him from angels? And why must he stop? There is no extravagance in the boldest antici-

pation. We may truly become one with Christ, a partaker of that celestial mind. He is truly our brother, one of our family. Let us make him our constant model.

I know not that the doctrine now laid down is liable but to one abuse. It may unduly excite susceptible minds, and impel to a vehemence of hope and exertion unfavorable in the end to the very progress which is proposed. To such I would say, Hasten to conform yourselves to Christ, but hasten according to the laws of your nature. As the body cannot, by the concentration of its whole strength into one bound, scale the height of a mountain, neither can the mind free every obstacle and achieve perfection by an agony of the will. Great effort is indeed necessary; but such as can be sustained, such as fits us for greater, such as will accumulate, not exhaust, our spiritual force. The soul may be overstrained as truly as the body, and it often is so in seasons of extraordinary religious excitement; and the consequence is an injury to the constitution of the intellect and the heart which a life may not be able to repair. I rest the hopes for human nature which I have now expressed on its principle of growth; and growth, as you well know, is a gradual process, not a convulsive start, accomplishing the work of years in a moment. All great attainments are gradual. As easily might a science be mastered by one struggle of thought as sin be conquered by a spasm of remorse. Continuous, patient effort, guided by wise deliberation, is the true means of spiritual progress. In religion, as in common life, mere force of vehemence will prove a fallacious substitute for the sobriety of wisdom.

The doctrine which I have chiefly labored to maintain in this discourse, that minds are all of one family, are all brethren, and may be more and more nearly united to God, seems to me to have been felt peculiarly by Jesus Christ; and if I were to point out the distinction of his greatness, I should say it lay in this. He felt his superiority, but he never felt as if it separated him from mankind. He did not come among us as some great men would visit a colliery, or any other resort of the ignorant and corrupt, with an air of greatness, feeling himself above us, and giving benefits as if it were an infinite condescension. He came and mingled with us as a friend and a brother. He saw in every human being a mind which might wear his own brightest glory. He was severe only towards one class of men, and they were those who looked down on the multitude with contempt. Jesus respected human nature; he felt it to be his own. This was the greatness of Jesus Christ. He felt, as no other felt, a union of mind with the human race, felt that all had a spark of that same intellectual and immortal flame which dwelt in himself.

I insist on this view of his character, not only to encourage us to aspire after a likeness to Jesus; I consider it as peculiarly fitted to call forth love towards him. If I regard Jesus as an august stranger, belonging to an entirely different class of existence from myself, having no common thoughts or feelings with me, and looking down upon me with only such a sympathy as I have with an inferior animal, I should regard him with a vague awe; but the immeasurable space between us would place him beyond friendship and affection. But when I feel that all minds form one family, that I have the same nature with Jesus, and that he came to communicate to me, by his teaching, example, and intercession, his own mind, to bring me into communion with what was sublimest, purest, happiest in himself, then I can love him as I love no other being, excepting only him who is the Father alike of Christ and of the Christian. With these views, I feel that, though ascended to heaven, he is not gone beyond the reach of our hearts; that he has now the same interest in mankind as when he entered their dwellings, sat at their tables, washed their feet; and that there is no being so approachable, none with whom such unreserved intercourse is to be enjoyed in the future world.

Believing, as I do, that I have now used no inflated language, but have spoken the words of truth and soberness, I exhort you with calmness, but earnestness, to choose and adopt Jesus Christ as your example with the whole energy of your wills. I exhort you to resolve on following him, not, as perhaps you have done, with a faint and yielding purpose, but with the full con-

viction that your whole happiness is concentrated in the force and constancy of your adherence to this celestial guide. My friends, there is no other happiness. Let not the false views of Christianity which prevail in the world seduce you into the belief that Christ can bless you in any other way than by assimilating you to his own virtue, than by breathing into you his own mind. Do not imagine that any faith or love towards Jesus can avail you but that which quickens you to conform yourselves to his spotless purity and unconquerable rectitude. Settle it as an immovable truth, that neither in this world nor in the next can you be happy but in proportion to the sanctity and elevation of your characters. Let no man imagine that through the patronage or protection of Jesus Christ, or any other being, he can find peace or any sincere good but in the growth of an enlightened, firm, disinterested, holy mind. Expect no good from Jesus any farther than you clothe yourselves with excellence. He can impart to you nothing so precious as himself, as his own mind; and believe me, my hearers, this mind may dwell in you. His sublimest virtues may be yours. Admit, welcome this great truth. Look up to the illustrious Son of God with the conviction that you may become one with him in thought, in feeling, in power, in holiness. His character will become a blessing just as far as it shall awaken in you this consciousness, this hope. The most lamentable scepticism on earth, and incomparably the most common, is a scepticism as to the greatness, powers, and high destinies of human nature. In this greatness I desire to cherish an unwavering faith. Tell me not of the universal corruption of the race. Humanity has already, in not a few instances, borne conspicuously the likeness of Christ and God. The sun grows dim, the grandeur of outward nature shrinks, when compared with the spiritual energy of men who, in the cause of truth, of God, of charity, have spurned all bribes of ease, pleasure, renown, and have withstood shame, want, persecution, torture, and the most dreaded forms of death. In such men I learn that the soul was made in God's image, and made to conform itself to the loveliness and greatness of his Son.

My friends, we may all approach Jesus Christ. For all of us he died, to leave us an example that we should follow his steps. By earnest purpose, by self-conflict, by watching and prayer, by faith in the Christian promises, by those heavenly aids and illuminations which he that seeketh shall find, we may all unite ourselves in living bonds to Christ, — may love as he loved, may act from his principles, may suffer with his constancy, may enter into his purposes, may sympathize with his self-devotion to the cause of God and mankind, and, by likeness of spirit, may prepare ourselves to meet him as our everlasting friend.

LOVE TO CHRIST.

FIRST DISCOURSE.

EPHESIANS vi. 24: "Grace be with all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity."

I PROPOSE in this discourse to speak of Love to Christ, and especially of the foundations on which it rests. I will not detain you by remarks on the importance of the subject. I trust that you feel it, and that no urgency is needed to secure your serious attention.

Love to Christ is said, and said with propriety, to be a duty, not of natural, but of revealed religion. Other precepts of Christianity are dictates of nature as well as of revelation. They result from the original and permanent relations which we bear to our Creator and our fellow-creatures; and are written by God on the mind as well as in the Bible. For example, gratitude towards the Author of our being, and justice and benevolence towards men, are inculcated with more or less distinctness by our

moral faculties; they are parts of the inward law which belongs to a rational mind; and accordingly, wherever men are found, you find some conviction of these duties, some sense of their obligation to a higher power and to one another. But the same is not true of the duty of love to Jesus Christ; for as the knowledge of him is not communicated by nature, — as his name is not written, like that of God, on the heavens and earth, but is confined to countries where his gospel is preached, — it is plain that no sense of obligation to him can be felt beyond these bounds. No regard is due or can be paid to him beyond these. It is commonly said, therefore, that love to Christ is a duty of revealed, not natural religion, and this language is correct; but let it not mislead us. Let us not imagine that attachment to Jesus is an arbitrary duty, that it is unlike our other duties, that it is separate from common virtue, or that it is not founded, like all virtues, in our constitution, or not recognized and enforced by natural conscience. We say that nature does not enjoin this regard to the Saviour, simply because it does not make him known; but, as soon as he is made known, nature enjoins love and veneration towards him as truly as towards God or towards excellent men. Reason and conscience teach us to regard him with a strong and tender interest. Love to him is not an arbitrary precept. It is not unlike our other affections; it requires for its culture no peculiar influences from heaven; it stands on the same ground with all our duties; it is to be strengthened by the same means. It is essentially the same sentiment, feeling, or principle, which we put forth towards other excellent beings, whether in heaven or on earth.

I make these remarks, because I apprehend that the duty of loving Jesus Christ has been so urged as to seem to many particularly mysterious and obscure; and the consequence has been that by some it has been neglected as unnatural, unreasonable, and unconnected with common life; whilst others, in seeking to cherish it, have rushed into wild, extravagant, and feverish emotions. I would rescue, if I can, this duty from neglect on the one hand, and from abuse on the other; and to do this, nothing is necessary but to show the true ground and nature of love to Christ. You will then see not only that it is an exalted and generous sentiment, but that it blends with, and gives support to, all the virtuous principles of the mind, and to all the duties, even the most common, of active life.

There is another great good which may result from a just explanation of the love due to Christ. You will see that this sentiment has no dependence, at least no necessary dependence, on the opinions we may form about his place, or rank, in the universe. This topic has convulsed the church for ages. Christians have cast away the spirit, in settling the precise dignity, of their Master. That this question is unimportant, I do not say. That some views are more favorable to love towards him than others, I believe; but I maintain that all opinions, adopted by different sects, include the foundation on which veneration and attachment are due to our common Lord. This truth — for I hold it to be a plain truth — is so fitted to heal the wounds and allay the uncharitable fervors of Christ's divided church, that I shall rejoice if I can set it forth to others as clearly as it rises to my own mind.

To accomplish the ends now expressed, I am led to propose to you one great but simple question. What is it that constitutes Christ's claim to love and respect? What is it that is to be loved in Christ? Why are we to hold him dear? I answer, There is but one ground for virtuous affection in the universe, but one object worthy of cherished and enduring love in heaven or on earth, and that is moral goodness. I make no exceptions. My principle applies to all beings, to the Creator as well as to his creatures. The claim of God to the love of his rational offspring rests on the rectitude and benevolence of his will. It is the moral beauty and grandeur of his character to which alone we are bound to pay homage. The only power which can and ought to be loved is a beneficent and righteous power. The creation is glorious, and binds us to supreme and everlasting love to God, only because it sprung from and shows forth this energy of goodness; nor has any being a claim on love any farther than this same energy dwells in him, and is manifested in him. I know no exception to this principle. I can con-

ceive of no being who can have any claim to affection but what rests on his character, meaning by this the spirit and principles which constitute his mind, and from which he acts; nor do I know but one character which entitles a being to our hearts, and it is that which the Scriptures express by the word righteousness; which in man is often called virtue, — in God, holiness; which consists essentially in supreme reverence for and adoption of what is right; and of which benevolence, or universal charity, is the brightest manifestation.

After these remarks, you will easily understand what I esteem the ground of love to Christ. It is his spotless purity, his moral perfection, his unrivalled goodness. It is the spirit of his religion, which is the spirit of God, dwelling in him without measure. Of consequence, to love Christ is to love the perfection of virtue, of righteousness, of benevolence; and the great excellence of this love is that, by cherishing it, we imbibe, we strengthen in our own souls, the most illustrious virtue, and through Jesus become like to God.

From the view now given, you see that love to Jesus Christ is a perfectly natural sentiment, — I mean, one which our natural sense of right enjoins and approves, and which our minds are constituted to feel and to cherish, as truly as any affection to the good whom we know on earth. It is not a theological, mysterious feeling, which some supernatural and inexplicable agency must generate within us. It has its foundation or root in the very frame of our minds, in that sense of right by which we are enabled to discern, and bound to love, perfection. I observe next that, according to this view, it is, as I have said, an exalted and generous affection; for it brings us into communion and contact with the sublimest character ever revealed among men. It includes and nourishes great thoughts and high aspirations, and gives us here on earth the benefit of intercourse with celestial beings.

Do you not also see that the love of Christ, according to the view now given of it, has no dependence on any particular views which are formed of his nature by different sects? According to all sects, is he not perfect, spotless in virtue, the representative and resplendent image of the moral goodness and rectitude of God? However contending sects may be divided as to other points, they all agree in the moral perfection of his character. All recognize his most glorious peculiarity, his sublime and unsullied goodness. All therefore see in him that which alone deserves love and veneration.

I am aware that other views are not uncommon. It is said that a true love to Christ requires just opinions concerning him, and that they who form different opinions of him, however they may use the same name, do not love the same being. We must *know* him, it is said, in order to esteem him as we ought. Be it so. To love Christ we must know him. But what must we know respecting him? Must we know his countenance and form, must we know the manner in which he existed before his birth, or the manner in which he now exists? Must we know his precise rank in the universe, his precise power and influence? On all these points, indeed, just views would be gratifying and auxiliary to virtue. But love to Christ may exist and grow strong without them. What we need to this end is the knowledge of his mind, his virtues, his principles of action. No matter how profoundly we speculate about Christ, or how profusely we heap upon him epithets of praise and admiration; if we do not understand the distinguishing virtues of his character, and see and feel their grandeur, we are as ignorant of him as if we had never heard his name, nor can we offer him an acceptable love. I desire indeed to know Christ's rank in the universe; but rank is nothing except as it proves and manifests superior virtue. High station only degrades a being who fills it unworthily. It is the mind which gives dignity to the office, not the office to the mind. All glory is of the soul. Accordingly we know little or nothing of another until we look into his soul. I cannot be said to know a being of a singularly great character because I have learned from what region he came, to what family he belongs, or what rank he sustains. I can only know him as far as I discern the greatness of his spirit, the unconquerable strength of his benevolence, his loyalty to God and duty, his power to act and suffer in a good and righteous cause, and his intimate com-

munion with God. Who knows Christ best? I answer, It is he who, in reading his history, sees and feels most distinctly and deeply the perfection by which he was distinguished. Who knows Jesus best? It is he who, not resting in general and almost unmeaning praises, becomes acquainted with what was peculiar, characteristic, and individual in his mind, and who has thus framed to himself, not a dim image called Jesus, but a living being, with distinct and glorious features, and with all the reality of a well-known friend. Who best knows Jesus? I answer, It is he who deliberately feels and knows that his character is of a higher order than all other characters which have appeared on earth, and who thirsts to commune with and resemble it. I hope I am plain. When I hear, as I do, men disputing about Jesus, and imagining that they know him by settling some theory as to his generation in time or eternity, or as to his rank in the scale of being, I feel that their knowledge of him is about as great as I should have of some saint or hero by studying his genealogy. These controversies have built up a technical theology, but give no insight into the mind and heart of Jesus; and without this the true knowledge of him cannot be enjoyed. And here I would observe, not in the spirit of reproach, but from a desire to do good, that I know not a more effectual method of hiding Jesus from us, of keeping us strangers to him, than the inculcation of the doctrine which makes him the same being with his Father, — makes him God himself. This doctrine throws over him a mistiness. For myself, when I attempt to bring it home, I have not a real being before me, not a soul which I can understand and sympathize with, but a vague, shifting image, which gives nothing of the stability of knowledge. A being, consisting of two natures, two souls, one divine and another human, one finite and another infinite, is made up of qualities which destroy one another, and leave nothing for distinct apprehension. This compound of different minds and of contradictory attributes, I cannot, if I would, regard as one conscious person, one intelligent agent. It strikes me almost irresistibly as a fiction. On the other hand, Jesus, contemplated as he is set before us in the gospel, as one mind, one heart, answering to my own in all its essential powers and affections, but purified, enlarged, exalted, so as to constitute him the unsullied image of God and a perfect model, is a being who bears the marks of reality, whom I can understand, whom I can receive into my heart as the best of friends, with whom I can become intimate, and whose society I can and do anticipate among the chief blessings of my future being.

My friends, I have now stated, in general, what knowledge of Christ is most important, and is alone required in order to a true attachment to him. Let me still farther illustrate my views by descending to one or two particulars. Among the various excellences of Jesus, he was distinguished by a benevolence so deep, so invincible, that injury and outrage had no power over it. His kindness towards men was in no degree diminished by their wrong-doing. The only intercession which he offered in his sufferings was for those who at that very moment were wreaking on him their vengeance; and what is more remarkable, he not only prayed for them, but, with an unexampled generosity and candor, urged in their behalf the only extenuation which their conduct would admit. Now, to know Jesus Christ is to understand this attribute of his mind, to understand the strength and triumph of the benevolent principle in this severest trial, to understand the energy with which he then held fast the virtue which he had enjoined. It is to see in the mind of Jesus at that moment a moral grandeur which raised him above all around him. This is to know him. I will suppose now a man to have studied all the controversies about Christ's nature, and to have arrived at the truest notions of his rank in the universe. But this incident in Christ's history, this discovery of his character, has never impressed him; the glory of a philanthropy which embraces one's enemies has never dawned upon him. With all his right opinions about the Unity or the Trinity, he lives and acts towards others very much as if Jesus had never lived or died. Now I say that such a man does not know Christ. I say that he is a stranger to him. I say that the great truth is hidden from him; that his skill in religious controversy is of little more use to him than would be the

learning by rote of a language which he does not understand. He knows the name of Christ, but the excellence which that name imports, and which gives it its chief worth, is to him as an unknown tongue.

I have referred to one view of Christ's character. I might go through his whole life. I will only observe that, in the New Testament, the crucifixion of Jesus is always set forth as the most illustrious portion of his history. The spirit of self-sacrifice, of deliberate self-immolation, of calm, patient endurance of the death of the cross, in the cause of truth, piety, virtue, human happiness, — this particular manifestation of love is always urged upon us in the New Testament as the crowning glory of Jesus Christ. To understand this part of his character; to understand him when he gave himself up to the shame and anguish of crucifixion; to understand that sympathy with human misery, that love of human nature, that thirst for the recovery of the human soul, that zeal for human virtue, that energy of moral principle, that devotion to God's purposes, through which the severest suffering was chosen and borne, and into which no suffering, or scorn, or desertion, or ingratitude, could infuse the least degree of selfishness, unkindness, doubt, or infirmity, — to understand this, is to understand Jesus; and he who wants sensibility to this, be his speculations what they may, has every thing to learn respecting the Saviour.

You will see, from the views now given, that I consider love to Christ as requiring nothing so much as that we fix our thoughts on the excellence of his character, study it, penetrate our minds with what was peculiar in it, and cherish profound veneration for it; and consequently I fear that attachment to him has been diminished by the habit of regarding other things in Christ as more important than his lovely and sublime virtues.

Christians have been prone to fix on something mysterious in his nature, or else on the dignity of his offices, as his chief claim; and in this way his supreme glory has been obscured. His nature and offices I, of course, would not disparage; but let them not be exalted above his moral worth. I maintain that this gives to his nature and offices all their claims to love and veneration, and that we understand them only as far as we see this to pervade them. This principle I would uphold against Christians of very different modes of faith.

First, there are Christians who maintain that Jesus Christ is to be loved as the Son of God, understanding by this title some mysterious connection and identity with the Father. Far be it from me to deny that the Divine Sonship of Jesus constitutes his true claim on our affection; but I do deny that the mysterious properties of this relation form any part of this claim; for it is very clear that love to a being must rest on what we know of him, and not on unknown and unintelligible attributes. In saying that the Divine Sonship of Jesus is the great foundation of attachment to him, I say nothing inconsistent with the doctrine of this discourse, that the moral excellence of Jesus is the great object and ground of the love which is due to him. Indeed, I only repeat the principle that he is to be loved exclusively for the virtues of his character; for what, I ask, is the great idea involved in his filial relation to God? To be the Son of God, in the chief and highest sense of that term, is to bear the likeness, to possess the spirit, to be partaker of the moral perfections of God. This is the essential idea. To be God's Son is to be united with him by consent and accordance of mind. Jesus was the only begotten Son, because he was the perfect image and representative of God, especially of divine philanthropy; because he espoused as his own the benevolent purposes of God towards the human race, and yielded himself to their accomplishment with an entire self-sacrifice. To know Jesus as the Son of God is not to understand what theologians have written about his eternal generation, or about a mystical, incomprehensible union between Christ and his Father. It is something far higher and more instructive. It is to see in Christ, if I may say so, the lineaments of the Universal Father. It is to discern in him a godlike purity and goodness. It is to understand his harmony with the Divine Mind, and the entireness and singleness of love with which he devoted himself to the purposes of God, and the interests of the human race. Of consequence, to love Jesus as the Son of God

is to love the spotless purity and godlike charity of his soul.

There are other Christians who differ widely from those of whom I have now spoken, but who conceive that Christ's offices, inspiration, miracles, are his chief claims to veneration, and who, I fear, in extolling these, have overlooked what is incomparably more glorious, — the moral dignity of his mind, the purity and inexhaustibleness of his benevolence. It is possible that to many who hear me, Christ seems to have been more exalted when he received from his Father supernatural light and truth, or when with superhuman energy he quelled the storm and raised the dead, than when he wept over the city which was in a few days to doom him to the most shameful and agonizing death: and yet his chief glory consisted in the spirit through which these tears were shed. Christians have yet to learn that inspiration, and miracles, and outward dignities are nothing compared with the soul. We all need to understand better than we have done that noble passage of Paul, "Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and understand all mysteries, and have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity [disinterestedness, love], I am nothing;" and this is as true of Christ as of Paul. Indeed it is true of all beings, and yet, I fear, it is not felt as it should be by the multitude of Christians.

You tell me, my friends, that Christ's unparalleled inspiration, his perpetual reception of light from God, that this was his supreme distinction; and a great distinction undoubtedly it was: but I affirm that Christ's inspiration, though conferred on him without measure, gives him no claim to veneration or love, any farther than it found within him a virtue which accorded with, welcomed, and adopted it, any farther than his own heart responded to the truths he received: any farther than he sympathized with, and espoused as his own, the benevolent purposes of God, which he was sent to announce; any farther than the spirit of the religion which he preached was his own spirit, and was breathed from his life as well as from his lips. In other words, his inspiration was made glorious through his virtues. Mere inspiration seems to me a very secondary thing. Suppose the greatest truths in the universe to be revealed supernaturally to a being who should take no interest in them, who should not see and feel their greatness, but should repeat them mechanically, as they were put into his mouth by the Deity. Such a man would be inspired, and would teach the greatest verities, and yet he would be nothing, and would have no claim to reverence.

The excellence of Jesus did not consist in his mere inspiration, but in the virtue and love which prepared him to receive it, and by which it was made effectual to the world. He did not passively hear, and mechanically repeat, certain doctrines from God, but his whole soul accorded with what he heard. Every truth which he uttered came warm and living from his own mind; and it was this pouring of his own soul into his instructions which gave them much of their power. Whence came the authority and energy, the conscious dignity, the tenderness and sympathy, with which Jesus taught? They came not from inspiration, but from the mind of him who was inspired. His personal virtues gave power to his teachings; and without these no inspiration could have made him the source of such light and strength as he now communicates to mankind.

My friends, I have aimed to show in this discourse that virtue, purity, rectitude of Jesus Christ is his most honorable distinction, and constitutes his great claim to veneration and love. I can direct you to nothing in Christ more important than his tried, and victorious, and perfect goodness. Others may love Christ for mysterious attributes; I love him for the rectitude of his soul and his life. I love him for that benevolence which went through Judea, instructing the ignorant, healing the sick, giving sight to the blind. I love him for that universal charity which comprehended the despised publican, the hated Samaritan, the benighted heathen, and sought to bring a world to God and to happiness. I love him for that gentle, mild, forbearing spirit, which no insult, outrage, injury, could overpower; and which desired as earnestly the repentance and happiness of its foes as the happiness of its friends. I love him for the spirit of magnanimity, constancy, and fearless rectitude with which, amidst

peril and opposition, he devoted himself to the work which God gave him to do. I love him for the wise and enlightened zeal with which he espoused the true, the spiritual interests of mankind, and through which he lived and died to redeem them from every sin, to frame them after his own godlike virtue. I love him, I have said, for his moral excellence; I know nothing else to love. I know nothing so glorious in the Creator or his creatures. This is the greatest gift which God bestows, the greatest to be derived from his Son.

You see why I call you to cherish the love of Christ. This love I do not recommend as a luxury of feeling, as an ecstasy bringing immediate and overflowing joy. I view it in a nobler light. I call you to love Jesus, that you may bring yourselves into contact and communion with perfect virtue, and may become what you love. I know no sincere, enduring good but the moral excellence which shines forth in Jesus Christ. Your wealth, your outward comforts and distinctions, are poor, mean, contemptible, compared with this; and to prefer them to this is self-debasement, self-destruction. May this great truth penetrate our souls; and may we bear witness in our common lives, and especially in trial, in sore temptation, that nothing is so dear to us as the virtue of Christ!

SECOND DISCOURSE.

EPHESIANS vi. 24: "Grace be with all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ."

IN the preceding discourse, I considered the nature and ground of love to Christ. The subject is far from being exhausted. I propose now, after a few remarks on the importance and happiness of this attachment, to call your attention to some errors in relation to it which prevail in the Christian world.

A virtuous attachment purifies the heart. In loving the excellent, we receive strength to follow them. It is happy for us when a pure affection springs up within us, when friendship knits us with holy and generous minds. It is happy for us when a being of noble sentiments and beneficent life enters our circle, becomes an object of interest to us, and by affectionate intercourse takes a strong hold on our hearts. Not a few can trace the purity and elevation of their minds to connection with an individual who has won them by the beauty of his character to the love and practice of righteousness. These views show us the service which Jesus Christ has done to mankind, simply in offering himself before them as an object of attachment and affection. In inspiring love, he is a benefactor. A man brought to see and feel the godlike virtues of Jesus Christ, who understands his character and is attracted and won by it, has gained, in this sentiment, immense aid in his conflict with evil and in his pursuit of perfection. And he has not only gained aid, but happiness; for a true love is in itself a noble enjoyment. It is the proper delight of a rational and moral being, leaving no bitterness or shame behind, not enervating like the world's pleasures, but giving energy and a lofty consciousness to the mind.

Our nature was framed for virtuous attachments. How strong and interesting are the affections of domestic life, the conjugal, parental, filial ties! But the heart is not confined to our homes, or even to this world. There are more sacred attachments than these, in which instinct has no part, which have their origin in our highest faculties, which are less tumultuous and impassioned than the affections of nature, but more enduring, more capable of growth, more peaceful, far happier, and far nobler. Such is love to Jesus Christ, the most purifying, and the happiest attachment, next to the love of our Creator, which we can form. I wish to aid you in cherishing this sentiment, and for this end I have thought that in the present discourse it would be well to point out some wrong views which I think have obstructed it, and obscured its glory.

I apprehend that among those Christians who bear the name of rational, from the importance which they give to the exercise of reason in religion, love to Christ has lost something of its honor, in consequence of its perversion. It has too often been substituted for practical religion. Not a few have professed a very fervent attachment to Jesus, and have placed great confidence in this feeling, who, at the same time, have seemed to think little of his precepts, and have even spoken of them as unim-

portant, compared with certain doctrines about his person or nature. Gross errors of this kind have led, as it seems to me, to the opposite extreme. They have particularly encouraged among calm and sober people the idea that the great object of Christ was to give a religion, to teach great and everlasting truth, and that our concern is with his religion rather than with himself. The great question, as such people say, is not what Jesus *was*, but what he *revealed*. In this way a distinction has been made between Jesus and his religion; and, whilst some sects have done little but talk of Christ and his person, others have dwelt on the principles he taught, to the neglect, in a measure, of the Divine Teacher. I consider this as an error to which some of us may be exposed, and which, therefore, deserves consideration.

Now I grant that Jesus Christ came to give a religion, to reveal truth. This is his great office; but I maintain that this is no reason for overlooking Jesus; for his religion has an intimate and peculiar connection with himself. It derives authority and illustration from his character. Jesus is his religion embodied and made visible. The connection between him and his system is peculiar. It differs altogether from that which ancient philosophers bore to their teachings. An ancient sage wrote a book, and the book is of equal value to us whether we know its author or not. But there is no such thing as Christianity without Christ. We cannot know it separately from him. It is not a book which Jesus wrote. It is his conversation, his character, his history, his life, his death, his resurrection. He pervades it throughout. In loving him, we love his religion; and a just interest in this cannot be awakened, but by contemplating it as it shone forth in himself.

Christ's religion, I have said, is very imperfect without himself; and therefore they who would make an abstract of his precepts, and say that it is enough to follow these without thinking of their author, grievously mistake, and rob the system of much of its energy. I mean not to disparage the precepts of Christ, considered in themselves. But their full power is only to be understood and felt by those who place themselves near the Divine Teacher, who see the celestial fervor of his affection whilst he utters them, who follow his steps from Bethlehem to Calvary, and witness the expression of his precepts in his own life. These come to me almost as new precepts when I associate them with Jesus. His command to love my enemies becomes intelligible and bright when I stand by his cross and hear his prayer for his murderers. I understand what he meant by the self-denial which he taught when I see him foregoing the comforts of life, and laying down life itself for the good of others. I learn the true character of that benevolence by which human nature is perfected, how it unites calmness and earnestness, tenderness and courage, condescension and dignity, feeling and action; this I learn in the life of Jesus as no words could teach me. So I am instructed in the nature of piety by the same model. The command to love God with all my heart, if only written, might have led me into extravagance, enthusiasm, and neglect of common duties, — for religious excitement has a peculiar tendency to excess, — but in Jesus I see a devotion to God, entire, perfect, never remitted, yet without the least appearance of passion, as calm and self-possessed as the love which a good mind bears to a parent; and in him I am taught, as words could not teach, how to join supreme regard to my Creator with active charity and common duties towards my fellow-beings.

And not only the precepts but the great doctrines of Christianity are bound up with Jesus, and cannot be truly understood without him. For example, one of the great doctrines of Christianity, perhaps its chief, is the kind interest of God in all his creatures, not only in the good but in the evil; his placable, clement, merciful character; his desire to recover and purify and make for ever happy even those who have stained themselves with the blackest guilt. The true character of God in this respect I see indeed in his providence, I read it in his word, and for every manifestation of it I am grateful. But when I see his spotless and beloved Son, to whom his power was peculiarly delegated, and in whom He peculiarly dwelt, giving singular attention to the most fallen and despised men, casting

away all outward pomp that he might mingle familiarly with the poor and neglected; when I see him sitting at table with the publican and the sinner, inviting them to approach him as a friend, suffering the woman whose touch was deemed pollution to bedew his feet with tears; and when I hear him in the midst of such a concourse saying, "I am come to seek and to save that which was lost," — I have a conviction of the lenity, benignity, grace, of that God whose representative and chosen minister he was, such as no abstract teaching could have given me. Let me add one more doctrine, — that of immortality. I prize every evidence of this great truth; I look within and without me for some pledge that I am not to perish in the grave; that this mind, with its thoughts and affections, is to live, and improve, and be perfected, and to find that joy for which it thirsts, and which it cannot find on earth. Christ's teaching on this subject is invaluable; but what power does this teaching gain, when I stand by his sepulchre, and see the stone rolled away, and behold the great Revealer of immortality rising in power and triumph, and ascending to the life and happiness he had promised!

Thus Christianity, from beginning to end, is intimately connected with its Divine Teacher. It is not an abstract system. The rational Christian who would think of it as such, who, in dwelling on the religion, overlooks its Revealer, is unjust to it. Would he see and feel its power, let him see it warm, living, breathing, acting in the mind, heart, and life of its Founder. Let him love it there. In other words, let him love the character of Jesus, justly viewed, and he will love the religion in the way most fitted to make it the power of God unto salvation.

I have said that love to Christ, when he is justly viewed, — that is, when it is an enlightened and rational affection, — includes the love of his whole religion; but I beg you to remember that I give this praise only to an enlightened affection: and such is not the most common, nor is it easily acquired. I apprehend that there is no sentiment which needs greater care in its culture than this. Perhaps, in the present state of the world, no virtue is of more difficult acquisition than a pure and intelligent love towards Jesus. There is undoubtedly much of fervent feeling towards him in the Christian world. But let me speak plainly. I do it from no uncharitableness. I do it only to warn my fellow-Christians. The greater part of this affection to Jesus seems to me of very doubtful worth. In many cases, it is an irregular fervor, which impairs the force and soundness of the mind, and which is substituted for obedience to his precepts, for the virtues which ennoble the soul. Much of what is called love to Christ I certainly do not desire you or myself to possess. I know of no sentiment which needs more to be cleared from error and abuse, and I therefore feel myself bound to show you some of its corruptions.

In the first place, I am persuaded that a love to Christ of quite a low character is often awakened by an injudicious use of his sufferings. I apprehend that if the affection which many bear to Jesus were analyzed, the chief ingredient in it would be found to be a tenderness awakened by his cross. In certain classes of Christians, it is common for the religious teacher to delineate the bleeding, dying Saviour, and to detail his agonies, until men's natural sympathy is awakened; and when assured that this deep woe was borne for themselves, they almost necessarily yield to the softer feelings of their nature. I mean not to find fault with this sensibility. It is happy for us that we are made to be touched by others' pains. Woe to him who has no tears for mortal agony! But in this emotion there is no virtue, no moral worth; and we dishonor Jesus when this is the chief tribute we offer him. I say there is no moral goodness in this feeling. To be affected, overpowered by a crucifixion, is the most natural thing in the world. Who of us, let me ask, whether religious or not, ever went into a Catholic church, and there saw the picture of Jesus hanging from his cross, his head bending under the weight of exhausting suffering, his hands and feet pierced with nails, and his body stained with his open wounds, and has not been touched by the sight? Suppose that, at this moment, there were lifted up among us a human form, transfixed with a spear, and from which the warm life-blood was dropping in the midst of us. Who would not be deeply

moved? and when a preacher, gifted with something of an actor's power, places the cross, as it were, in the midst of a people, is it wonderful that they are softened and subdued? I mean not to censure all appeals of this kind to the human heart. There is something interesting and encouraging in the tear of compassion. There was wisdom in the conduct of the Moravian missionaries in Greenland who, finding that the rugged and barbarous natives were utterly insensible to general truth, depicted, with all possible vividness, the streaming blood and dying agonies of Jesus, and thus caught the attention of the savage through his sympathies, whom they could not interest through his reason or his fears. But sensibility thus awakened is quite a different thing from true, virtuous love to Jesus Christ; and, when viewed and cherished as such, it takes the place of higher affections. I have often been struck by the contrast between the use made of the cross in the pulpit, and the calm, unimpassioned manner in which the sufferings of Jesus are detailed by the Evangelists. These witnesses of Christ's last moments give you in simple language the particulars of that scene, without one remark, one word of emotion; and if you read the Acts and Epistles, you will not find a single instance in which the Apostles strove to make a moving picture of his crucifixion. No; they honored Jesus too much, they felt too deeply the greatness of his character, to be moved as many are by the circumstances of his death. Reverence, admiration, sympathy with his sublime spirit, these swallowed up, in a great measure, sympathy with his sufferings. The cross was to them the last crowning manifestation of a celestial mind; they felt that it was endured to communicate the same mind to them and the world; and their emotion was a holy joy in this consummate and unconquerable goodness. To be touched by suffering is a light thing. It is not the greatness of Christ's sufferings on the cross which is to move our whole souls, but the greatness of the spirit with which he suffered. There, in death, he proved his entire consecration of himself to the cause of God and mankind. There his love flowed forth towards his friends, his enemies, and the human race. It is moral greatness, it is victorious love, it is the energy of principle, which gives such interest to the cross of Christ. We are to look through the darkness which hung over him, through his wounds and pains, to his unbroken, disinterested, confiding spirit. To approach the cross for the purpose of weeping over a bleeding, dying friend, is to lose the chief influence of the crucifixion. We are to visit the cross, not to indulge a natural softness, but to acquire firmness of spirit, to fortify our minds for hardship and suffering in the cause of duty and of human happiness. To live as Christ lived, to die as Christ died, to give up ourselves as sacrifices to God, to conscience, to whatever good interest we can advance, — these are the lessons written with the blood of Jesus. His cross is to inspire us with a calm courage, resolution, and superiority to all temptation. I fear (is my fear groundless?) that a sympathy which enervates rather than fortifies, is the impression too often received from the crucifixion. The depression with which the Lord's table is too often approached, and too often left, shows, I apprehend, that the chief use of his sufferings is little understood, and that he is loved, not as a glorious sufferer who died to spread his own sublime spirit, but as a man of sorrows, a friend bowed down with the weight of grief.

In the second place, love to Christ of a very defective kind is cherished in many by the views which they are accustomed to take of themselves. They form irrational ideas of their own guilt, supposing it to have its origin in their very creation, and then represent to their imaginations an abyss of fire and torment over which they hang, into which the anger of God is about to precipitate them, and from which nothing but Jesus can rescue them. Not a few, I apprehend, ascribe to Jesus Christ a greater compassion towards them than God is supposed to feel. His heart is tenderer than that of the Universal Parent, and this tenderness is seen in his plucking them by a mighty power from tremendous and infinite pain, from everlasting burnings. Now, that Jesus under such circumstances should excite the mind strongly, should become the object of a very intense attachment, is almost necessary; but the affection so excited is of very little worth. Let the universe seem

to me wrapped in darkness, let God's throne send forth no light but blasting flashes, let Jesus be the only bright and cheering object to my affrighted and desolate soul, and a tumultuous gratitude will carry me towards him just as irresistibly as natural instinct carries the parent animal to its young. I do and must grieve at the modes commonly used to make Jesus Christ an interesting being. Even the Infinite Father is stripped of his glory for the sake of throwing a lustre round the Son. The condition of man is painted in frightful colors, which cast unspeakable dishonor on his Creator, for the sake of magnifying the greatness of Christ's salvation. Man is stripped of all the powers which make him a responsible being, his soul harrowed with terrors, and the future illumined only by the flames which are to consume him, that his deliverer may seem more necessary; and when the mind, in this state of agitation, in this absence of self-control, is wrought up into a fervor of gratitude to Jesus, it is thought to be sanctified. This selfish, irrational gratitude, is called a virtue. Much of the love given to Jesus, having the origin of which I now speak, seems to me of no moral worth. It is not the soul's free gift, not a sentiment nourished by our own care from a conviction of its purity and nobleness, but an instinctive, ungoverned, selfish feeling. Suppose, my friends, that in a tempestuous night you should find yourselves floating towards a cataract, the roar of which should announce the destruction awaiting you, and that a fellow-being of great energy should rush through the darkness and bring you to the shore; could you help embracing him with gratitude? And would this emotion imply any change of character? Would you not feel it towards your deliverer, even should he have acted from mere impulse, and should his general character be grossly defective? Is not this a necessary working of nature, a fruit of terror changed into joy? I mean not to condemn it; I only say it is not virtue. It is a poor tribute to Jesus; he deserves something far purer and nobler.

The habit of exaggerating the wretchedness of man's condition for the purpose of rendering Jesus more necessary, operates very seriously to degrade men's love to Jesus, by accustoming them to ascribe to him a low and commonplace character. I wish this to be weighed. They who represent to themselves the whole human race as sinking by an hereditary corruption into an abyss of flame and perpetual woe, very naturally think of Jesus as a being of overflowing compassion, as impelled by a resistless pity to fly to the relief of these hopeless victims; for this is the emotion that such a sight is fitted to produce. Now this overpowering compassion, called forth by the view of exquisite misery, is a very ordinary virtue; and yet, I apprehend, it is the character ascribed above all others to Jesus. It certainly argues no extraordinary goodness, for it is an almost necessary impulse of nature. Were you, my friends, to see millions and millions of the human race on the edge of a fiery gulf, where ages after ages of torture awaited them, and were the shrieks of millions who had already been plunged into the abyss to pierce your ear, could you refrain from an overpowering compassion, and would you not willingly endure hours and days of exquisite pain to give these wretched millions release? Is there any man who has not virtue enough for this? I have known men of ordinary character hazard their lives under the impulse of compassion, for the rescue of fellow-beings from infinitely lighter evils than are here supposed. To me it seems that to paint the misery of human beings in these colors of fire and blood, and to ascribe to Christ the compassion which such misery must awaken, and to make this the chief attribute of his mind, is the very method to take from his character its greatness, and to weaken his claim on our love. I see nothing in Jesus of the overpowering compassion which is often ascribed to him. His character rarely exhibited strong emotion. It was distinguished by calmness, firmness, and conscious dignity. Jesus had a mind too elevated to be absorbed and borne away by pity, or any other passion. He felt, indeed, deeply for human suffering and grief; but his chief sympathy was with the mind, with its sins and moral diseases, and especially with its capacity of improvement and everlasting greatness and glory. He felt himself commissioned to quicken and exalt immortal beings. The thought which kindled and

sustained him was that of an immeasurable virtue to be conferred on the mind, even of the most depraved, — a good, the very conception of which implies a lofty character; a good, which as yet has only dawned on his most improved disciples. It is his consecration to this sublime end which constitutes his glory; and no farther than we understand this, can we yield him the love which his character claims and deserves.

I have endeavored to show the circumstances which have contributed to depress and degrade men's affections towards Jesus Christ. To me the influence of these causes seems to be great. I know of no feeling more suspicious than the common love to Christ. A true affection to him, indeed, is far from being of easy acquisition. As it is the purest and noblest we can cherish, with the single exception of love to God, so it requires the exercise of our best powers. You all must feel that an indispensable requisite or preparation for this love is to understand the character of Jesus. But this is no easy thing. It not only demands that we carefully read and study his history; there is another process more important. We must begin in earnest to convert into practice our present imperfect knowledge of Christ, and to form ourselves upon him as far as he is now discerned. Nothing so much brightens and strengthens the eye of the mind to understand an excellent being, as likeness to him. We never know a great character until something congenial to it has grown up within ourselves. No strength of intellect and no study can enable a man of a selfish and sensual mind to comprehend Jesus. Such a mind is covered with a mist; and just in proportion as it subdues evil within itself, the mist will be scattered; Jesus will rise upon it with a sunlike brightness, and will call forth its most fervent and most enlightened affection.

I close with two remarks. You see, by this discourse, how important to the love of Christ it is, to understand with some clearness the purpose for which he came into the world. The low views prevalent on this subject seem to me to exert a disastrous influence on the whole character, and particularly on our feelings towards Christ. Christ is supposed to have come to rescue us from an outward hell, to bear the penalties of an outward law. Such benevolence would indeed be worthy of praise; but it is an inferior form of benevolence. The glory of Christ's character, its peculiar brightness, seems to me to consist in his having given himself to accomplish an inward, moral, spiritual deliverance of mankind. He was alive to the worth and greatness of the human soul. He looked through what men were, looked through the thick shades of their idolatry, superstition, and vice, and saw in every human being a spirit of divine origin and godlike faculties, which might be recovered from all its evil, which might become an image and a temple of God. The greatness of Jesus consisted in his devoting himself to call forth a mighty power in the human breast, to kindle in us a celestial flame, to breathe into us an inexhaustible hope, and to lay within us the foundation of an immovable peace. His greatness consists in the greatness and sublimity of the action which he communicates to the human soul. This is his chief glory. To avert pain and punishment is a subordinate work. Through neglect of these truths, I apprehend that the brightness of Christ's character is even now much obscured, and perhaps least discerned by some who think they understand him best.

My second remark is that, if the leading views of this discourse be just, then love to Jesus Christ depends very little on our conception of his rank in the scale of being. On no other topic have Christians contended so earnestly, and yet it is of secondary importance. To know Jesus Christ is not to know the precise place he occupies in the universe. It is something more; it is to look into his mind; to approach his soul; to comprehend his spirit: to see how he thought, and felt, and purposed, and loved, — to understand the workings of that pure and celestial principle within him, through which he came among us as our friend, and lived and died for us. I am persuaded that controversies about Christ's person have in one way done great injury. They have turned attention from his character. Suppose that, as Americans, we should employ ourselves in debating the questions, where Washington was born, and

from what spot he came when he appeared at the head of our armies; and that, in the fervor of these contentions, we should overlook the character of his mind, the spirit that moved within him, the virtues which distinguished him, the beamings of a noble, magnanimous soul, — how unprofitably should we be employed! Who is it that understands Washington? Is it he that can settle his rank in the creation, his early history, his present condition? or he to whom the soul of that great man is laid open, who comprehends and sympathizes with his generous purposes, who understands the energy with which he espoused the cause of freedom and his country, and who receives through admiration a portion of the same divine energy? So in regard to Jesus, the questions which have been agitated about his rank and nature are of inferior moment. His greatness belonged not to his condition, but to his mind, his spirit, his aim, his disinterestedness, his calm, sublime consecration of himself to the high purpose of God.

My hearers, it is the most interesting event in human history, that such a being as Jesus has entered our world, to accomplish the deliverance of our minds from all evil, to bring them to God, to open heaven within them, and thus to fit them for heaven. It is our greatest privilege that he is brought within our view, offered to our imitation, to our trust, to our love. A sincere and enlightened attachment to him is at once our honor and our happiness, a spring of virtuous action, of firmness in suffering, of immortal hope. But remember, it will not grow up of itself. You must resolve upon it, and cherish it. You must bring Jesus near, as he lives and moves in the gospel. You should meet him in the institution which he especially appointed for the commemoration of himself. You should seek, by prayer, God's aid in strengthening your love to the Saviour. You should learn his greatness and beneficence by learning the greatness and destination of the souls which he came to rescue and bless. In the last place, you should obey his precepts, and through this obedience should purify and invigorate your minds to know and love him more. "Grace be with all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity."

PREACHING CHRIST:

Discourse at the Ordination of the Rev. John Emery Abbot, Salem, 1815.

COLOSSIANS i. 28: "Whom we preach, warning every man, and teaching every man in all wisdom, that we may present every man perfect in Christ Jesus."

IN the verses immediately preceding the text we find the Apostle enlarging with his usual zeal and earnestness on a subject peculiarly dear to him, — on the glorious *mystery* of God, or, in other words, on the great purpose of God, which had been kept *secret* from ages, to make the Gentile world partakers through faith of the blessings of the long-promised Messiah. "Christ, the hope of glory to the Gentiles," was the theme on which Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, delighted to expatiate. Having spoken of Jesus in this character, he immediately adds, "Whom we preach, warning every man, and teaching every man in all wisdom, that we may present every man perfect in Christ Jesus."

On the present occasion, which invites us to consider the design and duties of the Christian ministry, I have thought that these words would guide us to many appropriate and useful reflections. They teach us what the Apostle preached: "We preach Christ." They teach us the end or object for which he thus preached: "That we may present every man perfect in Christ Jesus." Following this natural order,

I shall first consider what is intended by "preaching Christ." I shall then endeavor to illustrate and recommend the end or object for which Christ is to be preached; and I shall conclude with some remarks on the methods by which this end is to be accomplished. In discussing these topics, on which a variety of sentiment is known to exist, I shall necessarily dissent from some of the views which are cherished by particular classes of Christians. But the frank expression of opinion ought not to be construed into any want of affection or esteem for those from whom I differ.

I. What are we to understand by "preaching Christ"? This subject is the more interesting and important, because I fear it has often been misunderstood. Many persons imagine that Christ is never preached, unless his name is continually repeated and his character continually kept in view. This is an error, and should be exposed. Preaching Christ, then, does not consist in making Christ perpetually the subject of discourse, but in inculcating, on his authority, *the religion which he taught*. Jesus came to be the light and teacher of the world; and in this sublime and benevolent character he unfolded many truths relating to the Universal Father, to his own character, to the condition, duties, and prospects of mankind, to the perfection and true happiness of the human soul, to a future state of retribution, to the terms of forgiveness, to the means of virtue, and of everlasting life. Now, whenever we teach, on the authority of Jesus, any doctrine or precept included in this extensive system, we "preach Christ." When, for instance, we inculcate on his authority the duties of forgiving enemies, of denying ourselves, of hungering after righteousness, we "preach Christ" as truly as when we describe his passion on the cross, or the purpose and the importance of his sufferings.

By the word "Christ" in the text and in many other places, we are to understand his religion rather than his person. Among the Jews nothing was more common than to give the name of a religious teacher to the system of truth which he taught. We see this continually exemplified in the New Testament. Thus, it is said of the Jews, "They have Moses and the prophets." What is meant by this? that they had Moses residing in person among them? Certainly not; but that they had his law, his religion. Jesus says, "I came not to destroy the prophets." What did he mean? that he had not come to slay or destroy the prophets who had died ages before his birth? Certainly not; he only intended that his doctrines were suited to confirm, not to invalidate, the writings of these holy men. According to the same form of speech, Stephen was accused of blasphemy against Moses, because some of his remarks were construed into a reproach on the law of Moses. These passages are sufficient to show us that a religion was often called by the name of its teacher; and conformably to this usage, when Paul says, "We preach Christ," we ought to understand him as affirming that he preached the whole system of doctrines and duties which Christ taught, whether they related to Jesus himself, or to any other subject.

But there is one passage more decisive on this point than any which I have adduced. In the Acts of the Apostles,* James says, "Moses of old time hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogue every Sabbath-day." Here we find the Apostle declaring that in every city there were men who *preached Moses*; and we are told in what this preaching consisted: "Moses is *read* in the synagogue every Sabbath-day." No one acquainted with the ancient services of the synagogue can suppose, for a moment, that the character and offices of Moses were the themes of the Jewish teachers every Sabbath, and that they preached nothing else. It was their custom to read the books of the law in course, and to offer comments upon obscure or important passages. In many parts of these books the name of Moses is not mentioned. We have whole chapters about the tabernacle, and about the rites of cleansing from the leprosy. But, according to James, when these portions were read and explained, Moses was preached; not because his character was the subject, but because the instructions contained in these chapters were a part of the religion which he was appointed to

* Acts xv. 21.

communicate to the children of Israel. The name of the teacher was given to his doctrine. This form of speech was not peculiar to the Jews; all nations have probably adopted it. At the present day, nothing is more common than to hear that Locke, or Newton, or some other distinguished philosopher, is published, or taught; not that his personal character and history are made public, but his system of doctrines. In the same way Christ is preached, published, proclaimed when his instructions are delivered, although these instructions may relate to other topics beside his own offices and character.

I hope I shall not be misunderstood in the remarks which I have now made. Do not imagine that I would exclude from the pulpit discourses on the excellence of Jesus Christ. The truths which relate to Jesus himself are among the most important which the gospel reveals. The relations which Jesus Christ sustains to the world are so important and so tender; the concern which he has expressed in human salvation so strong and disinterested; the blessings of pardon and immortal life which he brings so undeserved and unbounded; his character is such a union of moral beauty and grandeur; his example is at once so pure and so persuasive; the events of his life, his miracles, his sufferings, his resurrection and ascension, and his offices of intercessor and judge, are so strengthening to faith, hope, and charity, that his ministers should dwell on his name with affectionate veneration, and should delight to exhibit him to the gratitude, love, imitation, and confidence of mankind.

But whilst the Christian minister is often to insist on the life, the character, the offices, and the benefits of Jesus Christ, let him not imagine that he is preaching Christ only when these are his themes. If he confine himself to these he will not, in the full sense of the word, preach Christ; for this is to preach the whole religion of Jesus, and this religion is of vast extent. It regards man in his diversified and ever-multiplying relations to his Creator and to his fellow-creatures, to the present state and to all future ages. Its aim is to instruct and quicken us to cultivate an enlarged virtue, — to cultivate our whole intellectual and moral nature. It collects and offers motives to piety from the past and from the future, from heaven and hell, from nature and experience, from human example, and from the imitable excellences of God, from the world without and the world within us. The gospel of Christ is indeed an inexhaustible treasury of moral and religious truth. Jesus, the first and best of evangelical teachers, did not confine himself to a few topics, but manifested himself to be the wisdom of God by the richness and variety of his instructions. To preach Christ is to unfold, as far as our feeble and narrow powers permit, all the doctrines, duties, and motives, which are recorded in the Gospels and in the writings of his inspired Apostles.

It is not intended by these remarks that all the instructions of Christ are of equal importance, and that all are to be urged with equal frequency and zeal. Some undoubtedly are of greater moment and of more universal application than others. But a minister of a sound and candid mind will be very cautious lest he assign so high a rank to a few doctrines that the rest will sink into comparative insignificance, and almost fade from the minds of his hearers. He will labor to give enlarged and harmonious views of all the principles of Christianity, recollecting that each receives support from the rest, and that no doctrine or precept will exert its proper influence if swelled into disproportioned importance, or detached from the truths which ought to modify and restrain it.

It has been the object of these remarks to show that preaching Christ does not imply that the offices and character of Christ are to be made perpetually the subjects of discourse. Where this idea prevails, it too often happens that the religion of Jesus is very partially preached. A few topics are repeated without end. Many delightful and ennobling views of Christianity are seldom or never exhibited. The duties of the gospel receive but a cursory attention. Religion is thought to consist in a fervid state of mind, produced by the constant contemplation of a few affecting ideas; whilst the only acceptable religion, which consists in living "soberly, righteously, and godly in the world," seems to be undervalued as quite an inferior attainment. Where this mistake prevails, we too often dis-

cover a censorious spirit among hearers, who pronounce with confidence on this and another minister, that they do not preach Christ, because their discourses do not turn on a few topics in relation to the Saviour which are thought to contain the whole of Christianity. Very often the labors of a pious and upright minister are defeated by this prejudice; nor must he wonder if he find himself decried as an enemy to the faith, by those whose want of education or capacity confines them to the narrowest views of the Christian system. May I be permitted, with deference and respect, to beseech Christian ministers not to encourage by example this spirit of censure among private Christians. There is no lesson which we can teach our hearers more easily than to think contemptuously and to speak bitterly of other classes of Christians, and especially of their teachers. Let us never forget that we none of us preach Christ in the full import of that phrase. None of us can hope that we give a complete representation of the religion of our Master, — that we exhibit every doctrine without defect or without excess in its due proportions and in its just connections. We of necessity communicate a portion of our own weakness and darkness to the religion which we dispense. The degree of imperfection indeed differs in different teachers; but none are free from the universal frailty, and none are authorized to take the seat of judgment, and on the ground of imagined errors to deny to others, whose lives are as spotless as their own, a conscientious purpose to learn and to teach the whole counsel of God.

II. Having thus considered what is intended by preaching Christ, I proceed to consider, secondly, for what end Christ is to be preached. We preach Christ, says the Apostle, "warning every man, and teaching every man, that we may present every man perfect in Christ Jesus;" that is, perfect in the religion of Christ, or a perfect Christian. From the passage we derive a most important sentiment, confirmed by the whole New Testament, that the great design of all the doctrines and precepts of the gospel is to exalt the character, to promote eminent purity of heart and life, to make men perfect as their Father in heaven is perfect. For what end, then, is Christianity to be preached? The answer is plain. We must preach, not to make fiery partisans, and to swell the number of a sect; not to overwhelm the mind with fear, or to heat it with feverish rapture; not to form men to the decencies of life, to a superficial goodness, which will secure the admiration of mankind. All these effects fall infinitely short of the great end of the Christian ministry. We should preach that we may make men perfect Christians; perfect, not according to the standard of the world, but according to the law of Christ; perfect in heart and in life, in solitude and in society, in the great and in the common concerns of life. Here is the purpose of Christian preaching. In this, as in a common centre, all the truths of the gospel meet; to this they all conspire; and no doctrine has an influence on salvation any farther than it is an aid and excitement to the perfecting of our nature.

The Christian minister needs often to be reminded of this great end of his office, — the perfection of the human character. He is too apt to rest in low attainments himself, and to be satisfied with low attainments in others. He ought never to forget the great distinction and glory of the gospel, — that it is designed to perfect human nature. All the precepts of this divine system are marked by a sublime character. It demands that our piety be fervent, our benevolence unbounded, and our thirst for righteousness strong and insatiable. It enjoins a virtue which does not stop at what is positively prescribed, but which is prodigal of service to God and to mankind. The gospel enjoins inflexible integrity, fearless sincerity, fortitude which despises pain and tramples pleasure under foot in the pursuit of duty, and an independence of spirit which no scorn can deter and no example seduce from asserting truth and adhering to the cause which conscience approves. With this spirit of martyrs, this hardness and intrepidity of soldiers of the cross, the gospel calls us to unite the mildest and meekest virtues: a sympathy which melts over others' woes; a disinterestedness which finds pleasure in toils, and labors for others' good; a humility which loves to bless unseen, and forgets itself in the performance of the noblest deeds. To this perfection of social duty the

gospel commands us to join a piety which refers every event to the providence of God, and every action to his will; a love which counts no service hard, and a penitence which esteems no judgment severe; a gratitude which offers praise even in adversity; a holy trust unbroken by protracted suffering, and a hope triumphant over death. In one word, it enjoins that, loving and confiding in Jesus Christ, we make his spotless character, his heavenly life, the model of our own. Such is the sublimity of character which the gospel demands, and such the end to which our preaching should ever be directed.

I have dwelt on this end of preaching because it is too often forgotten, and because a stronger conviction of it will give new force and elevation to our instructions. We need to feel more deeply that we are intrusted with a religion which is designed to ennoble human nature; which recognizes in man the capacities of all that is good, great, and excellent; and which offers every encouragement and aid to the pursuit of perfection. The Christian minister should often recollect that man, though propense to evil, has yet powers and faculties which may be exalted and refined to angelic glory; that he is called by the gospel to prepare for the community of angels; that he is formed for unlimited progress in intellectual and moral excellence and felicity. He should often recollect that in Jesus Christ our nature has been intimately united with the divine, and that in Jesus it is already enthroned in heaven. Familiarized to these generous conceptions, the Christian preacher, whilst he faithfully unfolds to men their guilt and danger, should also unfold their capacities of greatness; should reveal the splendor of that destiny to which they are called by Christ; should labor to awaken within them aspirations after a nobler character and a higher existence, and to inflame them with the love of all the graces and virtues with which Jesus came to enrich and adorn the human soul. In this way he will prove that he understands the true and great design of the gospel and the ministry, which is nothing less than the perfection of the human character.

May I be permitted to say, that perhaps one of the greatest defects in our preaching is, that it is not sufficiently directed to ennoble and elevate the minds of men. It does not breathe a sufficiently generous spirit. It appeals too constantly to the lowest principle of human nature, — I mean the principle of fear, which, under judicious excitement, is indeed of great and undoubted use, but which, as every parent knows, when habitually awakened, is always found to debase the mind, to break the spirit, to give tameness to the character, and to chill the best affections. Perhaps one cause of the limited influence of Christianity is that, as it is too often exhibited, it seems adapted to form an abject, servile character, rather than to raise its disciples to true greatness and dignity. Perhaps, were Christianity more habitually regarded as a system, whose great design it is to infuse honorable sentiments, magnanimity, energy, an ingenuous love of God, a superiority to the senses, a spirit of self-sacrifice, a virtue akin to that of heaven, its reception would be more cordial, and its influence more extensive, more happy, more accordant with its great end, the perfection of human nature.

III. Having thus considered the end of Christian preaching, I now come to offer, in the third place, a few remarks on the best method of accomplishing it; and here I find myself obliged to omit a great variety of topics, and can only offer one or two of principal importance. That the gospel may attain its end, may exert the most powerful and ennobling influence on the human character, it must be addressed at once to the understanding and to the heart. It must be so preached as to be firmly believed and deeply felt. To secure to Christianity this firm belief, I have only time to observe that it should be preached in a *rational* manner. By this I mean that a Christian minister should beware of offering interpretations of Scripture which are repugnant to any clear discoveries of reason or dictates of conscience. This admonition is founded upon the very obvious principle, that a revelation from God must be adapted to the rational and moral nature which He has conferred on man; that God can never contradict in his word what He has himself written on the human heart, or teaches in his works and providence. Every man who reads the Bible knows that, like

other books, it has many passages which admit a variety of interpretations. Human language does not admit entire precision. It has often been observed by philosophers, that the most familiar sentences owe their perspicuity, not so much to the definiteness of the language as to an almost incredible activity of the mind, which selects from a variety of meanings that which each word demands, and assigns such limits to every phrase as the intention of the speaker, his character and situation, require. In addition to this source of obscurity, to which all writings are exposed, we must remember that the Scriptures were written in a distant age, in a foreign language, by men who were unaccustomed to the systematic arrangements of modern times, and who, although inspired, were left to communicate their thoughts in the style most natural or habitual. Can we wonder, then, that they admit a variety of interpretations? Now, we owe it to a book, which records, as we believe, revelations from heaven, and which is plainly designed for the moral improvement of the race, to favor those explications of obscure passages which are seen to harmonize with the moral attributes of God, and with the acknowledged teachings of nature and conscience. All those interpretations of the gospel which strike the mind at once as inconsistent with a righteous government of the universe, which require of man what is disproportioned to his nature, or which shock any clear conviction which our experience has furnished, cannot be viewed with too jealous an eye by him who, revering Christianity, desires to secure to it an intelligent belief.

It is in vain to say that the first and most obvious meaning of Scripture is always to be followed, no matter where it leads. I answer, that the first and most obvious meaning of a passage, written in a foreign language and in remote antiquity, is very often false, and such as farther inquiry compels us to abandon. I answer, too, that all sects of Christians agree, and are forced to agree, in frequently forsaking the literal sense, on account of its incongruity with acknowledged truth. There is, in fact, no book in the world which requires us more frequently to restrain unlimited expressions, to qualify the letter by the spirit, and to seek the meaning in the state and customs of the writer and of his age, than the New Testament. No book is written in a more popular, figurative, and animated style, — the very style which requires the most constant exercise of judgment in the reader. The Scriptures are not a frigid digest of Christianity, as if this religion were a mere code of civil laws. They give us the gospel warm from the hearts of its preachers. The language is not that of logicians, not the language of retired and inanimate speculation, but of affection, of zeal, of men who burned to convey deep and vivid impressions of the truth. In understanding such writers, moral feeling is often a better guide than a servile adherence to the literal and most obvious meaning of every word and phrase. It may be said of the New as well as the Old Testament, that sometimes the letter killeth whilst the spirit giveth life. Almost any system may be built on the New Testament by a commentator who, forgetting the general scope of Christianity and the lessons of nature and experience, shall impose on every passage the literal signification which is first offered to the mind. The Christian minister should avail himself, in his exposition of the Divine Word, of the aids of learning and criticism, and also of the aids of reason and conscience. Those interpretations of difficult passages which approve themselves to his clear and established conceptions of rectitude, and to his devout and benevolent affections, he should regard with a favorable eye; whilst those of an opposite character should be regarded with great distrust.

I have said that this rational method of preaching Christianity is important, if we would secure a firm belief to Christianity. Some men may indeed be reconciled to an unreasonable religion; and terror, that passion which more than any other unsettles the intellect, may silence every objection to the most contradictory and degrading principles. But in general the understanding and conscience cannot be entirely subdued. They resist the violence which is done them. A lurking incredulity mingles with the attempt to believe what contradicts the highest principles of our nature. Particularly the most intelligent part of the community, who will ultimately govern public sentiment, will doubt and dis-

believe the unreasonable system which, perhaps, they find it prudent to acknowledge; and will either convert it into an instrument of policy, or seize a favorable moment for casting off its restraints and levelling its institutions with the dust. Thus important is it that Christianity should be recommended to the understandings of men.

But this is not enough. It is also most important that the gospel should be recommended to the heart. Christianity should be so preached as to interest the affections, to awaken contrition and fear, veneration and love, gratitude and hope. Some preachers, from observing the pernicious effects of violent and exclusive appeals to the passions, have fallen into an opposite error, which has rendered the labors of their lives almost wholly unfruitful. They have addressed men as mere creatures of intellect; they have forgotten that affection is as essential to our nature as thought, that action requires motive, that the union of reason and sensibility is the health of the soul, and that without moral feeling there can be no strength of moral purpose. They have preached ingeniously, and the hearer has pronounced the preaching true. But the truth, coldly imparted and coldly received, has been forgotten as fast as heard; no energy of will has been awakened; no resistance to habit and passion been called forth; perhaps not a momentary purpose of self-improvement has glanced through the mind. Preaching, to be effectual, must be as various as our nature. The sun warms at the same moment that it enlightens; and unless religious truth be addressed at once to the reason and the affections, unless it kindles whilst it guides, it is a useless splendor; it leaves the heart barren; it produces no fruits of godliness. Let the Christian minister, then, preach the gospel with earnestness, with affection, with a heart warmed by his subject, not thinking of himself, not seeking applause, but solicitous for the happiness of mankind, tenderly concerned for his people, awake to the solemnities of eternity, and deeply impressed with the worth of the human soul, with the glory and happiness to which it may be exalted, and with the misery and ruin into which it will be plunged by irreligion and vice. Let him preach, not to amuse but to convince and awaken; not to excite a momentary interest but a deep and lasting seriousness; not to make his hearers think of the preacher but of themselves, of their own characters and future condition. Let him labor, by delineating with unaffected ardor the happiness of virtue, by setting forth religion in its most attractive forms, by displaying the paternal character of God, and the love of Christ which was stronger than death, by unfolding the purity and blessedness of the heavenly world, by revealing to the soul its own greatness, and by persuasion, by entreaty, by appeals to the best sentiments of human nature, by speaking from a heart convinced of immortality, — let him labor, by these methods, to touch and to soften his hearers, to draw them to God and duty, to awaken gratitude and love, a sublime hope and a generous desire of exalted goodness. And let him also labor, by solemn warning, by teaching men their responsibility, by setting before sinners the aggravations of their guilt, by showing them the ruin and immediate wretchedness wrought by moral evil in the soul, and by pointing them to approaching death, and the retributions of the future world, — let him labor, by these means, to reach the consciences of those whom higher motives will not quicken, to break the slumbers of the worldly, to cut off every false hope, and to persuade the sinner, by a salutary terror, to return to God, and to seek, with a new earnestness, virtue, glory, and eternal life.

NOTE ON THE FIRST HEAD OF THE PRECEDING DISCOURSE. — The error which I have opposed on the subject of "preaching Christ," may be traced in a great measure to what appears to me a wrong interpretation of the two first chapters of the First Epistle to the Corinthians. In these chapters Paul says that he "determined to know nothing among the Corinthians, save Jesus Christ and him crucified," and speaks once and again of "preaching Christ crucified," &c. It has been supposed that the Apostle here intended to select the particular point on which preaching should chiefly turn, and that we have his authority for censuring a discourse which does not relate immediately to the character of Christ, and especially to his

sufferings on the cross. But I think that a little attention to the circumstances of the Apostle and of the Corinthians will show us that Paul referred to the religion of Jesus generally as the subject of his preaching, and not to a very limited part of it.

Corinth, being the most commercial city of Greece, was inhabited by Jews as well as Greeks. These Jews, as Paul tells us, "wanted a sign," just as the Pharisees in the time of Christ demanded "a sign from heaven." That is, they wanted a Messiah who should be marked out to them by a visible descent from heaven, or by some glorious appearance from heaven, or by some outward majesty which should be a pledge of his breaking the Roman yoke, and raising Judea to the empire of the world. They wanted a splendid and temporal Messiah. The Greeks, on the other hand, who were a speculative people, wanted *wisdom*, or a system of philosophy, and could hear nothing patiently but the subtile disputations and studied harangues with which they were amused by those who pretended to wisdom. Such was the state of Corinth when Paul entered it. Had he brought with him an account of a triumphant Messiah, or an acute philosopher, he would have been received with eagerness. But none were desirous to hear the simple religion of Jesus of Nazareth, who proved his mission, not by subtilties of eloquence, but by miracles evincing the power of God, and who died at last on the ignominious cross. Paul, however, in opposition to Jew and Greek, determined to know nothing of a worldly Messiah, nothing of any old or new scheme of philosophy; but to know and to preach Jesus Christ, and to exhibit him in a light which Judaism and philosophy would alike abhor, as crucified for the recovery of men from error, sin, and condemnation. In other words, he resolved to preach the religion of Jesus in its greatest simplicity, without softening its most offensive feature, the cross of its author, or without borrowing any thing from Moses or from any Gentile philosopher to give currency to his doctrines. This is the amount of what Paul teaches in these chapters.

We must not imagine, when we read these chapters, that Corinth was a city of professing Christians; that among these Christians a difference of opinion had arisen as to the proper subjects of Christian preaching, and that Paul intended to specify the topic on which ministers should chiefly or exclusively insist. This, I fear, is the common impression under which this portion of Scripture is read; but this is altogether erroneous. No controversy of this kind existed; and Paul, in these chapters, had not the most distant idea of recommending one part of the gospel in preference to others, but intended to recommend the whole gospel, the whole religion of Jesus Christ, in distinction from Judaism and Gentile philosophy. The dangers of the Corinthian Christians required that he should employ every effort to secure their fidelity to the simple gospel of Jesus. Having been educated in the Jewish or Heathen religions; living in the midst of Jews and Heathens; hearing perpetually, from one class, that the Messiah was to be a triumphant prince, and that without submission to the law of Moses no one could partake his blessings; and hearing, from the other, perpetual praises of this and another philosopher, and perpetual derision of the gospel, because in its docrines and style it bore no resemblance to the refinements and rhetoric of their most celebrated sages; the Corinthian Christians, in these trying circumstances, were strongly tempted to assimilate the gospel to the prevalent religions, to blend with it foreign doctrines, to keep the humiliation of its author out of sight, and to teach it as a system of philosophy resting on subtile reasoning rather than on miracles and the authority of God. To save them from this danger, — a danger which at present we can hardly estimate, — the Apostle reminded them that when he came to them he came not with "excellency of speech and with enticing words of man's wisdom," but in demonstration of the Spirit and of miraculous powers; that he did not comply with the demands of Greek or Jew; that he preached a crucified Messiah, and no other teacher or deliverer; and that he always insisted that the religion of Jesus, unaided by Judaism or philosophy, was able to make men wise to salvation. He also reminded them that this preaching, however branded as foolishness, had proved divinely powerful, and had saved them from that ignorance of God from which human wisdom had been unable

to deliver them. These remarks, I hope, will assist common readers in understanding the chapters under consideration.

We are too apt, in reading the New Testament, and particularly the Epistles, to forget that the gospel was a new religion, and that the Apostles were called to preach Jesus to those who, perhaps, had never before heard his name, and whose prejudices and passions prepared them to contemn and reject his claims. In these circumstances they had to begin at the very foundation, to prove to the unbelieving world that Jesus was the Messiah, or sent from God to instruct and save mankind. This is often called "preaching Christ," especially in the Acts. When converts were made, the work of the Apostles was not ended. These converts wished to bring with them a part of their old religion into the church; and some of the Jews even insisted that obedience to Moses was essential to salvation. These errors the Apostles resolutely opposed, and, having previously established the Messiahship of Jesus, they next proceeded to establish the sufficiency and perfection of his religion, to show that faith in him, or reception of his gospel, was all that was required to salvation. This is sometimes called "preaching Christ." These difficulties, which called the Apostles to so much anxiety and toil, are now in a great measure removed. Christian ministers, at the present day, are not often called to preach Christ in opposition to the infidel, and never in opposition to the weak convert who would incorporate Judaism or Gentile philosophy with Christianity. The great foundation on which the Apostles spent so much strength is now firmly laid. Our hearers generally acknowledge Jesus to be the Messiah, sent by God to be the light of the world, and "able to save to the uttermost all who come to God by him." We are therefore seldom called to preach Christ in the senses which have just been considered, and our preaching must of course differ in a measure from that of the Apostles. But there is another sense of preaching Christ, involved in both the preceding, in which our work precisely accords with theirs. Like them, we are to unfold to those who acknowledge Jesus as their Lord all the truths, motives, and precepts which he has left to guide and quicken men to excellence, and to prepare them for a happy immortality.

SELF-DENIAL.

FIRST DISCOURSE.

MATTHEW xvi. 24: "Then said Jesus unto his disciples, If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me."

THIS passage is an example of our Saviour's mode of teaching. He has given us his truth in the costume of the age; and this style is so common in the New Testament that an acquaintance with the usages of those times is necessary to the understanding of a large part of his instructions. The cross was then a mode of punishment reserved for the greatest criminals, and was intended to inflict the deepest disgrace as well as sorest pain. "To take up the cross" had therefore become a proverbial expression of the most dreaded suffering and shame. By this phrase in the text Jesus intended to teach that no man could become his disciple without such a deep conviction of the truth and excellence of his religion as would fortify the mind against persecution, reproach, and death. The command "to deny ourselves" is more literal, but is an instance of what is very common in our Saviour's teaching, — I mean, of the use of unlimited expressions, which require to be restrained by the good sense of the hearer, and which, if taken without considerable modification, may lead into pernicious error. We know that this precept, for want of a wise caution, has driven men to self-inflicted penance and to the austerities of the cloister and wilderness; and it is one among many

proofs of the necessity of a calm and sober judgment to a beneficial use of Christianity.

In this discourse I shall offer remarks on the limits or just extent of Christian self-denial, and on the design of Providence in so constituting us as to make self-denial necessary; and in discussing these topics I shall set before you its obligation, necessity, and excellence.

We are to deny ourselves; but how far? to what extent? This is our first inquiry. Are we to deny ourselves wholly? To deny ourselves in every power, faculty, and affection of our nature? Has the duty no bounds? For example, are we to deny the highest part of our nature, — I mean conscience, or the moral faculty? Are we to oppose our sense of right or desire of virtue? Every Christian says, No. Conscience is sacred; and revelation is intended to quicken, not resist it.

Again, are we to deny reason, the intellectual faculty by which we weigh evidence, trace out causes and effects, ascend to universal truths, and seek to establish harmony among all our views? The answer to this question seems as plain as to the former. Yet many good men have seemed to dread reason, have imagined an inconsistency between faith and a free use of our intellectual powers, and have insisted that it is a religious duty "to prostrate our understandings." To some this may even seem a principal branch of Christian self-denial. The error, I think, is a great one; and believing that the honor, progress, and beneficial influence of Christianity are involved in its removal, I wish to give it a brief consideration.

I am told that I must deny reason. I ask, Must I deny it when it teaches me that there is a God? If so, the very foundation of religion is destroyed, and I am abandoned to utter unbelief. Again, must I deny reason when it forbids the literal interpretation of the text, which commands us to hate father and mother and our own lives? If so, I must rupture the most sacred ties of domestic life, and must add to social vices the crime of self-murder. Surely reason, in its teachings on these great subjects, is not to be denied, but revered and obeyed; and if revered here, where ought it to be contemned and renounced?

I am told that we have a better guide than reason, even God's word, and that this is to be followed and the other denied. But I ask, How do I know that Christianity is God's word? Are not the evidences of this religion submitted to reason? and if this faculty be unworthy of trust, is not revelation necessarily involved in the same condemnation? The truth is, and it ought not to be disguised, that our ultimate reliance is, and must be, on our own reason. Faith in this power lies at the foundation of all other faith. No trust can be placed in God, if we discredit the faculty by which God is discerned. I have another objection to the doctrine that we must deny reason in order to follow revelation. Reason is the very faculty to which revelation is addressed, and by which alone it can be explained. Without it we should be incapable of divine teaching, just as without the eye we should lose the happiest influences of the sun; and they who would discourage the use of reason, that we may better receive revelation, are much like those who should bind up or pluck out the eye that we might enjoy to the full the splendor of day.

Perhaps I shall be pointed to the many and gross errors into which reason has fallen on almost every subject, and shall be told that here are motives for distrusting and denying it. I reply, first, by asking how we detect these errors? By what power do we learn that reason so often misguides us? Is it not by reason itself? and shall we renounce it on account of its capacity of rectifying its own wrong judgments? Consider next, that on no subject has reason gone more astray than in the interpretation of the Scriptures; so that if it is to be denied on account of its errors, we must especially debar it from the study of revelation; in other words, we must shut the word of God in despair, — a consequence which, to a Protestant, is a sufficient refutation of the doctrine from which it flows.

A common method of enforcing the denial of reason is to contrast it with the infinite intelligence of God, and then to ask whether it can be prostrated too submissively, or renounced too humbly, before him. I acknowledge reverently the immeasurable superiority of God to human reason; but I do not

therefore contemn or renounce it; for, in the first place, it is as true of the "rapt seraph" as of man, that his intelligence is most narrow, compared with the divine. Is no honor therefore due to angelic wisdom? In the next place, I observe that human reason, imperfect though it be, is still the offspring of God, allied to him intimately, and worthy of its divine Parent. There is no extravagance in calling it, as is sometimes done, "a beam of the infinite light;" for it involves in its very essence those immutable and everlasting principles of truth and rectitude which constitute the glory of the Divine Mind. It ascends to the sublime idea of God by possessing kindred attributes, and knows him only through its affinity with him. It carries within itself the germ of that spiritual perfection which is the great end of the creation. Is it not, then, truly a "partaker of a divine nature"? Can we think or speak of it too gratefully or with too much respect? The infinity of God, so far from calling on me to prostrate and annihilate reason, exalts my conception of it. It is my faith in this perfection of the Divine Mind that inspires me with reverence for the human, for they are intimately connected, the latter being a derivation from the former, and endued with the power of approaching its original more and more through eternity. Severed from God, reason would lose its grandeur. In his infinity it has at once a source and a pledge of endless and unbounded improvement. God delights to communicate himself; and therefore his greatness, far from inspiring contempt for human reason, gives it a sacredness, and opens before it the most elevating hopes. The error of men is not that they exaggerate, but that they do not know or suspect the worth and dignity of their rational nature.

Perhaps I shall be told that reason is not to be denied universally, but only in cases where its teachings are contradicted by revelation. To this I reply that a contradiction between reason and a genuine revelation cannot exist. A doctrine claiming a divine origin would refute itself, by opposing any of the truths which reason intuitively discerns, or which it gathers from nature. God is the "Father of lights" and the "Author of concord," and He cannot darken and distract the human mind by jarring and irreconcilable instructions. He cannot subvert the authority of the very faculty through which we arrive at the knowledge of himself. A revelation from the Author of our rational nature will certainly be adapted to its fundamental laws. I am aware that it is very possible to give the name of reason to rash prejudices and corrupt opinions, and that on this ground we may falsely pronounce a genuine revelation to be inconsistent with reason; and our liableness to this delusion binds us to judge calmly, cautiously, and in the fear of God. But if, after a deliberate and impartial use of our best faculties, a professed revelation seems to us plainly to disagree with itself or to clash with great principles which we cannot question, we ought not to hesitate to withhold from it our belief. I am surer that my rational nature is from God than that any book is an expression of his will. This light in my own breast is his primary revelation, and all subsequent ones must accord with it, and are, in fact, intended to blend with and brighten it. My hearers, as you value Christianity, never speak of it as in any thing opposed to man's rational nature. Join not its foes in casting on it this reproach. It was given, not to supersede our rational faculties, but to quicken and invigorate them, to open a wider field to thought, to bring peace into the intellect as well as into the heart, to give harmony to all our views. We grievously wrong Christianity by supposing it to raise a standard against reason, or to demand the sacrifice of our noblest faculties. These are her allies, friends, kindred. With these she holds unalterable concord. Whenever doctrines are taught you from the Christian records opposing any clear conviction of reason and conscience, be assured that it is not the teaching of Christ which you hear. Some rash human expounder is substituting his own weak, discordant tones for the voice of God, which they no more resemble than the rattling chariot-wheel does heaven's awful thunder. Never, never do violence to your rational nature. He who in any case admits doctrines which contradict reason, has broken down the great barrier between truth and falsehood, and lays

open his mind to every delusion. The great mark of error, which is inconsistency, ceases to shock him. He has violated the first law of the intellect, and must pay the fearful penalty. Happy will it be for him if, by the renunciation of reason, he be not prepared for the opposite extreme, and do not, through a natural reaction, rush into the excess of incredulity. In the records of individuals and of the race, it is not uncommon for an era of intellectual prostration to be followed by an era of proud and licentious philosophy; nor will this alternation cease to form this history of the human mind till the just rights of reason be revered.

I will notice one more, and a very common one, in which the duty of denying reason is urged. We are told that there is one case in which we ought to prostrate our understandings, and that is the case of mysteries, whenever they are taught in the word of God. The answer to this popular language is short. Mysteries, *continuing such*, cannot, from their very nature, be believed, and of consequence reason incurs no blame in refusing them assent. This will appear by considering what a mystery is. In the language of Scripture, and in its true sense, it is a secret, — something unknown. I say, then, that from its nature it cannot be an object of belief; for to know and to believe are expressions of the same act of the mind, differing chiefly in this, that the former is more applicable to what admits of demonstration, the latter to probable truth. I have no disposition to deny the existence of mysteries. Every truth involves them. Every object which falls under our notice, the most common and simple, contains much that we do not know and cannot now penetrate. We know not, for example, what it is which holds together the particles of the meanest stone beneath our feet, nor the manner in which the humblest plant grows. That there are mysteries, secrets, things unknown without number, I should be the last to deny. I only maintain — and in so doing I utter an identical proposition — that what is mysterious, secret, unknown, cannot at the same time be known or an object of faith. It is a great and common error to confound facts which we understand with the mysteries which lurk under them, and to suppose that in believing the first we believe the last. But no two things are more distinct, nor does the most thorough knowledge of the one imply the least perception of the other. For example, my hand is moved by the act of my will. This is a plain fact. The words which convey it are among the most intelligible. I believe it without doubt. But under this fact, which I so well know, lies a great mystery. The *manner* in which the will acts on the hand, or the process which connects them, is altogether unknown. The fact and the mystery, as you see, have nothing in common. The former is so manifest that I cannot, if I would, withhold from it my faith. Of the latter not even a glimpse is afforded me; not an idea of it has dawned on the mind; and without ideas, there can, of course, be no knowledge or belief. These remarks apply to revelation as well as to nature. The subjects of which revelation treats — God, Christ, human nature, holiness, heaven, — contain infinite mysteries. What is revealed in regard to them is indeed as nothing compared with what remains secret. But "secret things belong to God," and the pride of reason is manifested not in declining, but in professing to make them objects of faith. It is the influence of time and of intellectual improvement to bring mysteries to light, both in nature and religion; and just as far as this process goes on, the belief of them becomes possible and right. Thus, the cause of eclipses, which was once a mystery, is now disclosed; and who of us does not believe it? In like manner Christ revealed "the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven," or the purposes and methods of God which had been kept secret for ages, in relation to the redemption of the world from sin, death, and woe. Being now revealed, or having ceased to be mysteries, these have become objects of faith, and reason ranks them among its most glorious truths.

From what has been said, we see that to deny reason is no part of religion. Never imagine yourselves called to prostrate and contemn this noble nature. Reverence conscience. Foster, extend, enlighten intellect. Never imagine that you are forsaking God in reposing a trust in the faculties He has given you. Only exercise them with impartiality, disinterestedness, and a supreme love

of truth, and their instructions will conspire with revelation, and a beautiful harmony will more and more manifest itself in the lessons which God's book and God's works, which Christ and conscience teach.

But if reason and conscience are not to be denied, what is? I answer, that there are other principles in our nature. Man is not wholly reason and conscience. He has various appetites, passions, desires, resting on present gratification and on outward objects; some of which we possess in common with inferior animals, such as sensual appetites and anger; and others belong more to the mind, such as love of power, love of honor, love of property, love of society, love of amusement, or a taste for literature and elegant arts; but all referring to our present being, and terminating chiefly on ourselves, or on a few beings who are identified with ourselves. These are to be denied or renounced, — by which I mean not exterminated, but renounced as masters, guides, lords, and brought into strict and entire subordination to our moral and intellectual powers. It is a false idea that religion requires the extermination of any principle, desire, appetite, or passion which our Creator has implanted. Our nature is a whole, a beautiful whole, and no part can be spared. You might as properly and innocently lop off a limb from the body as eradicate any natural desire from the mind. All our appetites are in themselves innocent and useful, ministering to the general weal of the soul. They are like the elements of the natural world, parts of a wise and beneficent system, but, like those elements, are beneficent only when restrained.

There are two remarks relating to our appetites and desires which will show their need of frequent denial and constant control. In the first place, it is true of them all that they do not carry within themselves their own rule. They are blind impulses. Present their objects, and they are excited as easily when gratification would be injurious as when it would be useful. We are not so constituted, for example, that we hunger and thirst for those things only which will be nutritive and wholesome, and lose all hunger and thirst at the moment when we have eaten or drunk enough. We are not so made that the desire of property springs up only when property can be gained by honest means, and that it declines and dies as soon as we have acquired a sufficiency for ourselves and for usefulness. Our desires are undiscerning instincts, generally directed to what is useful, but often clamoring for gratification, which would injure health, debilitate the mind, or oppose the general good; and this blindness of desire makes the demand for self-denial urgent and continual.

I pass to a second remark. Our appetites and desires carry with them a principle of growth or tendency to enlargement. They expand by indulgence, and, if not restrained, they fill and exhaust the soul, and hence are to be strictly watched over and denied. Nature has set bounds to the desires of the brute, but not to human desire, which partakes of the illimitableness of the soul to which it belongs. In brutes, for example, the animal appetites impel to a certain round of simple gratifications, beyond which they never pass. But man, having imagination and invention, is able by these noble faculties to whet his sensual desires indefinitely. He is able to form new combinations of animal pleasures, and to provoke appetite by stimulants. The East gives up its spices, and the South holds not back its vintage. Sea and land are rifled for luxuries. Whilst the animal finds its nourishment in a few plants, perhaps in a single blade, man's table groans under the spoils of all regions: and the consequence is that in not a few cases the whole strength of the soul runs into appetite, just as some rich soil shoots up into poisonous weeds, and man, the rational creature of God, degenerates into the most thorough sensualist. As another illustration of the tendency of our desires to grow and usurp the whole mind, take the love of property. We see this every day gaining dangerous strength, if left to itself, if not denied or curbed. It is a thirst which is inflamed by the very copiousness of its draughts. Anxiety grows with possession. Riches become dearer by time. The love of money, far from withering in life's winter, strikes deeper and deeper root in the heart of age. He who has more than he can use or manage, grows more and more eager and restless for new gains, muses by day

and dreams by night of wealth; and in this way the whole vigor of his soul, of intellect and affection, shoots up into an intense, unconquerable, and almost infinite passion for accumulation.

It is an interesting and solemn reflection, that the very nobleness of human nature may become the means and instrument of degradation. The powers which ally us to God, when pressed into the service of desire and appetite, enlarge desire into monstrous excess, and irritate appetite into fury. The rapidity of thought, the richness of imagination, the resources of invention, when enslaved to any passion, give it an extent and energy unknown to inferior natures; and just in proportion as this usurper establishes its empire over us, all the nobler attainments and products of the soul perish. Truth, virtue, honor, religion, hope, faith, charity, die. Here we see the need of self-denial. The lower principles of our nature not only act blindly, but, if neglected, grow indefinitely, and overshadow and blight and destroy every better growth. Without self-restraint and self-denial, the proportion, order, beauty, and harmony of the spiritual nature are subverted, and the soul becomes as monstrous and deformed as the body would become were all the nutriment to flow into a few organs, and these the least valuable, and to break out into loathsome excrescences, whilst the eye, the ear, and the active limbs should pine, and be palsied, and leave us without guidance or power.

Do any of you now ask, how it comes to pass that we are so constituted; why we are formed with desires so blind and strong, and tending so constantly to enlargement and dominion; and how we can reconcile this constitution with God's goodness? This is our second question. Some will answer it by saying that this constitution is a sinful nature derived from our first parents; that it comes not from God, but from Adam; that it is a sad inheritance from the first fallen pair; and that God is not to be blamed for it, but our original progenitor. But I confess this explanation does not satisfy me. Scripture says it was God who made me, not Adam. What I was at birth, I was by the ordinance of God. Make the connection between Adam and his posterity as close as you will, God must have intended it, and God has carried it into effect. My soul, at the moment of its creation, was as fresh from the hands of the Deity as if no human parent had preceded me; and I see not how to shift off on any other being the reproach of my nature, if it deserve reproach. But does it merit blame? Is the tendency to excess and growth, which we are conscious of in our passions and appetites, any derogation from the goodness or wisdom of our Maker? Can we find only evil in such a constitution? Perhaps it may minister to the highest purpose of God.

It is true that, as we are now made, our appetites and desires often war against reason, conscience, and religion. But why is this warfare appointed? Not to extinguish these high principles, but to awaken and invigorate them. It is meant to give them a field for action, occasion for effort, and means of victory. True, virtue is thus opposed and endangered; but virtue owes its vigor and hardihood to obstacles, and wins its crown by conflict. I do not say that God can find no school for character but temptation, and trial, and strong desire; but I do say that the present state is a fit and noble school. You, my hearers, would have the path of virtue from the very beginning smooth and strewed with flowers; and would this train the soul to energy? You would have pleasure always coincide with duty; and how, then, would you attest your loyalty to duty? You would have conscience and desire always speak the same language and prescribe the same path; and how, then, would conscience assert its supremacy? God has implanted blind desires, which often rise up against reason and conscience, that He may give to these high faculties the dignity of dominion and the joy of victory. He has surrounded us with rivals to himself, that we may love him freely, and by our own unfettered choice erect his throne in our souls. He has given us strong desires of inferior things, that the desire of excellence may grow stronger than all. Make such a world as you wish, let no appetite or passion ever resist God's will, no object of desire ever come in competition with duty; and where would be the resolution, and energy, and constancy, and effort, and purity,

the trampling under foot of low interests, the generous self-surrender, the heroic devotion, all the sublimities of virtue, which now throw lustre over man's nature and speak of his immortality? You would blot the precept of self-denial from the Scriptures, and the need of it from human life, and in so doing you would blot out almost every interesting passage in man's history. Let me ask you, when you read that history, what is it which most interests and absorbs you, which seizes on the imagination and memory, which agitates the soul to its centre? Who is the man whom you select from the records of time as the object of your special admiration? Is it he who lived to indulge himself? whose current of life flowed most equably and pleasurably? whose desires were crowned most liberally with means of gratification? whose table was most luxuriantly spread? and whom Fortune made the envy of his neighborhood by the fulness of her gifts? Were such the men to whom monuments have been reared, and whose memories, freshened with tears of joy and reverence, grow and flourish and spread through every age? Oh, no! He whom we love, whose honor we most covet, is he who has most denied and subdued himself; who has made the most entire sacrifice of appetites and passions and private interest to God, and virtue, and mankind; who has walked in a rugged path, and clung to good and great ends in persecution and pain; who, amidst the solicitations of ambition, ease, and private friendship, and the menaces of tyranny and malice, has listened to the voice of conscience, and found a recompense for blighted hopes and protracted suffering in conscious uprightness and the favor of God. Who is it that is most lovely in domestic life? It is the martyr to domestic affection, the mother forgetting herself, and ready to toil, suffer, die for the happiness and virtue of her children. Who is it that we honor in public life? It is the martyr to his country, he who serves her not when she has honors for his brow and wealth for his coffers, but who clings to her in her danger and fallen glories, and thinks life a cheap sacrifice to her safety and freedom. Whom does the church retain in most grateful remembrance, and pronounce holy and blessed? The self-denying, self-immolating apostle, the fearless confessor, the devoted martyr, men who have held fast the truth even in death, and bequeathed it to future ages amidst blood. Above all, to what moment of the life of Jesus does the Christian turn as the most affecting and sublime illustration of his divine character? It is that moment when, in the spirit of self-sacrifice, denying every human passion, and casting away every earthly interest, he bore the agony and shame of the cross. Thus all great virtues bear the impress of self-denial: and were God's present constitution of our nature and life so reversed as to demand no renunciation of desire, the chief interest and glory of our present being would pass away. There would be nothing in history to thrill us with admiration. We should have no consciousness of the power and greatness of the soul. We should love feebly and coldly, for we should find nothing in one another to love earnestly. Let us not, then, complain of Providence because it has made self-denial necessary; or complain of religion because it summons us to this work. Religion and nature here hold one language. Our own souls bear witness to the teaching of Christ, that it is the "narrow way" of self-denial "which leadeth unto life."

My friends, at death, if reason is spared to us and memory retains its hold on the past, will it gratify us to see that we have lived not to deny but to indulge ourselves, that we have bowed our souls to any passion, that we gave the reins to lust, that we were palsied by sloth, that through love of gain we hardened ourselves against the claims of humanity, or through love of man's favor parted with truth and moral independence, or that in any thing reason and conscience were sacrificed to the impulse of desire, and God forgotten for present good? Shall we then find comfort in remembering our tables of luxury, our pillows of down, our wealth amassed and employed for private ends, or our honors won by base compliance with the world? Did any man at his death ever regret his conflicts with himself, his victories over appetite, his scorn of impure pleasures, or his sufferings for righteousness' sake? Did any man ever mourn that he had impover-

ished himself by integrity, or worn out his frame in the service of mankind? Are these the recollections which harrow the soul, and darken and appal the last hour? To whom is the last hour most serene and full of hope? Is it not to him who, amidst perils and allurements, has denied himself, and taken up the cross with the holy resolution of Jesus Christ?

SECOND DISCOURSE.

MATTHEW xvi. 24: "Then said Jesus unto his disciples, If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me."

IN the preceding discourse I spoke of the just limits and moral dignity of self-denial. I resume the subject because it throws much light on the nature of true virtue, and helps us to distinguish moral goodness from qualities which resemble it. Clear conceptions on this point are inestimable. To love and seek excellence we must know what it is, and separate it from counterfeits. From want of just views of virtue and piety, men's admiration and efforts are often wasted, and sometimes carry them wide of the great object of human life. Perhaps truth on this subject cannot be brought out more clearly than by considering the nature of self-denial. Such will be the aim of this discourse.

To deny ourselves is to deny, to withstand, to renounce whatever, within or without, interferes with our conviction of right or with the will of God. It is to suffer, to make sacrifices for duty or our principles. The question now offers itself, What constitutes the singular merit of this suffering? Mere suffering, we all know, is not virtue. Evil men often endure pain as well as the good, and are evil still. This and this alone constitutes the worth and importance of the sacrifice, suffering, which enters into self-denial, that it springs from and manifests moral strength, power over ourselves, force of purpose, or the mind's resolute determination of itself to duty. It is the proof and result of inward energy. Difficulty, hardship, suffering, sacrifices, are tests and measures of moral force, and the great means of its enlargement. To withstand these is the same thing as to put forth power. Self-denial, then, is the will acting with power in the choice and prosecution of duty. Here we have the distinguishing glory of self-denial, and here we have the essence and distinction of a good and virtuous man.

The truth to which these views lead us, and which I am now solicitous to enforce, is this, that the great characteristic of a virtuous or religious mind is strength of moral purpose. This force is the measure of excellence. The very idea of duty implies that we are bound to adopt and pursue it with a stronger and more settled determination than any other object, and virtue consists in fidelity to this primary dictate of conscience. We have virtue only as far as we exert inward energy, or as far as we put forth a strong and overcoming will in obeying the law of God and of our own minds. Let this truth be deeply felt. Let us not confide in good emotions, in kind feelings, in tears for the suffering, or in admiration of noble deeds. These are not goodness in the moral and Christian sense of that word. It is force of upright and holy purpose, attested and approved by withstanding trial, temptation, allurement, and suffering; it is this in which virtue consists. I know nothing else which an enlightened conscience approves, nothing else which God will accept.

I am aware that if I were called upon to state my ideas of a perfect character, I should give an answer that would seem at first to contradict the doctrine just expressed, or to be inconsistent with the stress which I have laid on strength of moral purpose. I should say, that perfection of mind, like that of the body, consists of two elements, — of strength and beauty; that it consists of firmness and mildness, of force and tenderness, of vigor and grace. It would ill become a teacher of Christianity to overlook the importance of sympathy, gentleness, humility, and charity, in his definition of moral excellence. The amiable, attractive, mild attributes of the mind are recommended as of great price in the sight of God, by him who was emphatically meek and lowly in heart. Still I must say that all virtue lies in strength of character or of moral purpose; for these gentle, sweet, winning qualities rise into virtue only when pervaded and sustained by moral energy. On this they must rest, by this

they must be controlled and exalted, or they have no moral worth. I acknowledge love, kindness, to be a great virtue; but what do I mean by love when I thus speak? Do I mean a constitutional tenderness? an instinctive sympathy? the natural and almost necessary attachment to friends and benefactors? the kindness which is inseparable from our social state, and which is never wholly extinguished in the human breast? In all these emotions of our nature I see the kind design of God; I see a beauty; I see the germ and capacity of an ever-growing charity. But they are not virtues, they are not proper objects of moral approbation, nor do they give any sure pledge of improvement. This natural amiableness I too often see in company with sloth, with uselessness, with the contemptible vanity and dissipation of fashionable life. It is no ground of trust, no promise of fidelity in any of the great exigencies of life. The love, the benevolence which I honor as virtue, is not the gift of nature or condition, but the growth and manifestation of the soul's moral power. It is a spirit chosen as excellent, cherished as divine, protected with a jealous care, and especially fortified by the resistance and subjection of opposite propensities. It is the soul determining itself to break every chain of selfishness, to enlarge and to invigorate the kind affections, to identify itself with other beings, to sympathize not with a few, but with all the living and rational children of God, to honor others' worth, to increase and enjoy their happiness, to partake in the universal goodness of the Creator, and to put down within itself every motion of pride, anger, or sensual desire inconsistent with this pure charity. In other words, it is strength of holy purpose infused into the kind affections, which raises them into virtues, or gives them a moral worth not found in constitutional amiableness.

I read in the Scriptures the praises of meekness. But when I see a man meek or patient of injury through tameness, or insensibility, or want of self-respect, passively gentle, meek through constitution or fear, I look on him with feelings very different from veneration. It is the meekness of principle; it is mildness replete with energy; it is the forbearance of a man who feels a wrong, but who curbs anger, who though injured resolves to be just, who voluntarily remembers that his foe is a man and a brother, who dreads to surrender himself to his passions, who in the moment of provocation subjects himself to reason and religion, and who holds fast the great truth, that the noblest victory over a foe is to disarm and subdue him by equity and kindness, — it is this meekness which I venerate, and which seems to me one of the divinest virtues. It is moral power, the strength of virtuous purpose, pervading meekness, which gives it all its title to respect.

It is worthy of special remark, that without this moral energy, resisting passion and impulse, our tenderest attachments degenerate more or less into weaknesses and immoralities; sometimes prompting us to sympathize with those whom we love in their errors, prejudices, and evil passions; sometimes inciting us to heap upon them injurious praises and indulgences; sometimes urging us to wrong or neglect others, that we may the more enjoy or serve our favorites; and sometimes poisoning our breasts with jealousy or envy, because our affection is not returned with equal warmth. The principle of love, whether exercised towards our relatives or our country, whether manifested in courtesy or compassion, can only become virtue, can only acquire purity, consistency, serenity, dignity, when imbued, swayed, cherished, enlarged by the power of a virtuous will, by a self-denying energy. It is inward force, power over ourselves, which is the beginning and the end of virtue.

What I have now said of the kind affections is equally true of the religious ones. These have virtue in them only as far as they are imbued with self-denying strength. I know that multitudes place religion in feeling. Ardent sensibility is the measure of piety. He who is wrought up by preaching or sympathy into extraordinary fervor, is a saint; and the less he governs himself in his piety, the more he is looked upon as inspired. But I know of no religion which has moral worth, or is acceptable to God, but that which grows from and is nourished by our own spiritual, self-denying energy. Emotion towards God, springing up without our own thought or care, grateful feelings at the recep-

tion of signal benefits, the swelling of the soul at the sight of nature, tenderness awakened by descriptions of the love and cross of Christ, — these, though showing high capacities, though means and materials of piety, are not *of themselves* acceptable religion. The religious character which has true virtue, and which is built upon a rock, is that which has been deliberately and resolutely adopted and cherished as our highest duty, and as the friend and strengthener of all other duties; and which we have watched over and confirmed by suppressing inconsistent desires and passions, by warring against selfishness and the love of the world.

There is one fact very decisive on this subject. It is not uncommon to see people with strong religious feeling who are not made better by it; who at church or in other meetings are moved perhaps to tears, but who make no progress in self-government or charity, and who gain nothing of elevation of mind in their common feelings and transactions. They take pleasure in religious excitement, just as others delight to be interested by a fiction or a play. They invite these emotions because they suppose them to aid or insure salvation, and soon relapse into their ordinary sordidness or other besetting infirmities. Now, to give the name of religion to this mockery is the surest way to dishonor it. True religion is not mere emotion, is not something communicated to us without our own moral effort. It involves much self-denial. Its great characteristic is not feeling, but the subjection of our wills, desires, habits, lives, to the will of God, from a conviction that what He wills is the perfection of virtue, and the true happiness of our nature. In genuine piety the mind chooses as its supreme good the moral excellence enjoined by its Author, and resolutely renounces whatever would sully this divine image, and so disturb its communion with God. This religion, though its essence be not emotion, will gradually gather and issue in a sensibility deeper, intenser, more glowing than the blind enthusiast ever felt; and then only does it manifest itself in its perfect form, when, through a self-denying and self-purifying power, it rises to an overflowing love, gratitude, and joy towards the Universal Father.

In insisting on the great principle that religion, or virtue, consists in strength of moral purpose, in the soul's resolute determination of itself to duty, I am satisfied that I express a truth which has a witness and confirmation in the breast of every reflecting man. We all of us feel that virtue is not something adopted from necessity, something to which feeling impels us, something which comes to us from constitution, or accident, or outward condition; but that it has its origin in our moral freedom, that it consists in moral energy; and accordingly we all measure virtue by the trials and difficulties which it overcomes, for these are the tests and measures of the force with which the soul adopts it. Every one of us who has adhered to duty, when duty brought no recompense but the conviction of well-doing, who has faced the perils of a good but persecuted cause with unshrinking courage, who has been conscious of an inward triumph over temptation, conscious of having put down bad motives and exalted good ones in his own breast, must remember the clear, strong, authentic voice, the accents of peculiar encouragement and joy, with which the inward judge has at such seasons pronounced its approving sentence. This experience is universal, and it is the voice of nature and of God in confirmation of the great truth of this discourse.

I fear that the importance of strength in the Christian character has been in some degree obscured by the habit of calling certain Christian graces of singular worth by the name of *passive* virtues. This name has been given to humility, patience, resignation; and I fear that the phrase has led some to regard these noble qualities as allied to inaction, as wanting energy and determination. Now the truth is that the mind never puts forth greater power over itself than when, in great trials, it yields up calmly its desires, affections, interests to God. There are seasons when to be *still* demands immeasurably higher strength than to act. Composure is often the highest result of power. Think you it demands no power to calm the stormy elements of passion, to moderate the vehemence of desire, to throw off the load of dejection, to suppress every repining thought, when the dear-

est hopes are withered, and to turn the wounded spirit from dangerous reveries and wasting grief to the quiet discharge of ordinary duties? Is there no power put forth when a man, stripped of his property, of the fruits of a life's labor, quells discontent and gloomy forebodings, and serenely and patiently returns to the tasks which Providence assigns? I doubt not that the all-seeing eye of God sometimes discerns the sublimest human energy under a form and countenance which by their composure and tranquillity indicate to the human spectator only passive virtues.

The doctrine of this discourse is in every view interesting. To me it goes further than all others to explain the present state. If moral strength, if inward power in the choice and practice of duty, constitute excellence and happiness, then I see why we are placed in a world of obstructions, perils, hardships, why duty is so often a "narrow way," why the warfare of the passions with conscience is so subtile and unceasing; why within and without us are so many foes to rectitude; for this is the very state to call forth and to build up moral force. In a world where duty and inclination should perfectly agree, we should indeed never err, but the living power of virtue could not be developed. Do not complain, then, of life's trials. Through these you may gain incomparably higher good than indulgence and ease. This view reveals to us the impartial goodness of God in the variety of human conditions. We sometimes see individuals whose peculiar trials are thought to make their existence to them an evil. But among such may be found the most favored children of God. If there be a man on earth to be envied it is he who, amidst the sharpest assaults from his own passions, from fortune, from society, never falters in his allegiance to God and the inward monitor. So peculiar is the excellence of this moral strength, that I believe the Creator regards one being who puts it forth with greater complacency than He would look on a world of beings innocent and harmless through the necessity of constitution. I know not that human wisdom has arrived at a juster or higher view of the present state than that it is intended to call forth power by obstruction, the power of intellect by the difficulties of knowledge, the power of conscience and virtue by temptation, allurement, pleasure, pain, and the alternations of prosperous and adverse life. When I see a man holding faster his uprightness in proportion as it is assailed; fortifying his religious trust in proportion as Providence is obscure; hoping in the ultimate triumphs of virtue more surely in proportion to its present afflictions; cherishing philanthropy amidst the discouraging experience of men's unkindness and unthankfulness; extending to others a sympathy which his own sufferings need but cannot obtain; growing milder and gentler amidst what tends to exasperate and harden; and through inward principle converting the very incitements to evil into the occasions of a victorious virtue, — I see an explanation, and a noble explanation, of the present state. I see a good produced so transcendent in its nature as to justify all the evil and suffering under which it grows up. I should think the formation of a few such minds worth all the apparatus of the present world. I should say that this earth, with its continents and oceans, its seasons and harvests, and its successive generations, was a work worthy of God, even were it to accomplish no other end than the training and manifestation of the illustrious characters which are scattered through history. And when I consider how small a portion of human virtue is recorded by history, how superior in dignity as well as in number are the unnoticed, unhonored saints and heroes of domestic and humble life, I see a light thrown over the present state which more than reconciles me to all its evils.

The views given in this discourse of the importance of moral power manifested in great trials, may be employed to shed a glorious and perhaps a new light on the character and cross of Christ. But this topic can now be only suggested to your private meditation. There is, however, one practical application of our subject which may be made in a few words, and which I cannot omit. I wish to ask the young who hear me, and especially of my own sex, to use the views now offered in judging and forming their characters. Young man, remember that the only test of goodness, virtue, is moral strength, self-denying energy. You have generous and honor-

able feelings, you scorn mean actions, your heart beats quick at the sight or hearing of courageous, disinterested deeds, and all these are interesting qualities; but remember they are the gifts of nature, the endowments of your susceptible age. They are not virtue. God and the inward monitor ask for more. The question is, Do you strive to confirm into permanent principles the generous sensibilities of the heart? Are you watchful to suppress the impetuous emotions, the resentments, the selfish passionateness which are warring against your honorable feelings? Especially do you subject to your moral and religious convictions the love of pleasure, the appetites, the passions which form the great trials of youthful virtue? Here is the field of conflict to which youth is summoned. Trust not to occasional impulses of benevolence, to constitutional courage, frankness, kindness, if you surrender yourselves basely to the temptations of your age. No man who has made any observation of life but will tell you how often he has seen the promise of youth blasted; intellect, genius, honorable feeling, kind affection, overpowered and almost extinguished through the want of moral strength, through a tame yielding to pleasure and the passions. Place no trust in your good propensities, unless these are fortified, and upheld, and improved by moral energy and self-control. To all of us, in truth, the same lesson comes. If any man will be Christ's disciple, sincerely good, and worthy to be named among the friends of virtue, if he will have inward peace and the consciousness of progress towards heaven, he must deny himself, he must take the cross, and follow Christ in the renunciation of every gain and pleasure inconsistent with the will of God.

THE EVIL OF SIN.

PROVERBS xiv. 9: "Fools make a mock at sin."

MY aim in this discourse is simple, and may be expressed in a few words. I wish to guard you against thinking lightly of sin. No folly is so monstrous, and yet our exposure to it is great. Breathing an atmosphere tainted with moral evil, seeing and hearing sin in our daily walks, we are in no small danger of overlooking its malignity. This malignity I would set before you with all plainness, believing that the effort which is needed to resist this enemy of our peace is to be called forth by fixing on it our frequent and serious attention.

I feel as if a difficulty lay at the very threshold of this discussion, which it is worth our while to remove. The word sin, I apprehend, is to many obscure, or not sufficiently plain. It is a word seldom used in common life. It belongs to theology and the pulpit. By not a few people sin is supposed to be a property of our nature, born with us; and we sometimes hear of the child as being sinful before it can have performed any action. From these and other causes the word gives to many confused notions. Sin, in its true sense, is the violation of duty, and cannot, consequently, exist before conscience has begun to act, and before power to obey it is unfolded. To sin is to resist our sense of right, to oppose known obligation, to cherish feelings or commit deeds which we know to be wrong. It is to withhold from God the reverence, gratitude, and obedience which our own consciences pronounce to be due to that great and good Being. It is to transgress those laws of equity, justice, candor, humanity, disinterestedness, which we all feel to belong and to answer to our various social relations. It is to yield ourselves to those appetites which we know to be the inferior principles of our nature, to give the body a mastery over the mind, to sacrifice the intellect and heart to the senses, to surrender ourselves to ease and indulgence, or to prefer outward accumulation and power to strength and peace of conscience, to progress towards

perfection. Such is sin. It is voluntary wrong-doing. Any gratification injurious to ourselves is sin. Any act injurious to our neighbors is sin. Indifference to our Creator is sin. The transgression of any command which this excellent Being and rightful Sovereign has given us, whether by conscience or revelation, is sin. So broad is this term. It is as extensive as duty. It is not some mysterious thing wrought into our souls at birth. It is not a theological subtilty. It is choosing and acting in opposition to our sense of right, to known obligation.

Now, according to the Scriptures, there is nothing so evil, so deformed, so ruinous as sin. All pain, poverty, contempt, affliction, ill success, are light and not to be named with it. To do wrong is more pernicious than to incur all the calamities which nature or human malice can heap upon us. According to the Scriptures, I am not to fear those who would kill this body, and have nothing more that they can do. Such enemies are impotent compared with that sin which draws down the displeasure of God, and draws after it misery and death to the soul. According to the Scriptures, I am to pluck out even a right eye, or cut off even a right arm, which would ensnare or seduce me into crime. The loss of the most important limbs and organs is nothing compared to the loss of innocence. Such you know is the whole strain of Scripture. Sin, violated duty, the evil of the heart, this is the only evil of which Scripture takes account. It was from this that Christ came to redeem us. It is to purify us from this stain, to set us free from this yoke, that a new and supernatural agency was added to God's other means of promoting human happiness.

It is the design of these representations of Scripture to lead us to connect with sin or wrong-doing the ideas of evil, wretchedness, and debasement more strongly than with any thing else; and this deep, deliberate conviction of the wrong and evil done to ourselves by sin is not simply a command of Christianity. It is not an arbitrary, positive precept, which rests solely on the word of the lawgiver, and of which no account can be given but that he wills it. It is alike the dictate of natural and revealed religion, an injunction of conscience and reason, founded in our very souls, and confirmed by constant experience. To regard sin, wrong-doing, as the greatest of evils is God's command, proclaimed from within and without, from heaven and earth; and he who does not hear it has not learned the truth on which his whole happiness rests. This I propose to illustrate.

1. If we look within, we find in our very nature a testimony to the doctrine that sin is the chief of evils, — a testimony which, however slighted or smothered, will be recognized, I think, by every one who hears me. To understand this truth better, it may be useful to inquire into and compare the different kinds of evil. Evil has various forms, but these may all be reduced to two great divisions, called by philosophers *natural* and *moral*. By the first is meant the pain or suffering which springs from outward condition and events, or from causes independent of the will. The latter, that is, moral evil, belongs to character and conduct, and is commonly expressed by the words sin, vice, transgression of the rule of right. Now I say that there is no man, unless he be singularly hardened and an exception to his race, who, if these two classes or divisions of evil should be clearly and fully presented him in moments of calm and deliberate thinking, would not feel, through the very constitution of his mind, that sin or vice is worse and more to be dreaded than pain. I am willing to take from among you the individual who has studied least the great questions of morality and religion, whose mind has grown up with least discipline. If I place before such a hearer two examples in strong contrast, one of a man gaining great property by an atrocious crime, and another exposing himself to great suffering through a resolute purpose of duty, will he not tell me at once, from a deep moral sentiment which leaves not a doubt on his mind, that the last has chosen the better part, that he is more to be envied than the first? On these great questions, What is the chief good? and What the chief evil? we are instructed by our own nature. An inward voice has told men, even in heathen countries, that excellence of character is the supreme good, and that baseness of soul and of action involves something worse than suffering. We have all of us, at some

period of life, had the same conviction; and these have been the periods when the mind has been healthiest, clearest, least perturbed by passion. Is there any one here who does not feel that what the divine faculty of conscience enjoins as right has stronger claims upon him than what is recommended as merely agreeable or advantageous; that duty is something more sacred than interest or pleasure; that virtue is a good of a higher order than gratification; that crime is something worse than outward loss? What means the admiration with which we follow the conscientious and disinterested man, and which grows strong in proportion to his sacrifices to duty? Is it not the testimony of our whole souls to the truth and greatness of the good he has chosen? What means the feeling of abhorrence, which we cannot repress if we would, towards him who, by abusing confidence, trampling on weakness, or hardening himself against the appeals of mercy, has grown rich or great? Do we think that such a man has made a good bargain in bartering principle for wealth? Is prosperous fortune a balance for vice? In our deliberate moments, is there not a voice which pronounces his craft folly, and his success misery?

And, to come nearer home, what conviction is it which springs up most spontaneously in our more reflecting moments, when we look back without passion on our own lives? Can vice *stand* that calm look? Is there a single wrong act which we would not then rejoice to expunge from the unalterable records of our deeds? Do we ever congratulate ourselves on having despised the inward monitor, or revolted against God? To what portions of our history do we return most joyfully? Are they those in which we gained the world and lost the soul, in which temptation mastered our principles, which levity and sloth made a blank, or which a selfish and unprincipled activity made worse than a blank, in our existence? or are they those in which we suffered but were true to conscience, in which we denied ourselves for duty, and sacrificed success through unwavering rectitude? In these moments of calm recollection, do not the very transgressions at which perhaps we once mocked, and which promised unmixed joy, recur to awaken shame and remorse? And do not shame and remorse involve a consciousness that we have sunk beneath our proper good? that our highest nature, what constitutes our true self, has been sacrificed to low interests and pursuits? I make these appeals confidently. I think my questions can receive but one answer. Now, these convictions and emotions with which we witness moral evil in others, or recollect it in ourselves; these feelings towards guilt, which mere pain and suffering never excite, and which manifest themselves with more or less distinctness in all nations and all stages of society; these inward attestations that sin, wrong-doing, is a peculiar evil, for which no outward good can give adequate compensation, — surely these deserve to be regarded as the voice of nature, the voice of God. They are accompanied with a peculiar consciousness of truth. They are felt to be our ornament and defence. Thus, our nature teaches the doctrine of Christianity, that sin, or moral evil, ought of all evils to inspire most abhorrence and fear.

Our first argument has been drawn from sentiment, from deep and almost instinctive feeling, from the hand-writing of the Creator on the soul. Our next may be drawn from experience. We have said that even when sin or wrong-doing is prosperous, and duty brings suffering, we feel that the suffering is a less evil than sin. I now add, in the second place, that sin, though it sometimes prospers, and never meets its full retribution on earth, yet, on the whole, produces more present suffering than all things else; so that experience warns us against sin or wrong-doing as the chief evil we can incur. Whence come the sorest diseases and acutest bodily pains? Come they not from the lusts warring in our members, from criminal excess? What chiefly generates poverty and its worst sufferings? Is it not to evils of character, to the want of self-denying virtue, that we must ascribe chiefly the evils of our outward condition? The pages of history, how is it that they are so dark and sad? Is it not that they are stained with crime? If we penetrate into private life, what spreads most misery through our homes? Is it sickness, or selfishness? Is it want of outward com-

forts, or want of inward discipline, of the spirit of love? What more do we need to bring back Eden's happiness than Eden's sinlessness? How light a burden would be life's necessary ills were they not aided by the crushing weight of our own and others' faults and crimes? How fast would human woe vanish were human selfishness, sensuality, injustice, pride, impiety, to yield to the pure and benign influences of Christian truth? How many of us know that the sharpest pains we have ever suffered have been the wounds of pride, the paroxysms of passion, the stings of remorse; and where this is not the case, who of us, if he were to know his own soul, would not see that the daily restlessness of life, the wearing uneasiness of the mind, which, as a whole, brings more suffering than acute pains, is altogether the result of undisciplined passions, of neglect or disobedience of God? Our discontents and anxieties have their origin in moral evil. The lines of suffering on almost every human countenance have been deepened, if not traced there, by unfaithfulness to conscience, by departures from duty. To do wrong is the surest way to bring suffering; no wrong deed ever failed to bring it. Those sins which are followed by no palpable pain are yet terribly avenged even in this life. They abridge our capacity of happiness, impair our relish for innocent pleasure, and increase our sensibility to suffering. They spoil us of the armor of a pure conscience and of trust in God, without which we are naked amidst hosts of foes, and are vulnerable by all the changes of life. Thus, to do wrong is to inflict the surest injury on our own peace. No enemy can do us equal harm with what we do ourselves whenever or however we violate any moral or religious obligation.

I have time but for one more view of moral evil or sin, showing that it is truly the greatest evil. It is this. The miseries of disobedience to conscience and God are not exhausted in this life. Sin deserves, calls for, and will bring down future, greater misery. This Christianity teaches, and this nature teaches. Retribution is not a new doctrine brought by Christ into the world. Though darkened and corrupted, it was spread everywhere before he came. It carried alarm to rude nations, which nothing on earth could terrify. It mixed with all the false religions of antiquity, and it finds a response now in every mind not perverted by sophistry. That we shall carry with us into the future world our present minds, and that a character formed in opposition to our highest faculties and to the will of God will produce suffering in our future being, — these are truths, in which revelation, reason, and conscience remarkably conspire.

I know, indeed, that this doctrine is sometimes questioned. It is maintained by some among us that punishment is confined to the present state; that in changing worlds we shall change our characters; that moral evil is to be buried with the body in the grave. As this opinion spreads industriously, and as it tends to diminish the dread of sin, it deserves some notice. To my mind, a more irrational doctrine was never broached. In the first place, it contradicts all our experience of the nature and laws of the mind. There is nothing more striking in the mind than the connection of its successive states. Our present knowledge, thoughts, feelings, characters, are the results of former impressions, passions, and pursuits. We are this moment what the past has made us; and to suppose that at death the influences of our whole past course are to cease on our minds, and that a character is to spring up altogether at war with what has preceded it, is to suppose the most important law or principle of the mind to be violated, is to destroy all analogy between the present and future, and to substitute for experience the wildest dreams of fancy. In truth, such a sudden revolution in the character as is here supposed seems to destroy a man's identity. The individual thus transformed can hardly seem to himself or to others the same being. It is equivalent to the creation of a new soul.

Let me next ask, what fact can be adduced in proof or illustration of the power ascribed to death of changing and purifying the mind? What is death? It is the dissolution of certain limbs and organs by which the soul now acts. But these, however closely connected with the mind, are entirely distinct from its powers, from thought and will, from

conscience and affection. Why should the last grow pure from the dissolution of the first? Why shall the mind put on a new character by laying aside the gross instruments through which it now operates? At death, the hands, the feet, the eye, and the ear perish. But they often perish during life; and does character change with them? It is true that our animal appetites are weakened and sometimes destroyed by the decay of the bodily organs on which they depend. But our deeper principles of action, and the moral complexion of the mind, are not therefore reversed. It often happens that the sensualist, broken down by disease which excess has induced, comes to loathe the luxuries to which he was once enslaved; but do his selfishness, his low habits of thought, his insensibility to God, decline and perish with his animal desires? Lop off the criminal's hands; does the disposition to do mischief vanish with them? When the feet mortify, do we see a corresponding mortification of the will to go astray? The loss of sight or hearing is a partial death; but is a single vice plucked from the mind, or one of its strong passions palsied, by this destruction of its chief corporeal instruments?

Again; the idea that by dying or changing worlds a man may be made better or virtuous, shows an ignorance of the nature of moral goodness or virtue. This belongs to free beings; it supposes moral liberty. A man cannot be made virtuous as an instrument may be put in tune, by a foreign hand, by an outward force. Virtue is that to which the man himself contributes. It is the fruit of exertion. It supposes conquest of temptation. It cannot be given from abroad to one who has wasted life or steeped himself in crime. To suppose moral goodness breathed from abroad into the guilty mind, just as health may be imparted to a sick body, is to overlook the distinction between corporeal and intellectual natures, and to degrade a free being into a machine.

I will only add, that to suppose no connection to exist between the present and the future character, is to take away the use of the present state. Why are we placed in a state of discipline, exposed to temptation, encompassed with suffering, if, without discipline, and by a sovereign act of omnipotence, we are all of us, be our present characters what they may, soon and suddenly to be made perfect in virtue and perfect in happiness?

Let us not listen for a moment to a doctrine so irrational as that our present characters do not follow us into a future world. If we are to live again, let us settle it as a sure fact, that we shall carry with us our present minds, such as we now make them; that we shall reap good or ill according to their improvement or corruption; and, of consequence, that every act which affects character will reach in its influence beyond the grave, and have a bearing on our future weal or woe. We are now framing our future lot. He who does a bad deed says, more strongly than words can utter, "I cast away a portion of future good, I resolve on future pain."

I proceed now to an important and solemn remark in illustration of the evil of sin. It is plainly implied in Scripture that we shall suffer much more from sin, evil tempers, irreligion, in the future world than we suffer here. This is one main distinction between the two states. In the present world sin does indeed bring with it many pains, but not full or exact retribution, and sometimes it seems crowned with prosperity; and the cause of this is obvious. The present world is a state for the formation of character. It is meant to be a state of trial, where we are to act freely, to have opportunities of wrong as well as right action, and to become virtuous amidst temptation. Now such a purpose requires that sin, or wrong-doing, should not regularly and infallibly produce its full and immediate punishment. For suppose, my hearers, that at the very instant of a bad purpose or a bad deed a sore and awful penalty were unfailingly to light upon you; would this be consistent with trial? would you have moral freedom? would you not live under compulsion? Who would do wrong if judgment were to come like lightning after every evil deed? In such a world fear would suspend our liberty and supersede conscience. Accordingly sin, though, as we have seen, it produces great misery, is still left to compass many of its objects, often to prosper, often to be gain. Vice, bad as it is, has often many pleasures in its train. The worst men partake, equally with the good, the light of the sun, the

rain, the harvest, the accommodations and improvements of civilized life, and sometimes accumulate more largely outward goods. And thus sin has its pleasures, and escapes many of its natural and proper fruits. We live in a world where, if we please, we may forget ourselves, may delude ourselves, may intoxicate our minds with false hopes, and may find for a time a deceitful joy in an evil course. In this respect the future will differ from the present world. After death, character will produce its full effect. According to the Scriptures, the color of our future existence will be wholly determined by the habits and principles which we carry into it. The circumstances which in this life prevent vice, sin, wrong-doing, from inflicting pain, will not operate hereafter. There the evil mind will be exposed to its own terrible agency, and nothing, nothing will interfere between the transgressor and his own awakened conscience. I ask you to pause and weigh this distinction between the present and future. In the present life we have, as I have said, the means of escaping, amusing, and forgetting ourselves. Once in the course of every daily revolution of the sun we all of us find refuge, and many a long refuge, in sleep; and he who has lived without God, and in violation of his duty, hears not for hours a whisper of the monitor within. But sleep is a function of our present animal frame, and let not the transgressor anticipate this boon in the world of retribution before him. It may be, and he has reason to fear, that in that state repose will not weigh down his eyelids, that conscience will not slumber there, that night and day the same reproaching voice is to cry within, that unrepented sin will fasten with unrelaxing grasp on the ever-waking soul. What an immense change in condition would the removal of this single alleviation of suffering produce!

Again; in the present state, how many pleasant sights, scenes, voices, motions, draw us from ourselves; and he who has done wrong, how easily may he forget it, perhaps mock at it, under the bright light of this sun, on this fair earth, at the table of luxury, and amidst cheerful associates. In the state of retribution he who has abused the present state will find no such means of escaping the wages of sin. The precise mode in which such a man is to exist hereafter I know not. But I know that it will offer nothing to amuse him, to dissipate thought, to turn him away from himself; nothing to which he can fly for refuge from the inward penalties of transgression.

In the present life, I have said, the outward creation, by its interesting objects, draws the evil man from himself. It seems to me probable that, in the future, the whole creation will through sin be turned into a source of suffering, and will perpetually throw back the evil mind on its own transgressions. I can briefly state the reflections which lead to this anticipation. The Scriptures strongly imply, if not positively teach, that in the future life we shall exist in connection with some material frame; and the doctrine is sustained by reason; for it can hardly be thought that, in a creation which is marked by gradual change and progress, we should make at once the mighty transition from our present state into a purely spiritual or unembodied existence. Now, in the present state, we find that the mind has an immense power over the body, and when diseased, often communicates disease to its sympathizing companion. I believe that, in the future state, the mind will have this power of conforming its outward frame to itself incomparably more than here. We must never forget that in that world mind or character is to exert an all-powerful sway: and, accordingly, it is rational to believe that the corrupt and deformed mind, which wants moral goodness, or a spirit of concord with God and with the universe, will create for itself, as its fit dwelling, a deformed body, which will also want concord or harmony with all things around it. Suppose this to exist, and the whole creation which now amuses may become an instrument of suffering, fixing the soul with a more harrowing consciousness on itself. You know that even now, in consequence of certain derangements of the nervous system, the beautiful light gives acute pain, and sounds which once delighted us become shrill and distressing. How often this excessive irritableness of the body has its origin in moral disorders, perhaps few of us suspect. I apprehend, indeed, that we should be all amazed

were we to learn to what extent the body is continually incapacitated for enjoyment, and made susceptible of suffering, by sins of the heart and life. That delicate part of our organization on which sensibility, pain, and pleasure depend, is, I believe, peculiarly alive to the touch of moral evil. How easily, then, may the mind hereafter frame the future body according to itself, so that, in proportion to its vice, it will receive, through its organs and senses, impressions of gloom which it will feel to be the natural productions of its own depravity, and which will in this way give a terrible energy to conscience! For myself, I see no need of a local hell for the sinner after death. When I reflect how, in the present world, a guilty mind has power to deform the countenance, to undermine health, to poison pleasure, to darken the fairest scenes of nature, to turn prosperity into a curse, I can easily understand how, in the world to come, sin, working without obstruction according to its own nature, should spread the gloom of a dungeon over the whole creation, and wherever it goes should turn the universe into a hell.

In these remarks I presume not to be the prophet of the future world. I only wish you to feel how terribly sin is hereafter to work its own misery, and how false and dangerous it is to argue from your present power of escaping its consequences, that you may escape them in the life to come. Let each of us be assured that by abusing this world we shall not earn a better. The Scriptures announce a state of more exact and rigorous retribution than the present. Let this truth sink into our hearts. It shows us, what I have aimed to establish, that to do wrong is to incur the greatest of calamities, that sin is the chief of evils. May I not say that nothing else deserves the name? No other evil will follow us beyond the grave. Poverty, disease, the world's scorn, the pain of bereaved affection, these cease at the grave. The purified spirit lays down there every burden. One and only one evil can be carried from this world to the next, and that is the evil within us, moral evil, guilt, crime, ungoverned passion, the depraved mind, the memory of a wasted or ill-spent life, the character which has grown up under neglect of God's voice in the soul and in his word. This, this will go with us, to stamp itself on our future frames, to darken our future being, to separate us like an impassable gulf from our Creator and from pure and happy beings, to be as a consuming fire and an undying worm.

I have spoken of the pains and penalties of moral evil, or of wrong-doing, in the world to come. How long they will endure, I know not. Whether they will issue in the reformation and happiness of the sufferer, or will terminate in the extinction of his conscious being, is a question on which Scripture throws no clear light. Plausible arguments may be adduced in support of both these doctrines. On this and on other points revelation aims not to give precise information, but to fix in us a deep impression that great suffering awaits a disobedient, wasted, immoral, irreligious life. To fasten this impression, to make it a deliberate and practical conviction, is more needful than to ascertain the mode or duration of future suffering. May the views this day given lead us all to self-communion and to new energy, watchfulness, and prayer against our sins! May they teach us that to do wrong, to neglect or violate any known duty, is of all evils the most fearful! Let every act, or feeling, or motive, which bears the brand of guilt, seem to us more terrible than the worst calamities of life. Let us dread it more than the agonies of the most painful death.

IMMORTALITY.

2 TIMOTHY i. 10: "Our Saviour Jesus Christ, who hath abolished death, and hath brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel."

IMMORTALITY is the glorious discovery of Christianity. I say discovery, not because a future life was wholly unknown before Christ, but because it was so revealed by him as to become to a considerable extent a new doctrine. Before Christ, immortality was a conjecture or a vague hope. Jesus, by his teaching and resurrection, has made it a certainty. Again, before Christ, a future life lent little aid to virtue. It was seized upon by the imagination and passions, and so perverted by them as often to minister to vice. In Christianity this doctrine is wholly turned to a moral use; and the future is revealed only to give motives, resolution, force, to self-conflict and to a holy life.

My aim in this discourse is to strengthen, if I may, your conviction of immortality; and I have thought that I may do this by showing that this great truth is also a dictate of nature; that reason, though unable to establish it, yet accords with and adopts it; that it is written alike in God's word and in the soul. It is plainly rational to expect that, if man was made for immortality, the marks of this destination will be found in his very constitution, and that these marks will grow stronger in proportion to the unfolding of his faculties. I would show that this expectation proves just, that the teaching of revelation in regard to a future life finds a strong response in our own nature.

This topic is the more important because to some men there seem to be appearances in nature unfavorable to immortality. To many, the constant operation of decay in all the works of creation, the dissolution of all the forms of animal and vegetable nature, gives a feeling as if destruction were the law to which we and all beings are subjected.

It has often been said by the sceptic, that the *races* or classes of being are alone perpetual, that all the *individuals* which compose them are doomed to perish. Now I affirm that the more we know of the mind, the more we see reason to distinguish it from the animal and vegetable races which grow and decay around us; and that in its very nature we see reason for exempting it from the universal law of destruction. To this point I now ask your attention.

When we look round us on the earth, we do indeed see every thing changing, decaying, passing away; and so inclined are we to reason from analogy or resemblance, that it is not wonderful that the dissolution of all the organized forms of matter should seem to us to announce our own destruction. But we overlook the distinctions between matter and mind; and these are so immense as to justify the directly opposite conclusion. Let me point out some of these distinctions.

1. When we look at the organized productions of nature, we see that they require only a limited time, and most of them a very short time, to reach their perfection and accomplish their end. Take, for example, that noble production, a tree. Having reached a certain height and borne leaves, flowers, and fruit, it has nothing more to do. Its powers are fully developed; it has no hidden capacities, of which its buds and fruit are only the beginnings and pledges. Its design is fulfilled; the principle of life within it can effect no more. Not so the mind. We can never say of this, as of the full-grown tree in autumn, It has answered its end, it has done its work, its capacity is exhausted. On the contrary, the nature, powers, desires, and purposes of the mind are all undefined. We never feel, when a great intellect has risen to an original thought or a vast discovery, that it has now accomplished its whole purpose. reached its bound, and can yield no other or higher fruits. On the contrary. our conviction of its resources is enlarged; we discern more of its affinity to the inexhaustible intelligence of its

Author. In every step of its progress we see a new impulse gained, and the pledge of nobler acquirements. So, when a pure and resolute mind has made some great sacrifice to truth and duty, has manifested its attachment to God and man in singular trials, we do not feel as if the whole energy of virtuous principle were now put forth, as if the measure of excellence were filled, as if the maturest fruits were now borne, and henceforth the soul could only repeat itself. We feel, on the contrary, that virtue by illustrious efforts replenishes instead of wasting its life; that the mind, by perseverance in well-doing, instead of sinking into a mechanical tameness, is able to conceive of higher duties, is armed for a nobler daring, and grows more efficient in charity. The mind, by going forward, does not reach insurmountable prison-walls, but learns more and more the boundlessness of its powers, and of the range for which it was created.

Let me place this topic in another light, which may show even more strongly the contrast of the mind with the noblest productions of matter. My meaning may best be conveyed by reverting to the tree. We consider the tree as having answered its highest purpose when it yields a particular fruit. We judge of its perfection by a fixed, positive, definite product. The mind, however, in proportion to its improvement, becomes conscious that its perfection consists not in fixed, prescribed effects, not in exact and defined attainments, but in an original, creative, unconfinable energy, which yields new products, which carries it into new fields of thought and new efforts for religion and humanity. This truth, indeed, is so obvious, that even the least improved may discern it. You all feel that the most perfect mind is not that which works in a prescribed way, which thinks and acts according to prescribed rules, but that which has a spring of action in itself, which combines anew the knowledge received from other minds, which explores its hidden and multiplied relations, and gives it forth in fresh and higher forms. The perfection of the tree, then, lies in a precise or definite product. That of the mind lies in an indefinite and boundless energy. The first implies limits. To set limits to the mind would destroy that original power in which its perfection consists. Here, then, we observe a distinction between material forms and the mind; and from the destruction of the first, which, as we see, attain perfection and fulfil their purpose in a limited duration, we cannot argue to the destruction of the last, which plainly possesses the capacity of a progress without end.

2. We have pointed out one contrast between the mind and material forms. The latter, we have seen, by their nature have bounds. The tree, in a short time, and by rising and spreading a short distance, accomplishes its end. I now add that the system of nature to which the tree belongs requires that it should stop where it does. Were it to grow for ever, it would be an infinite mischief. A single plant, endued with the principle of unlimited expansion, would in the progress of centuries overshadow nations and exclude every other growth, would exhaust the earth's whole fertility. Material forms, then, must have narrow bounds, and their usefulness requires that their life and growth should often be arrested even before reaching the limits prescribed by nature. But the indefinite expansion of the mind, instead of warring with and counteracting the system of creation, harmonizes with and perfects it. One tree, should it grow for ever, would exclude other forms of vegetable life. One mind, in proportion to its expansion, awakens and in a sense creates other minds. It multiplies, instead of exhausting, the nutriment which other understandings need. A mind, the more it has of intellectual and moral life, the more it spreads life and power around it. It is an ever-enlarging source of thought and love. Let me here add that the mind, by unlimited growth, not only yields a greater amount of good to other beings, but it produces continually new forms of good. This is an important distinction. Were the tree to spread indefinitely, it would abound more in fruit, but in fruit of the same kind; and, by excluding every other growth, it would destroy the variety of products which now contribute to health and enjoyment. But the mind in its progress is perpetually yielding new fruits, new forms of thought and virtue and sanctity. It

always contains within itself the germs of higher influences than it has ever put forth, the buds of fruits which it has never borne. Thus the very reason which requires the limitation of material forms — I mean the good of the whole system — seems to require the unlimited growth of mind.

3. Another distinction between material forms and the mind is, that to the former destruction is no loss. They exist for others wholly, in no degree for themselves; and others only can sorrow for their fall. The mind, on the contrary, has a deep interest in its own existence. In this respect, indeed, it is distinguished from the animal as well as the vegetable. To the animal, the past is a blank, and so is the future. The present is every thing. But to the mind the present is comparatively nothing. Its great sources of happiness are memory and hope. It has power over the past, not only the power of recalling it, but of turning to good all its experience, its errors and sufferings as well as its successes. It has power over the future, not only the power of anticipating it, but of bringing the present to bear upon it, and of sowing for it the seeds of a golden harvest. To a mind capable of thus connecting itself with all duration, of spreading itself through times past and to come, existence becomes infinitely dear, and, what is most worthy of observation, its interest in its own being increases with its progress in power and virtue. An improved mind understands the greatness of its own nature, and the worth of existence, as these cannot be understood by the unimproved. The thought of its own destruction suggests to it an extent of ruin which the latter cannot comprehend. The thought of such faculties as reason, conscience, and moral will being extinguished; of powers akin to the divine energy being annihilated by their Author; of truth and virtue, those images of God, being blotted out; of progress towards perfection being broken off almost at its beginning, — this is a thought fitted to overwhelm a mind in which the consciousness of its own spiritual nature is in a good degree unfolded. In other words, the more the mind is true to itself and to God, the more it clings to existence, the more it shrinks from extinction as an infinite loss. Would not its destruction, then, be a very different thing from the destruction of material beings, and does the latter furnish an analogy or presumption in support of the former? To me, the undoubted fact that the mind thirsts for continued being just in proportion as it obeys the will of its Maker, is a proof, next to irresistible, of its being destined by him for immortality.

4. Let me add one more distinction between the mind and material forms. I return to the tree. We speak of the tree as *destroyed*. We say that destruction is the order of nature, and some say that man must not hope to escape the universal law. Now we deceive ourselves in this use of words. There is in reality no destruction in the material world. True, the tree is resolved into its elements. But its elements survive, and, still more, they survive to fulfil the same end which they before accomplished. Not a power of nature is lost. The particles of the decayed tree are only left at liberty to form new, perhaps more beautiful and useful combinations. They may shoot up into more luxuriant foliage, or enter into the structure of the highest animals. But were mind to perish, there would be absolute, irretrievable destruction; for mind, from its nature, is something individual, an uncompounded essence, which cannot be broken into parts, and enter into union with other minds. I am myself, and can become no other being. My experience, my history, cannot become my neighbor's. My consciousness, my memory, my interest in my past life, my affections, cannot be transferred. If in any instance I have withstood temptation, and through such resistance have acquired power over myself and a claim to the approbation of my fellow-beings, this resistance, this power, this claim, are my own; I cannot make them another's. I can give away my property, my limbs; but that which makes myself, — in other words, my consciousness, my recollections, my feelings, my hopes, — these can never become parts of another mind. In the extinction of a thinking, moral being, who has gained truth and virtue, there would be an absolute destruction. This event would not be as the setting of the sun, which is a transfer of light to new regions; but a quenching

of the light. It would be a ruin such as nature nowhere exhibits, — a ruin of what is infinitely more precious than the outward universe, — and is not, therefore, to be inferred from any of the changes of the material world.

I am aware that views of this nature, intended to show us that immortality is impressed on the soul itself, fail to produce conviction from various causes. There are not a few who are so accustomed to look on the errors and crimes of society, that human nature seems to them little raised above the brutal; and they hear, with a secret incredulity, of those distinctions and capacities of the mind which point to its perpetual existence. To such men I might say that it is a vicious propensity which leads them to fasten continually and exclusively on the sins of human nature; just as it is criminal to fix the thoughts perpetually on the miseries of human life, and to see nothing but evil in the order of creation and the providence of God. But, passing over this, I allow that human nature abounds in crime. But this does not destroy my conviction of its greatness and immortality. I say that I see in crime itself the proofs of human greatness and of an immortal nature. The position may seem extravagant, but it may be fully sustained.

I ask you first to consider what is implied in crime. Consider in what it originates. It has its origin in the noblest principle that can belong to any being, — I mean, in moral freedom. There can be no crime without liberty of action, without moral power. Were man a machine, were he a mere creature of sensation and impulse, like the brute, he could do no wrong. It is only because he has the faculties of reason and conscience, and a power over himself, that he is capable of contracting guilt. Thus great guilt is itself a testimony to the high endowments of the soul.

In the next place, let me ask you to consider whence it is that man sins. He sins by being exposed to temptation. Now the great design of temptation plainly is, that the soul, by withstanding it, should gain strength, should make progress, should become a proper object of divine reward. That is, man sins through an exposure which is designed to carry him forward to perfection: so that the cause of his guilt points to a continued and improved existence.

In the next place, I say that guilt has a peculiar consciousness belonging to it which speaks strongly of a future life. It carries with it intimations of retribution. Its natural associate is fear. The connection of misery with crime is anticipated by a kind of moral instinct; and the very circumstance that the unprincipled man sometimes escapes present suffering, suggests more strongly a future state, where this apparent injustice will be redressed, and where present prosperity will become an aggravation of woe. Guilt sometimes speaks of a future state even in louder and more solemn tones than virtue. It has been known to overwhelm the spirit with terrible forebodings, and has found through its presentiments the hell which it feared. Thus guilt does not destroy, but corroborates, the proofs contained in the soul itself of its own future being.

Let me add one more thought. The sins which abound in the world, and which are so often adduced to chill our belief in the capacities and vast prospects of human nature, serve to place in stronger relief, and in brighter light, the examples of piety and virtue which all must acknowledge are to be found among the guilty multitude. A mind which, in such a world, amidst so many corrupting influences, holds fast to truth, duty, and God, is a nobler mind than any which could be formed in the absence of such temptation. Thus the great sinfulness of the world makes the virtue which exists in it more glorious; and the very struggles which the good man has to maintain with its allurements and persecutions, prepare him for a brighter reward. To me, such views are singularly interesting and encouraging. I delight to behold the testimony which sin itself furnishes to man's greatness and immortality. I indeed see great guilt on earth; but I see it giving occasion to great moral strength, and to singular devotion and virtue in the good, and thus throwing on human nature a lustre which more than compensates for its own deformity. I do not shut my eyes on the guilt of my race. I see, in history, human malignity so aggravated, so unrelenting, as even to pursue with torture, and to doom to the most agonizing death, the best of human beings. But when I

see these beings unmoved by torture: meek and calm, and forgiving in their agonies; superior to death, and never so glorious as in the last hour, — I forget the guilt which persecutes them, in my admiration of their virtue. In their sublime constancy, I see a testimony to the worth and immortality of human nature that outweighs the wickedness of which they seem to be the victims: and I feel an assurance, which nothing can wrest from me, that the godlike virtue which has thus been driven from earth will find a home, an everlasting home, in its native heaven. Thus sin itself becomes a witness to the future life of man.

I have thus, my hearers, endeavored to show that our nature, the more it is inquired into, discovers more clearly the impress of immortality. I do not mean that this evidence supersedes all other. From its very nature, it can only be understood thoroughly by improved and purified minds. The proof of immortality, which is suited to all understandings, is found in the gospel, sealed by the blood and confirmed by the resurrection of Christ. But this, I think, is made more impressive by a demonstration of its harmony with the teachings of nature. To me, nature and revelation speak with one voice on the great theme of man's future being. Let not their joint witness be unheard.

How full, how bright, are the evidences of this grand truth! How weak are the common arguments which scepticism arrays against it! To me there is but one objection against immortality, if objection it may be called, and this arises from the very greatness of the truth. My mind sometimes sinks under its weight, is lost in its immensity; I scarcely dare believe that such a good is placed within my reach. When I think of myself as existing through all future ages, as surviving this earth and that sky, as exempted from every imperfection and error of my present being, as clothed with an angel's glory, as comprehending with my intellect and embracing in my affections an extent of creation compared with which the earth is a point; when I think of myself as looking on the outward universe with an organ of vision that will reveal to me a beauty and harmony and order not now imagined, and as having an access to the minds of the wise and good which will make them in a sense my own; when I think of myself as forming friendships with innumerable beings of rich and various intellect and of the noblest virtue, as introduced to the society of heaven, as meeting there the great and excellent of whom I have read in history, as joined with "the just made perfect" in an ever-enlarging ministry of benevolence, as conversing with Jesus Christ with the familiarity of friendship, and especially as having an immediate intercourse with God, such as the closest intimacies of earth dimly shadow forth; when this thought of my future being comes to me, whilst I hope, I also fear; the blessedness seems too great; the consciousness of present weakness and unworthiness is almost too strong for hope. But when in this frame of mind I look round on the creation, and see there the marks of an omnipotent goodness, to which nothing is impossible, and from which every thing may be hoped; when I see around me the proofs of an Infinite Father who must desire the perpetual progress of his intellectual offspring; when I look next at the human mind, and see what powers a few years have unfolded, and discern in it the capacity of everlasting improvement; and especially when I look at Jesus, the conqueror of death, the heir of immortality, who has gone as the forerunner of mankind into the mansions of light and purity, I can and do admit the almost overpowering thought of the everlasting life, growth, felicity of the human soul.

To each of us, my friends, is this felicity offered, — a good which turns to darkness and worthlessness the splendor and excellence of the most favored lot on earth. I say it is *offered*. It cannot be forced on us; from its nature, it must be won. Immortal happiness is nothing more than the unfolding of our own minds, the full, bright exercise of our best powers: and these powers are never to be unfolded here or hereafter, but through our own free exertion. To anticipate a higher existence whilst we neglect our own souls, is a delusion on which reason frowns no less than revelation. Dream not of a heaven into which you may enter, live here as you may. To such as waste the present state, the future will not, cannot bring

happiness. There is no concord between them and that world of purity. A human being who has lived without God, and without self-improvement, can no more enjoy heaven than a mouldering body, lifted from the tomb and placed amidst beautiful prospects, can enjoy the light through its decayed eyes, or feel the balmy air which blows away its dust. My hearers, immortality is a glorious doctrine; but not given us for speculation or amusement. Its happiness is to be realized only through our own struggles with ourselves, only through our own reaching forward to new virtue and piety. To be joined with Christ in heaven, we must be joined with him now in spirit, in the conquest of temptation, in charity and well-doing. Immortality should begin here. The seed is now to be sown which is to expand for ever. "Be not weary then in well-doing; for in due time we shall reap, if we faint not."

THE FUTURE LIFE:

Discourse preached on Easter Sunday, 1834, after the Death of an Excellent and very Dear Friend.

EPHESIANS, i. 20: "He raised him from the dead, and set him at his own right hand in the heavenly places."

THIS day is set apart by the Christian world to the commemoration of Christ's resurrection. Many uses may be made of this event, but it is particularly fitted to confirm the doctrine of another life, and to turn our thoughts, desires, hopes towards another world. I shall employ it to give this direction to our minds.

There is one method in which Christ's resurrection gives aid to our faith in another life which is not often dwelt on, and which seems to me worthy of attention. Our chief doubts and difficulties in regard to that state spring chiefly from the senses and the imagination, and not from the reason. The eye, fixed on the lifeless body, on the wan features and the motionless limbs, — and the imagination, following the frame into the dark tomb, and representing to itself the stages of decay and ruin, are apt to fill and oppress the mind with discouraging and appalling thoughts. The senses can detect in the pale corpse not a trace of the activity of that spirit which lately moved it. Death seems to have achieved an entire victory; and when reason and revelation speak of continued and a higher life, the senses and imagination, pointing to the disfigured and mouldering body, obscure by their sad forebodings the light which reason and revelation strive to kindle in the bereaved soul.

Now the resurrection of Christ meets, if I may so say, the senses and imagination on their own ground, contends with them with their own weapons. It shows us the very frame on which death, in its most humiliating form, had set its seal, and which had been committed in utter hopelessness to the tomb, rising, breathing, moving with new life, and rising not to return again to the earth, but, after a short sojourn, to ascend from the earth to a purer region, and thus to attest man's destination to a higher life. These facts, submitted to the very senses, and almost necessarily kindling the imagination to explore the unseen world, seem to me particularly suited to overcome the main difficulties in the way of Christian faith. Reason is not left to struggle alone with the horrors of the tomb. The assurance that Jesus Christ, who lived on the earth, who died on the cross, and was committed a mutilated, bleeding frame to the receptacle of the dead, rose uninjured, and then exchanged an earthly for a heavenly life, puts to flight the sad auguries which rise like spectres from the grave, and helps us to conceive, as in our present weakness we could not otherwise conceive, of man's appointed triumph over death.

Such is one of the aids given by the resurrection to faith in immortality. Still this faith is lamentably weak in the multitude of men. To multitudes, heaven is almost a world of fancy. It wants substance. The idea of a world in which beings exist without these gross bodies, exist as pure spirits, or clothed with refined and spiritual frames, strikes them as a fiction. What cannot be seen or touched appears unreal. This is mournful, but not wonderful; for how can men, who immerse themselves in the body and its interests, and cultivate no acquaintance with their own souls and spiritual powers, comprehend a higher, spiritual life? There are multitudes who pronounce a man a visionary who speaks distinctly and joyfully of his future being, and of the triumph of the mind over bodily decay.

This scepticism as to things spiritual and celestial is as irrational and unphilosophical as it is degrading. We have more evidence that we have souls or spirits than that we have bodies. We are surer that we think, and feel, and will, than that we have solid and extended limbs and organs. Philosophers have said much to disprove the existence of matter and motion, but they have not tried to disprove the existence of thought; for it is by thought they attempt to set aside the reality of material nature.

Farther, how irrational is it to imagine that there are no worlds but this, and no higher modes of existence than our own! Who that sends his eye through this immense creation can doubt that there are orders of beings superior to ourselves, or can see anything unreasonable in the doctrine that there are states in which mind exists less circumscribed and clogged by matter than on earth; in other words, that there is a spiritual world? It is childish to make this infant life of ours the model of existence in all other worlds. The philosopher, especially, who sees a vast chain of beings and an infinite variety of life on this single globe, which is but a point in creation, should be ashamed of that narrowness of mind which can anticipate nothing nobler in the universe of God than his present mode of being.

How, now, shall the doctrine of a future, higher life, the doctrine both of reason and revelation, be brought to bear more powerfully on the mind, to become more real and effectual? Various methods might be given. I shall confine myself to one. This method is, to seek some clearer, more definite conception of the future state. That world seems less real, for want of some distinctness in its features. We should all believe it more firmly if we conceived of it more vividly. It seems unsubstantial, from its vagueness and dimness. I think it right, then, to use the aids of Scripture and reason in forming to ourselves something like a sketch of the life to come. The Scriptures, indeed, give not many materials for such a delineation, but the few they furnish are invaluable, especially when we add to these the lights thrown over futurity by the knowledge of our own spiritual nature. Every new law of the mind which we discover helps us to comprehend its destiny; for its future life must correspond to its great laws and essential powers.

These aids we should employ to give distinctness to the spiritual state; and it is particularly useful so to do when excellent beings, whom we have known and loved, pass from earth into that world. Nature prompts us to follow them to their new abode, to inquire into their new life, to represent to ourselves their new happiness; and perhaps the spiritual world never becomes so near and real to us as when we follow into it dear friends, and sympathize with them in the improvements and enjoyments of that blessed life. Do not say that there is danger here of substituting imagination for truth. There is no danger if we confine ourselves to the spiritual views of heaven given us in the New Testament, and interpret these by the principles and powers of our own souls. To me the subject is too dear and sacred to allow me to indulge myself in dreams. I want reality; I want truth; and this I find in God's word and in the human soul.

When our virtuous friends leave the world, we know not the place where they go. We can turn our eyes to no spot in the universe and say they are there. Nor is our ignorance here of any moment. It is unimportant what region of space contains them. Whilst we know not to what place they go, we know what is

infinitely more interesting, to what beings they go. We know not where heaven is, but we know whom it contains, and this knowledge opens to us an infinite field for contemplation and delight.

I. Our virtuous friends, at death, go to Jesus Christ. This is taught in the text. "God raised him from the dead, and exalted him to heaven." The New Testament always speaks of Jesus as existing now in the spiritual world; and Paul tells us that it is the happiness of the holy, when absent from the body, to be present with the Lord. Here is one great fact in regard to futurity. The good, on leaving us here, meet their Saviour; and this view alone assures us of their unutterable happiness. In this world they had cherished acquaintance with Jesus through the records of the Evangelists. They had followed him through his eventful life with veneration and love, had treasured in their memories his words, works, and life-giving promises, and, by receiving his spirit, had learned something of the virtues and happiness of a higher world. Now they meet him, they see him. He is no longer a faint object to their mind, obscured by distance and by the mists of sense and the world. He is present to them, and more intimately present than we are to each other. Of this we are sure; for whilst the precise mode of our future existence is unknown, we do know that spiritual beings in that higher state must approach and commune with each other more and more intimately in proportion to their progress. Those who are newly born into heaven meet Jesus, and meet from him the kindest welcome. The happiness of the Saviour, in receiving to a higher life a human being who has been redeemed, purified, inspired with immortal goodness by his influence, we can but imperfectly comprehend. You can conceive what would be your feelings on welcoming to shore your best friend who had been tossed on a perilous sea; but the raptures of earthly reunion are faint compared with the happiness of Jesus in receiving the spirit for which he died, and which, under his guidance, has passed with an improving virtue through a world of sore temptation. We on earth meet, after our long separations, to suffer as well as enjoy, and soon to part again. Jesus meets those who ascend from earth to heaven with the consciousness that their trial is past, their race is run, that death is conquered. With his far-reaching, prophetic eye he sees them entering a career of joy and glory never to end. And his benevolent welcome is expressed with a power which belongs only to the utterance of heaven, and which communicates to them an immediate, confiding, overflowing joy. You know that on earth we sometimes meet human beings whose countenances, at the first view, scatter all distrust, and win from us something like the reliance of a long-tried friendship. One smile is enough to let us into their hearts, to reveal to us a goodness on which we may repose. That smile with which Jesus will meet the new-born inhabitant of heaven, that joyful greeting, that beaming of love from him who bled for us, that tone of welcome, — all these I can faintly conceive, but no language can utter them. The joys of centuries will be crowded into that meeting. This is not fiction. It is truth founded on the essential laws of the mind.

Our friends, when they enter heaven, meet Jesus Christ, and their intercourse with him will be of the most affectionate and ennobling character. There will be nothing of distance in it. Jesus is, indeed, sometimes spoken of as reigning in the future world, and sometimes imagination places him on a real and elevated throne. Strange that such conceptions can enter the minds of Christians. Jesus will indeed reign in heaven, and so he reigned on earth. He reigned in the fishing-boat, from which he taught; in the humble dwelling, where he gathered round him listening and confiding disciples. His reign is not the vulgar dominion of this world. It is the empire of a great, godlike, disinterested being over minds capable of comprehending and loving him. In heaven, nothing like what we call government on earth can exist, for government here is founded in human weakness and guilt. The voice of command is never heard among the spirits of the just. Even on earth, the most perfect government is that of a family, where parents employ no tone but that of affectionate counsel, where filial affection reads its duty in the mild look,

and finds its law and motive in its own pure impulse. Christ will not be raised on a throne above his followers. On earth he sat at the same table with the publican and sinner. Will he recede from the excellent whom he has fitted for celestial mansions? How minds will communicate with one another in that world, we know not; but we know that our closest embraces are but types of the spiritual nearness which will then be enjoyed; and to this intimacy with Jesus the new-born inhabitant of heaven is admitted.

But we have not yet exhausted this source of future happiness. The excellent go from earth not only to receive a joyful welcome and assurances of eternal love from the Lord. There is a still higher view. They are brought by this new intercourse to a new comprehension of his mind, and to a new reception of his spirit. It is, indeed, a happiness to know that we are objects of interest and love to an illustrious being; but it is a greater happiness to know deeply the sublime and beautiful character of this being, to sympathize with him, to enter into his vast thoughts and pure designs, and to become associated with him in the great ends for which he lives. Even here, in our infant and dim state of being, we learn enough of Jesus, of his divine philanthropy triumphant over injuries and agonies, to thrill us with affectionate admiration. But those in heaven look into that vast, godlike soul as we have never done. They approach it as we cannot approach the soul of the most confiding friend; and this nearness to the mind of Jesus awakens in themselves a power of love and virtue which they little suspected during their earthly being. I trust I speak to those who, if they have ever been brought into connection with a noble human being, have felt, as it were, a new spirit, and almost new capacities of thought and life, expanded within them. We all know how a man of mighty genius and of heroic feeling can impart himself to other minds, and raise them for a time to something like his own energy; and in this we have a faint delineation of the power to be exerted on the minds of those who approach Jesus after death. As nature at this season springs to a new life under the beams of the sun, so will the human soul be warmed and expanded under the influence of Jesus Christ. It will then become truly conscious of the immortal power treasured up in itself. His greatness will not overwhelm it, but will awaken a corresponding grandeur.

Nor is this topic yet exhausted. The good, on approaching Jesus, will not only sympathize with his spirit, but will become joint workers, active, efficient ministers in accomplishing his great work of spreading virtue and happiness. We must never think of heaven as a state of inactive contemplation, or of unproductive feeling. Even here on earth the influence of Christ's character is seen in awakening an active, self-sacrificing goodness. It sends the true disciples to the abodes of the suffering. It binds them by new ties to their race. It gives them a new consciousness of being created for a ministry of beneficence; and can they, when they approach more nearly this divine Philanthropist, and learn, by a new alliance with him, the fulness of his love, can they fail to consecrate themselves to his work and to kindred labors with an energy of will unknown on earth? In truth, our sympathy with Christ could not be perfect did we not act with him. Nothing so unites beings as co-operation in the same glorious cause, and to this union with Christ the excellent above are received.

There is another very interesting view of the future state, which seems to me to be a necessary consequence of the connection to be formed there with Jesus Christ. Those who go there from among us must retain the deepest interest in this world. Their ties to those they have left are not dissolved, but only refined. On this point, indeed, I want not the evidence of revelation; I want no other evidence than the essential principles and laws of the soul. If the future state is to be an improvement on the present, if intellect is to be invigorated and love expanded there, then memory, the fundamental power of the intellect, must act with new energy on the past, and all the benevolent affections which have been cherished here must be quickened into a higher life. To suppose the present state blotted out hereafter from the mind would be to destroy its use, would cut off all connection between the two

worlds, and would subvert responsibility; for how can retribution be awarded for a forgotten existence? No; we must carry the present with us, whether we enter the world of happiness or woe. The good will indeed form new, holier, stronger ties above; but, under the expanding influence of that better world, the human heart will be capacious enough to retain the old whilst it receives the new, to remember its birthplace with tenderness whilst enjoying a maturer and happier being. Did I think of those who are gone as dying to those they left, I should honor and love them less. The man who forgets his home when he quits it, seems to want the best sensibilities of our nature; and if the good were to forget their brethren on earth in their new abode, were to cease to intercede for them in their nearer approach to their common Father, could we think of them as improved by the change?

All this I am compelled to infer from the nature of the human mind. But when I add to this that the new-born heirs of heaven go to Jesus Christ, the great lover of the human family, who dwelt here, suffered here, who moistened our earth with his tears and blood, who has gone not to break off but to continue and perfect his beneficent labors for mankind, whose mind never for a moment turns from our race, whose interest in the progress of his truth and the salvation of the tempted soul has been growing more and more intense ever since he left our world, and who has thus bound up our race with his very being, — when I think of all this, I am sure that they cannot forget our world. Could we hear them, I believe they would tell us that they never truly loved the race before; never before knew what it is to sympathize with human sorrow, to rejoice in human virtue, to mourn for human guilt. A new fountain of love to man is opened within them. They now see what before dimly gleamed on them, the capacities, the mysteries of a human soul. The significance of that word immortality is now apprehended, and every being destined to it rises into unutterable importance. They love human nature as never before, and human friends are prized as above all price.

Perhaps it may be asked whether those born into heaven not only remember with interest, but have a present immediate knowledge of those whom they left on earth? On this point neither Scripture nor the principles of human nature give us light, and we are of course left to uncertainty. I will only say that I know nothing to prevent such knowledge. We are indeed accustomed to think of heaven as distant; but of this we have no proof. Heaven is the union, the society of spiritual, higher beings. May not these fill the universe, so as to make heaven everywhere? are such beings probably circumscribed, as we are, by material limits? Milton has said, —

> "Millions of spiritual beings walk the earth
> Both when we wake and when we sleep."

It is possible that the distance of heaven lies wholly in the veil of flesh, which we now want power to penetrate. A new sense, a new eye, might show the spiritual world compassing us on every side.

But suppose heaven to be remote. Still we on earth may be visible to its inhabitants; still in an important sense they may be present; for what do we mean by presence? Am I not present to those of you who are beyond the reach of my arm, but whom I distinctly see? And is it at all inconsistent with our knowledge of nature to suppose that those in heaven, whatever be their abode, may have spiritual senses, organs, by which they may discern the remote as clearly as we do the near? This little ball of sight can see the planets at the distance of millions of miles, and by the aids of science can distinguish the inequalities of their surfaces. And it is easy for us to conceive of an organ of vision so sensitive and piercing, that from our earth the inhabitants of those far-rolling worlds might be discerned. Why, then, may not they who have entered a higher state, and are clothed with spiritual frames, survey our earth as distinctly as when it was their abode?

This may be the truth; but if we receive it as such, let us not abuse it. It is liable to abuse. Let us not think of the departed as looking on us with earthly, partial affections. They love us more than ever, but with a refined and spiritual love. They have now but

one wish for us, which is, that we may fit ourselves to join them in their mansions of benevolence and piety. Their spiritual vision penetrates to our souls. Could we hear their voice, it would not be an utterance of personal attachment so much as a quickening call to greater effort, to more resolute self-denial, to a wider charity, to a meeker endurance, a more filial obedience of the will of God. Nor must we think of them as appropriated to ourselves. They are breathing now an atmosphere of divine benevolence. They are charged with a higher mission than when they trod the earth. And this thought of the enlargement of their love should enlarge ours, and carry us beyond selfish regards to a benevolence akin to that with which they are inspired.

It is objected, I know, to the view I have given of the connection of the inhabitants of heaven with this world, that it is inconsistent with their happiness. It is said that, if they retain their knowledge of this state, they must suffer from the recollection or sight of our sins and woes; that to enjoy heaven they must wean themselves from the earth. This objection is worse than superficial. It is a reproach to heaven and the good. It supposes that the happiness of that world is founded in ignorance, that it is the happiness of the blind man, who, were he to open his eye on what exists around him, would be filled with horror. It makes heaven an Elysium, whose inhabitants perpetuate their joy by shutting themselves up in narrow bounds, and hiding themselves from the pains of their fellow-creatures. But the good, from their very nature, cannot thus be confined. Heaven would be a prison did it cut them off from sympathy with the suffering. Their benevolence is too pure, too divine, to shrink from the sight of evil. Let me add that the objection before us casts reproach on God. It supposes that there are regions of his universe which must be kept out of sight, which, if seen, would blight the happiness of the virtuous. But this cannot be true. There are no such regions, no secret places of woe which these pure spirits must not penetrate. There is impiety in the thought. In such a universe there could be no heaven.

Do you tell me that according to these views suffering must exist in that blessed state? I reply, I do and must regard heaven as a world of sympathy. Nothing, I believe, has greater power to attract the regards of its benevolent inhabitants than the misery into which any of their fellow-creatures may have fallen. The suffering which belongs to a virtuous sympathy I cannot, then, separate from heaven. But that sympathy, though it has sorrow, is far from being misery. Even in this world, a disinterested compassion, when joined with power to minister to suffering, and with wisdom to comprehend its gracious purposes, is a spirit of peace, and often issues in the purest delight. Unalloyed as it will be in another world by our present infirmities, and enlightened by comprehensive views of God's perfect government, it will give a charm and loveliness to the sublimer virtues of the blessed, and, like all other forms of excellence, will at length enhance their felicity.

II. You see how much of heaven is taught us in the single truth, that they who enter it meet and are united to Jesus Christ. There are other interesting views at which I can only glance. The departed go not to Jesus only. They go to the great and blessed society which is gathered round him, to the redeemed from all regions of earth, "to the city of the living God, to an innumerable company of angels, to the church of the first-born, to the spirits of the just made perfect." Into what a glorious community do they enter! And how they are received you can easily understand. We are told there is joy in heaven over the sinner who repenteth: and will not his ascension to the abode of perfect virtue communicate more fervent happiness? Our friends who leave us for that world do not find themselves cast among strangers. No desolate feeling springs up of having exchanged their home for a foreign country. The tenderest accents of human friendship never approached in affectionateness the voice of congratulation which bids them welcome to their new and everlasting abode. In that world, where minds have surer means of revealing themselves than here, the newly arrived immediately see and feel themselves encompassed with virtue and goodness; and through this insight into the congenial spirits which surround them, intimacies stronger than years

can cement on earth may be created in a moment.

It seems to me accordant with all the principles of human nature, to suppose that the departed meet peculiar congratulation from friends who had gone before them to that better world; and, especially from all who had in any way given aids to their virtue; from parents who had instilled into them the first lessons of love to God and man; from associates, whose examples had won them to goodness, whose faithful counsels deterred them from sin. The ties created by such benefits must be eternal. The grateful soul must bind itself with peculiar affection to such as guided it to immortality.

In regard to the happiness of the intercourse of the future state, all of you, I trust, can form some apprehensions of it. If we have ever known the enjoyments of friendship, of entire confidence, of co-operation in honorable and successful labors with those we love, we can comprehend something of the felicity of a world where souls, refined from selfishness, open as the day, thirsting for new truth and virtue, endued with new power of enjoying the beauty and grandeur of the universe, allied in the noblest works of benevolence, and continually discovering new mysteries of the Creator's power and goodness, communicate themselves to one another with the freedom of perfect love. The closest attachments of this life are cold, distant, stranger-like, compared with theirs. How they communicate themselves, by what language or organs, we know not. But this we know, that in the progress of the mind its power of imparting itself must improve. The eloquence, the thrilling, inspiring tones, in which the good and noble sometimes speak to us on earth, may help us to conceive the expressiveness, harmony, energy of the language in which superior beings reveal themselves above. Of what they converse we can better judge. They who enter that world meet beings whose recollections extend through ages, who have met together perhaps from various worlds, who have been educated amidst infinite varieties of condition, each of whom has passed through his own discipline and reached his own peculiar form of perfection, and each of whom is a peculiar testimony to the providence of the Universal Father. What treasures of memory, observation, experience, imagery, illustration, must enrich the intercourse of heaven! One angel's history may be a volume of more various truth than all the records of our race. After all, how little can our present experience help us to understand the intercourse of heaven, — a communion marred by no passion, chilled by no reserve, depressed by no consciousness of sin, trustful as childhood, and overflowing with innocent joy, — a communion in which the noblest feelings flow fresh from the heart, in which pure beings give familiar utterance to their divinest inspirations, to the wonder which perpetually springs up amidst this ever-unfolding and ever-mysterious universe, to the raptures of adoration and pious gratitude, and to the swellings of a sympathy which cannot be confined.

But it would be wrong to imagine that the inhabitants of heaven only converse. They who reach that world enter on a state of action, life, effort. We are apt to think of the future world as so happy that none need the aid of others, that effort ceases, that the good have nothing to do but to enjoy. The truth is that all action on earth, even the intensest, is but the sport of childhood compared with the energy and activity of that higher life. It must be so. For what principles are so active as intellect, benevolence, the love of truth, the thirst for perfection, sympathy with the suffering, and devotion to God's purposes? and these are the ever-expanding principles of the future life. It is true, the labors which are now laid on us for food, raiment, outward interests, cease at the grave. But far deeper wants than those of the body are developed in heaven. There it is that the spirit first becomes truly conscious of its capacities; that truth opens before us in its infinity; that the universe is seen to be a boundless sphere for discovery, for science, for the sense of beauty, for beneficence, and for adoration. There new objects to live for, which reduce to nothingness present interests, are constantly unfolded. We must not think of heaven as a stationary community. I think of it as a world of stupendous plans and efforts for its own improvement. I think of it as a society passing through successive

stages of development, virtue, knowledge, power, by the energy of its own members. Celestial genius is always active to explore the great laws of the creation and the everlasting principles of the mind, to disclose the beautiful in the universe, and to discover the means by which every soul may be carried forward. In that world, as in this, there are diversities of intellect, and the highest minds find their happiness and progress in elevating the less improved. There the work of education, which began here, goes on without end; and a diviner philosophy than is taught on earth reveals the spirit to itself, and awakens it to earnest, joyful effort for its own perfection.

And not only will they who are born into heaven enter a society full of life and action for its own development. Heaven has connection with other worlds. Its inhabitants are God's messengers through the creation. They have great trusts. In the progress of their endless being, they may have the care of other worlds. But I pause, lest to those unused to such speculations I seem to exceed the bounds of calm anticipation. What I have spoken seems to me to rest on God's word and the laws of the mind, and these laws are everlasting.

On one more topic I meant to enlarge, but I must forbear. They who are born into heaven go not only to Jesus and an innumerable company of pure beings. They go to God. They see him with a new light in all his works. Still more, they see him, as the Scriptures teach, face to face, that is, by immediate communion. These new relations of the ascended spirit to the Universal Father, how near! how tender! how strong! how exalting! But this is too great a subject for the time which remains. And yet it is the chief element of the felicity of heaven.

The views now given of the future state should make it an object of deep interest, earnest hope, constant pursuit. Heaven is, in truth, a glorious reality. Its attraction should be felt perpetually. It should overcome the force with which this world draws us to itself. Were there a country on earth uniting all that is beautiful in nature, all that is great in virtue, genius, and the liberal arts, and numbering among its citizens the most illustrious patriots, poets, philosophers, philanthropists of our age, how eagerly should we cross the ocean to visit it! And how immeasurably greater is the attraction of heaven! There live the elder brethren of the creation, the sons of the morning, who sang for joy at the creation of our race; there the great and good of all ages and climes; the friends, benefactors, deliverers, ornaments of their race; the patriarch, prophet, apostle, and martyr; the true heroes of public, and still more of private, life; the father, mother, wife, husband, child, who, unrecorded by man, have walked before God in the beauty of love and self-sacrificing virtue. There are all who have built up in our hearts the power of goodness and truth, the writers from whose pages we have received the inspiration of pure and lofty sentiments, the friends whose countenances have shed light through our dwellings, and peace and strength through our hearts. There they are gathered together, safe from every storm, triumphant over evil; and they say to us, Come and join us in our everlasting blessedness; come and bear part in our song of praise; share our adoration, friendship, progress, and works of love. They say to us, Cherish now in your earthly life that spirit and virtue of Christ which is the beginning and dawn of heaven, and we shall soon welcome you, with more than human friendship, to our own immortality. Shall that voice speak to us in vain? Shall our worldliness and unforsaken sins separate us, by a gulf which cannot be passed, from the society of heaven?

UNITARIAN CHRISTIANITY:

Discourse at the Ordination of the Rev. Jared Sparks. Baltimore, 1819.

1 Thes. v. 21: "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good"

The peculiar circumstances of this occasion not only justify but seem to demand a departure from the course generally followed by preachers at the introduction of a brother into the sacred office. It is usual to speak of the nature, design, duties, and advantages of the Christian ministry; and on these topics I should now be happy to insist, did I not remember that a minister is to be given this day to a religious society whose peculiarities of opinion have drawn upon them much remark, and, may I not add, much reproach. Many good minds, many sincere Christians, I am aware, are apprehensive that the solemnities of this day are to give a degree of influence to principles which they deem false and injurious. The fears and anxieties of such men I respect; and, believing that they are grounded in part on mistake, I have thought it my duty to lay before you, as clearly as I can, some of the distinguishing opinions of that class of Christians in our country who are known to sympathize with this religious society. I must ask your patience, for such a subject is not to be despatched in a narrow compass. I must also ask you to remember that it is impossible to exhibit, in a single discourse, our views of every doctrine of revelation, much less the differences of opinion which are known to subsist among ourselves. I shall confine myself to topics on which our sentiments have been misrepresented, or which distinguish us most widely from others. May I not hope to be heard with candor? God deliver us all from prejudice and unkindness, and fill us with the love of truth and virtue!

There are two natural divisions under which my thoughts will be arranged. I shall endeavor to unfold, 1st, The principles which we adopt in interpreting the Scriptures; and 2dly, Some of the doctrines which the Scriptures, so interpreted, seem to us clearly to express.

I. We regard the Scriptures as the records of God's successive revelations to mankind, and particularly of the last and most perfect revelation of his will by Jesus Christ. Whatever doctrines seem to us to be clearly taught in the Scriptures, we receive without reserve or exception. We do not, however, attach equal importance to all the books in this collection. Our religion, we believe, lies chiefly in the New Testament. The dispensation of Moses, compared with that of Jesus, we consider as adapted to the childhood of the human race, a preparation for a nobler system, and chiefly useful now as serving to confirm and illustrate the Christian Scriptures. Jesus Christ is the only master of Christians, and whatever he taught, either during his personal ministry or by his inspired Apostles, we regard as of divine authority, and profess to make the rule of our lives.

This authority which we give to the Scriptures is a reason, we conceive, for studying them with peculiar care, and for inquiring anxiously into the principles of interpretation by which their true meaning may be ascertained. The principles adopted by the class of Christians in whose name I speak need to be explained, because they are often misunderstood. We are particularly accused of making an unwarrantable use of reason in the interpretation of Scripture. We are said to exalt reason above revelation, to prefer our own wisdom to God's. Loose and undefined charges of this kind are circulated so freely, that we think it due to ourselves, and to the cause of truth, to express our views with some particularity.

Our leading principle in interpreting

Scripture is this, that the Bible is a book written for men, in the language of men, and that its meaning is to be sought in the same manner as that of other books. We believe that God, when He speaks to the human race, conforms, if we may so say, to the established rules of speaking and writing. How else would the Scriptures avail us more than if communicated in an unknown tongue?

Now all books and all conversation require in the reader or hearer the constant exercise of reason; or their true import is only to be obtained by continual comparison and inference. Human language, you well know, admits various interpretations; and every word and every sentence must be modified and explained according to the subject which is discussed, according to the purposes, feelings, circumstances, and principles of the writer, and according to the genius and idioms of the language which he uses. These are acknowledged principles in the interpretation of human writings; and a man whose words we should explain without reference to these principles would reproach us justly with a criminal want of candor, and an intention of obscuring or distorting his meaning.

Were the Bible written in a language and style of its own, did it consist of words which admit but a single sense, and of sentences wholly detached from each other, there would be no place for the principles now laid down. We could not reason about it as about other writings. But such a book would be of little worth; and perhaps, of all books, the Scriptures correspond least to this description. The word of God bears the stamp of the same hand which we see in his works. It has infinite connections and dependences. Every proposition is linked with others, and is to be compared with others, that its full and precise import may be understood. Nothing stands alone. The New Testament is built on the Old. The Christian dispensation is a continuation of the Jewish, the completion of a vast scheme of providence, requiring great extent of view in the reader. Still more, the Bible treats of subjects on which we receive ideas from other sources besides itself, — such subjects as the nature, passions, relations, and duties of man; and it expects us to restrain and modify its language by the known truths which observation and experience furnish on these topics.

We profess not to know a book which demands a more frequent exercise of reason than the Bible. In addition to the remarks now made on its infinite connections, we may observe, that its style nowhere affects the precision of science or the accuracy of definition. Its language is singularly glowing, bold, and figurative, demanding more frequent departures from the literal sense than that of our own age and country, and consequently demanding more continual exercise of judgment. We find, too, that the different portions of this book, instead of being confined to general truths, refer perpetually to the times when they were written, to states of society, to modes of thinking, to controversies in the church, to feelings and usages which have passed away, and without the knowledge of which we are constantly in danger of extending to all times and places what was of temporary and local application. We find, too, that some of these books are strongly marked by the genius and character of their respective writers, that the Holy Spirit did not so guide the Apostles as to suspend the peculiarities of their minds, and that a knowledge of their feelings, and of the influences under which they were placed, is one of the preparations for understanding their writings. With these views of the Bible, we feel it our bounden duty to exercise our reason upon it perpetually, to compare, to infer, to look beyond the letter to the spirit, to seek in the nature of the subject and the aim of the writer his true meaning; and, in general, to make use of what is known for explaining what is difficult, and for discovering new truths.

Need I descend to particulars to prove that the Scriptures demand the exercise of reason? Take, for example, the style in which they generally speak of God, and observe how habitually they apply to him human passions and organs. Recollect the declarations of Christ, that he came not to send peace but a sword; that unless we eat his flesh and drink his blood we have no life in us; that we must hate father and mother, and pluck out the right eye;

and a vast number of passages equally bold and unlimited. Recollect the unqualified manner in which it is said of Christians that they possess all things, know all things, and can do all things. Recollect the verbal contradiction between Paul and James, and the apparent clashing of some parts of Paul's writings with the general doctrines and end of Christianity. I might extend the enumeration indefinitely; and who does not see that we must limit all these passages by the known attributes of God, of Jesus Christ, and of human nature, and by the circumstances under which they were written, so as to give the language a quite different import from what it would require had it been applied to different beings, or used in different connections.

Enough has been said to show in what sense we make use of reason in interpreting Scripture. From a variety of possible interpretations we select that which accords with the nature of the subject and the state of the writer, with the connection of the passage, with the general strain of Scripture, with the known character and will of God, and with the obvious and acknowledged laws of nature. In other words, we believe that God never contradicts in one part of Scripture what He teaches in another; and never contradicts in revelation what He teaches in his works and providence. And we therefore distrust every interpretation which, after deliberate attention, seems repugnant to any established truth. We reason about the Bible precisely as civilians do about the constitution under which we live; who, you know, are accustomed to limit one provision of that venerable instrument by others, and to fix the precise import of its parts by inquiring into its general spirit, into the intentions of its authors, and into the prevalent feelings, impressions, and circumstances of the time when it was framed. Without these principles of interpretation, we frankly acknowledge that we cannot defend the divine authority of the Scriptures. Deny us this latitude, and we must abandon this book to its enemies.

We do not announce these principles as original, or peculiar to ourselves. All Christians occasionally adopt them, not excepting those who most vehemently decry them when they happen to menace some favorite article of their creed. All Christians are compelled to use them in their controversies with infidels. All sects employ them in their warfare with one another. All willingly avail themselves of reason when it can be pressed into the service of their own party, and only complain of it when its weapons wound themselves. None reason more frequently than those from whom we differ. It is astonishing what a fabric they rear from a few slight hints about the fall of our first parents; and how ingeniously they extract from detached passages mysterious doctrines about the divine nature. We do not blame them for reasoning so abundantly, but for violating the fundamental rules of reasoning, for sacrificing the plain to the obscure, and the general strain of Scripture to a scanty number of insulated texts.

We object strongly to the contemptuous manner in which human reason is often spoken of by our adversaries, because it leads, we believe, to universal scepticism. If reason be so dreadfully darkened by the fall that its most decisive judgments on religion are unworthy of trust, then Christianity, and even natural theology, must be abandoned; for the existence and veracity of God, and the divine original of Christianity, are conclusions of reason, and must stand or fall with it. If revelation be at war with this faculty, it subverts itself, for the great question of its truth is left by God to be decided at the bar of reason. It is worthy of remark, how nearly the bigot and the sceptic approach. Both would annihilate our confidence in our faculties, and both throw doubt and confusion over every truth. We honor revelation too highly to make it the antagonist of reason, or to believe that it calls us to renounce our highest powers.

We indeed grant that the use of reason in religion is accompanied with danger. But we ask any honest man to look back on the history of the church, and say whether the renunciation of it be not still more dangerous. Besides, it is a plain fact that men reason as erroneously on all subjects as on religion. Who does not know the wild and groundless theories which have been framed in physical and political science? But who ever supposed that we must cease

to exercise reason on nature and society because men have erred for ages in explaining them? We grant that the passions continually, and sometimes fatally, disturb the rational faculty in its inquiries into revelation. The ambitious contrive to find doctrines in the Bible which favor their love of dominion. The timid and dejected discover there a gloomy system, and the mystical and fanatical a visionary theology. The vicious can find examples or assertions on which to build the hope of a late repentance, or of acceptance on easy terms. The falsely refined contrive to light on doctrines which have not been soiled by vulgar handling. But the passions do not distract the reason in religious any more than in other inquiries which excite strong and general interest; and this faculty, of consequence, is not to be renounced in religion, unless we are prepared to discard it universally. The true inference from the almost endless errors which have darkened theology is, not that we are to neglect and disparage our powers, but to exert them more patiently, circumspectly, uprightly; the worst errors, after all, having sprung up in that church which proscribes reason, and demands from its members implicit faith. The most pernicious doctrines have been the growth of the darkest times, when the general credulity encouraged bad men and enthusiasts to broach their dreams and inventions, and to stifle the faint remonstrances of reason by the menaces of everlasting perdition. Say what we may, God has given us a rational nature, and will call us to account for it. We may let it sleep, but we do so at our peril. Revelation is addressed to us as rational beings. We may wish, in our sloth, that God had given us a system demanding no labor of comparing, limiting, and inferring. But such a system would be at variance with the whole character of our present existence; and it is the part of wisdom to take revelation as it is given to us, and to interpret it by the help of the faculties which it everywhere supposes, and on which it is founded.

To the views now given an objection is commonly urged from the character of God. We are told that God being infinitely wiser than men, his discoveries will surpass human reason. In a revelation from such a teacher we ought to expect propositions which we cannot reconcile with one another, and which may seem to contradict established truths; and it becomes us not to question or explain them away, but to believe and adore, and to submit our weak and carnal reason to the divine word. To this objection we have two short answers. We say, first, that it is impossible that a teacher of infinite wisdom should expose those whom he would teach to infinite error. But if once we admit that propositions which in their literal sense appear plainly repugnant to one another, or to any known truth, are still to be literally understood and received, what possible limit can we set to the belief of contradictions? What shelter have we from the wildest fanaticism, which can always quote passages that, in their literal and obvious sense, give support to its extravagances? How can the Protestant escape from transubstantiation, a doctrine most clearly taught us, if the submission of reason, now contended for, be a duty? How can we even hold fast the truth of revelation; for if one apparent contradiction may be true, so may another, and the proposition, that Christianity is false, though involving inconsistency, may still be a verity?

We answer again, that if God be infinitely wise, He cannot sport with the understandings of his creatures. A wise teacher discovers his wisdom in adapting himself to the capacities of his pupils, not in perplexing them with what is unintelligible, not in distressing them with apparent contradictions; not in filling them with a sceptical distrust of their own powers. An infinitely wise teacher, who knows the precise extent of our minds and the best method of enlightening them, will surpass all other instructors in bringing down truth to our apprehension, and in showing its loveliness and harmony. We ought, indeed, to expect occasional obscurity in such a book as the Bible, which was written for past and future ages as well as for the present. But God's wisdom is a pledge that whatever is necessary for *us*, and necessary for salvation, is revealed too plainly to be mistaken, and too consistently to be questioned, by a sound and upright mind. It is not the mark of wisdom to use an unintelligi-

ble phraseology, to communicate what is above our capacities, to confuse and unsettle the intellect by appearances of contradiction. We honor our Heavenly Teacher too much to ascribe to him such a revelation. A revelation is a gift of light. It cannot thicken our darkness and multiply our perplexities.

II. Having thus stated the principles according to which we interpret Scripture, I now proceed to the second great head of this discourse, which is, to state some of the views which we derive from that sacred book, particularly those which distinguish us from other Christians.

1. In the first place, we believe in the doctrine of God's UNITY, or that there is one God, and one only. To this truth we give infinite importance, and we feel ourselves bound to take heed lest any man spoil us of it by vain philosophy. The proposition that there is one God seems to us exceedingly plain. We understand by it that there is one being, one mind, one person, one intelligent agent, and one only, to whom underived and infinite perfection and dominion belong. We conceive that these words could have conveyed no other meaning to the simple and uncultivated people who were set apart to be the depositaries of this great truth, and who were utterly incapable of understanding those hair-breadth distinctions between being and person which the sagacity of later ages has discovered. We find no intimation that this language was to be taken in an unusual sense, or that God's unity was a quite different thing from the oneness of other intelligent beings.

We object to the doctrine of the Trinity, that, whilst acknowledging in words, it subverts in effect, the unity of God. According to this doctrine, there are three infinite and equal persons, possessing supreme divinity, called the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Each of these persons, as described by theologians, has his own particular consciousness, will, and perceptions. They love each other, converse with each other, and delight in each other's society. They perform different parts in man's redemption, each having his appropriate office, and neither doing the work of the other. The Son is mediator, and not the Father. The Father sends the Son, and is not himself sent; nor is He conscious, like the Son, of taking flesh. Here, then, we have three intelligent agents, possessed of different consciousnesses, different wills, and different perceptions, performing different acts, and sustaining different relations; and if these things do not imply and constitute three minds or beings, we are utterly at a loss to know how three minds or beings are to be formed. It is difference of properties, and acts, and conciousness, which leads us to the belief of different intelligent beings, and, if this mark fails us, our whole knowledge falls; we have no proof that all the agents and persons in the universe are not one and the same mind. When we attempt to conceive of three Gods, we can do nothing more than represent to ourselves three agents, distinguished from each other by similar marks and peculiarities to those which separate the persons of the Trinity; and when common Christians hear these persons spoken of as conversing with each other, loving each other, and performing different acts, how can they help regarding them as different beings, different minds?

We do, then, with all earnestness, though without reproaching our brethren, protest against the irrational and unscriptural doctrine of the Trinity. "To us," as to the Apostle and the primitive Christians, "there is one God, even the Father." With Jesus, we worship the Father, as the only living and true God. We are astonished that any man can read the New Testament and avoid the conviction that the Father alone is God. We hear our Saviour continually appropriating this character to the Father. We find the Father continually distinguished from Jesus by this title. "God sent his Son." "God anointed Jesus." Now, how singular and inexplicable is this phraseology, which fills the New Testament, if this title belong equally to Jesus, and if a principal object of this book is to reveal him as God, as partaking equally with the Father in supreme divinity! We challenge our opponents to adduce one passage in the New Testament where the word God means three persons, where it is not limited to one person, and where, unless turned from its usual sense by the connection, it does not mean the Father. Can stronger proof be given that the doctrine of three persons in the God-

head is not a fundamental doctrine of Christianity?

This doctrine, were it true, must, from its difficulty, singularity, and importance, have been laid down with great clearness, guarded with great care, and stated with all possible precision. But where does this statement appear? From the many passages which treat of God, we ask for one, one only, in which we are told that He is a threefold being, or that He is three persons, or that He is Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. On the contrary, in the New Testament, where, at least, we might expect many express assertions of this nature, God is declared to be one, without the least attempt to prevent the acceptation of the words in their common sense; and He is always spoken of and addressed in the singular number, that is, in language which was universally understood to intend a single person, and to which no other idea could have been attached without an express admonition. So entirely do the Scriptures abstain from stating the Trinity, that when our opponents would insert it into their creeds and doxologies, they are compelled to leave the Bible, and to invent forms of words altogether unsanctioned by Scriptural phraseology. That a doctrine so strange, so liable to misapprehension, so fundamental as this is said to be, and requiring such careful exposition, should be left so undefined and unprotected, to be made out by inference, and to be hunted through distant and detached parts of Scripture, — this is a difficulty which, we think, no ingenuity can explain.

We have another difficulty. Christianity, it must be remembered, was planted and grew up amidst sharp-sighted enemies, who overlooked no objectionable part of the system, and who must have fastened with great earnestness on a doctrine involving such apparent contradictions as the Trinity. We cannot conceive an opinion against which the Jews, who prided themselves on an adherence to God's unity, would have raised an equal clamor. Now, how happens it that in the apostolic writings, which relate so much to objections against Christianity, and to the controversies which grew out of this religion, not one word is said implying that objections were brought against the gospel from the doctrine of the Trinity, not one word is uttered in its defence and explanation, not a word to rescue it from reproach and mistake? This argument has almost the force of demonstration. We are persuaded that, had three divine persons been announced by the first preachers of Christianity, all equal and all infinite, one of whom was the very Jesus who had lately died on the cross, this peculiarity of Christianity would have almost absorbed every other, and the great labor of the Apostles would have been to repel the continual assaults which it would have awakened. But the fact is, that not a whisper of objection to Christianity on that account reaches our ears from the apostolic age. In the Epistles we see not a trace of controversy called forth by the Trinity.

We have further objections to this doctrine, drawn from its practical influence. We regard it as unfavorable to devotion, by dividing and distracting the mind in its communion with God. It is a great excellence of the doctrine of God's unity, that it offers to us ONE OBJECT of supreme homage, adoration, and love, One Infinite Father, one Being of beings, one original and fountain, to whom we may refer all good, in whom all our powers and affections may be concentrated, and whose lovely and venerable nature may pervade all our thoughts. True piety, when directed to an undivided Deity, has a chasteness, a singleness, most favorable to religious awe and love. Now, the Trinity sets before us three distinct objects of supreme adoration; three infinite persons, having equal claims on our hearts; three divine agents, performing different offices, and to be acknowledged and worshipped in different relations. And is it possible, we ask, that the weak and limited mind of man can attach itself to these with the same power and joy as to One Infinite Father, the only First Cause, in whom all the blessings of nature and redemption meet as their centre and source? Must not devotion be distracted by the equal and rival claims of three equal persons, and must not the worship of the conscientious, consistent Christian be disturbed by an apprehension lest he withhold from one or another of these his due proportion of homage!

We also think that the doctrine of the Trinity injures devotion, not only by

joining to the Father other objects of worship, but by taking from the Father the supreme affection which is his due, and transferring it to the Son. This is a most important view. That Jesus Christ, if exalted into the infinite Divinity, should be more interesting than the Father, is precisely what might be expected from history, and from the principles of human nature. Men want an object of worship like themselves, and the great secret of idolatry lies in this propensity. A God, clothed in our form, and feeling our wants and sorrows, speaks to our weak nature more strongly than a Father in heaven, a pure spirit, invisible and unapproachable, save by the reflecting and purified mind. We think, too, that the peculiar offices ascribed to Jesus by the popular theology, make him the most attractive person in the Godhead. The Father is the depositary of the justice, the vindicator of the rights, the avenger of the laws of the Divinity. On the other hand, the Son, the brightness of the divine mercy, stands between the incensed Deity and guilty humanity, exposes his meek head to the storms, and his compassionate breast to the sword of the divine justice, bears our whole load of punishment, and purchases with his blood every blessing which descends from heaven. Need we state the effect of these representations, especially on common minds, for whom Christianity was chiefly designed, and whom it seeks to bring to the Father as the loveliest being? We do believe that the worship of a bleeding, suffering God tends strongly to absorb the mind, and to draw it from other objects, just as the human tenderness of the Virgin Mary has given her so conspicuous a place in the devotions of the Church of Rome. We believe, too, that this worship, though attractive, is not most fitted to spiritualize the mind, that it awakens human transport rather than that deep veneration of the moral perfections of God which is the essence of piety.

2. Having thus given our views of the unity of God, I proceed, in the second place, to observe that we believe in the unity of Jesus Christ. We believe that Jesus is one mind, one soul, one being, as truly one as we are, and equally distinct from the one God. We complain of the doctrine of the Trinity, that, not satisfied with making God three beings, it makes Jesus Christ two beings, and thus introduces infinite confusion into our conceptions of his character. This corruption of Christianity, alike repugnant to common sense and to the general strain of Scripture, is a remarkable proof of the power of a false philosophy in disfiguring the simple truth of Jesus.

According to this doctrine, Jesus Christ, instead of being one mind, one conscious, intelligent principle, whom we can understand, consists of two souls, two minds; the one divine, the other human; the one weak, the other almighty: the one ignorant, the other omniscient. Now we maintain that this is to make Christ two beings. To denominate him one person, one being, and yet to suppose him made up of two minds, infinitely different from each other, is to abuse and confound language, and to throw darkness over all our conceptions of intelligent natures. According to the common doctrine, each of these two minds in Christ has its own consciousness, its own will, its own perceptions. They have, in fact, no common properties. The divine mind feels none of the wants and sorrows of the human, and the human is infinitely removed from the perfection and happiness of the divine. Can you conceive of two beings in the universe more distinct? We have always thought that one person was constituted and distinguished by one consciousness. The doctrine that one and the same person should have two consciousnesses, two wills, two souls, infinitely different from each other, this we think an enormous tax on human credulity.

We say that if a doctrine so strange, so difficult, so remote from all the previous conceptions of men, be indeed a part, and an essential part, of revelation, it must be taught with great distinctness, and we ask our brethren to point to some plain, direct passage, where Christ is said to be composed of two minds infinitely different, yet constituting one person. We find none. Other Christians, indeed, tell us that this doctrine is necessary to the harmony of the Scriptures, that some texts ascribe to Jesus Christ human, and others divine properties, and that to reconcile these we must suppose two minds, to which these properties may be referred. In other words, for the

purpose of reconciling certain difficult passages, which a just criticism can in a great degree, if not wholly, explain, we must invent an hypothesis vastly more difficult, and involving gross absurdity. We are to find our way out of a labyrinth by a clue which conducts us into mazes infinitely more inextricable.

Surely, if Jesus Christ felt that he consisted of two minds, and that this was a leading feature of his religion, his phraseology respecting himself would have been colored by this peculiarity. The universal language of men is framed upon the idea that one person is one person, is one mind, and one soul; and when the multitude heard this language from the lips of Jesus, they must have taken it in its usual sense, and must have referred to a single soul all which he spoke, unless expressly instructed to interpret it differently. But where do we find this instruction? Where do you meet, in the New Testament, the phraseology which abounds in Trinitarian books, and which necessarily grows from the doctrine of two natures in Jesus? Where does this divine teacher say, "This I speak as God, and this as man; this is true only of my human mind, this only of my divine?" Where do we find in the Epistles a trace of this strange phraseology? Nowhere. It was not needed in that day. It was demanded by the errors of a later age.

We believe, then, that Christ is one mind, one being, and, I add, a being distinct from the one God. That Christ is not the one God, not the same being with the Father, is a necessary inference from our former head, in which we saw that the doctrine of three persons in God is a fiction. But on so important a subject I would add a few remarks. We wish that those from whom we differ would weigh one striking fact. Jesus, in his preaching, continually spoke of God. The word was always in his mouth. We ask, does he by this word ever mean himself? We say, never. On the contrary, he most plainly distinguishes between God and himself, and so do his disciples. How this is to be reconciled with the idea that the manifestation of Christ, as God, was a primary object of Christianity, our adversaries must determine.

If we examine the passages in which Jesus is distinguished from God, we shall see that they not only speak of him as another being, but seem to labor to express his inferiority. He is continually spoken of as the Son of God, sent of God, receiving all his powers from God, working miracles because God was with him, judging justly because God taught him, having claims on our belief because he was anointed and sealed by God, and as able of himself to do nothing. The New Testament is filled with this language. Now we ask what impression this language was fitted and intended to make? Could any who heard it have imagined that Jesus was the very God to whom he was so industriously declared to be inferior; the very Being by whom he was sent, and from whom he professed to have received his message and power? Let it here be remembered that the human birth, and bodily form, and humble circumstances, and mortal sufferings of Jesus, must all have prepared men to interpret, in the most unqualified manner, the language in which his inferiority to God was declared. Why, then, was this language used so continually, and without limitation, if Jesus were the Supreme Deity, and if this truth were an essential part of his religion? I repeat it, the human condition and sufferings of Christ tended strongly to exclude from men's minds the idea of his proper Godhead; and, of course, we should expect to find in the New Testament perpetual care and effort to counteract this tendency, to hold him forth as the same being with his Father, if this doctrine were, as is pretended, the soul and centre of his religion. We should expect to find the phraseology of Scripture cast into the mould of this doctrine, to hear familiarly of God the Son, of our Lord God Jesus, and to be told that to us there is one God, even Jesus. But, instead of this, the inferiority of Christ pervades the New Testament. It is not only implied in the general phraseology, but repeatedly and decidedly expressed, and unaccompanied with any admonition to prevent its application to his whole nature. Could it, then, have been the great design of the sacred writers to exhibit Jesus as the Supreme God?

I am aware that these remarks will be met by two or three texts in which Christ

is called God, and by a class of passages, not very numerous, in which divine properties are said to be ascribed to him. To these we offer one plain answer. We say that it is one of the most established and obvious principles of criticism, that language is to be explained according to the known properties of the subject to which it is applied. Every man knows that the same words convey very different ideas when used in relation to different beings. Thus, Solomon *built* the temple in a different manner from the architect whom he employed; and God *repents* differently from man. Now we maintain that the known properties and circumstances of Christ, his birth, sufferings, and death, his constant habit of speaking of God as a distinct being from himself, his praying to God, his ascribing to God all his power and offices, — these acknowledged properties of Christ, we say, oblige us to interpret the comparatively few passages which are thought to make him the Supreme God, in a manner consistent with his distinct and inferior nature. It is our duty to explain such texts by the rule which we apply to other texts, in which human beings are called gods, and are said to be partakers of the divine nature, to know and possess all things, and to be filled with all God's fulness. These latter passages we do not hesitate to modify, and restrain, and turn from the most obvious sense, because this sense is opposed to the known properties of the beings to whom they relate; and we maintain that we adhere to the same principle, and use no greater latitude, in explaining, as we do, the passages which are thought to support the Godhead of Christ.

Trinitarians profess to derive some important advantages from their mode of viewing Christ. It furnishes them, they tell us, with an infinite atonement, for it shows them an infinite being suffering for their sins. The confidence with which this fallacy is repeated astonishes us. When pressed with the question whether they really believe that the infinite and unchangeable God suffered and died on the cross, they acknowledge that this is not true, but that Christ's human mind alone sustained the pains of death. How have we, then, an infinite sufferer? This language seems to us an imposition on common minds, and very derogatory to God's justice, as if this attribute could be satisfied by a sophism and a fiction.

We are also told that Christ is a more interesting object, that his love and mercy are more felt, when he is viewed as the Supreme God, who left his glory to take humanity and to suffer for men. That Trinitarians are strongly moved by this representation, we do not mean to deny; but we think their emotions altogether founded on a misapprehension of their own doctrines. They talk of the second person of the Trinity's leaving his glory and his Father's bosom to visit and save the world. But this second person, being the unchangeable and infinite God, was evidently incapable of parting with the least degree of his perfection and felicity. At the moment of his taking flesh, he was as intimately present with his Father as before, and equally with his Father filled heaven, and earth, and immensity. This Trinitarians acknowledge; and still they profess to be touched and overwhelmed by the amazing humiliation of this immutable being! But not only does their doctrine, when fully explained, reduce Christ's humiliation to a fiction, it almost wholly destroys the impressions with which his cross ought to be viewed. According to their doctrine, Christ was comparatively no sufferer at all. It is true, his human mind suffered; but this, they tell us, was an infinitely small part of Jesus, bearing no more proportion to his whole nature than a single hair of our heads to the whole body, or than a drop to the ocean. The divine mind of Christ, that which was most properly himself, was infinitely happy at the very moment of the suffering of his humanity. Whilst hanging on the cross, he was the happiest being in the universe, as happy as the infinite Father; so that his pains, compared with his felicity, were nothing. This Trinitarians do, and must, acknowledge. It follows necessarily from the immutableness of the divine nature which they ascribe to Christ; so that their system, justly viewed, robs his death of interest, weakens our sympathy with his sufferings, and is, of all others, most unfavorable to a love of Christ, founded on a sense of his sacrifices for mankind. We esteem our own views to be vastly more affecting. It is our belief that Christ's humiliation was

real and entire, that the whole Saviour, and not a part of him, suffered, that his crucifixion was a scene of deep and unmixed agony. As we stand round his cross, our minds are not distracted, nor our sensibility weakened, by contemplating him as composed of incongruous and infinitely differing minds, and as having a balance of infinite felicity. We recognize in the dying Jesus but one mind. This, we think, renders his sufferings, and his patience and love in bearing them, incomparably more impressive and affecting than the system we oppose.

3. Having thus given our belief on two great points, namely, that there is one God, and that Jesus Christ is a being distinct from and inferior to God, I now proceed to another point on which we lay still greater stress. We believe in the *moral perfection of God*. We consider no part of theology so important as that which treats of God's moral character; and we value our views of Christianity chiefly as they assert his amiable and venerable attributes.

It may be said that in regard to this subject all Christians agree, that all ascribe to the Supreme Being infinite justice, goodness, and holiness. We reply, that it is very possible to speak of God magnificently, and to think of him meanly; to apply to his person high-sounding epithets, and to his government principles which make him odious. The Heathens called Jupiter the greatest and the best; but his history was black with cruelty and lust. We cannot judge of men's real ideas of God by their general language, for in all ages they have hoped to soothe the Deity by adulation. We must inquire into their particular views of his purposes, of the principles of his administration, and of his disposition towards his creatures.

We conceive that Christians have generally leaned towards a very injurious view of the Supreme Being. They have too often felt as if He were raised, by his greatness and sovereignty, above the principles of morality, above those eternal laws of equity and rectitude to which all other beings are subjected. We believe that in no being is the sense of right so strong, so omnipotent, as in God. We believe that his almighty power is entirely submitted to his perceptions of rectitude; and this is the ground of our piety. It is not because He is our Creator merely, but because He created us for good and holy purposes; it is not because his will is irresistible, but because his will is the perfection of virtue, that we pay him allegiance. We cannot bow before a being, however great and powerful, who governs tyrannically. We respect nothing but excellence, whether on earth or in heaven. We venerate not the loftiness of God's throne, but the equity and goodness in which it is established.

We believe that God is infinitely good, kind, benevolent, in the proper sense of these words, — good in disposition as well as in act; good not to a few, but to all; good to every individual, as well as to the general system.

We believe, too, that God is just: but we never forget that his justice is the justice of a good being, dwelling in the same mind, and acting in harmony, with perfect benevolence. By this attribute we understand God's infinite regard to virtue or moral worth expressed in a moral government; that is, in giving excellent and equitable laws, and in conferring such rewards, and inflicting such punishments, as are best fitted to secure their observance. God's justice has for its end the highest virtue of the creation, and it punishes for this end alone; and thus it coincides with benevolence; for virtue and happiness, though not the same, are inseparably conjoined.

God's justice, thus viewed, appears to us to be in perfect harmony with his mercy. According to the prevalent systems of theology, these attributes are so discordant and jarring, that to reconcile them is the hardest task and the most wonderful achievement of infinite wisdom. To us they seem to be intimate friends, always at peace, breathing the same spirit, and seeking the same end. By God's mercy, we understand not a blind instinctive compassion, which forgives without reflection, and without regard to the interests of virtue. This, we acknowledge, would be incompatible with justice, and also with enlightened benevolence. God's mercy, as we understand it, desires strongly the happiness of the guilty; but only through their penitence. It has a regard to character as truly as

his justice. It defers punishment, and suffers long, that the sinner may return to his duty, but leaves the impenitent and unyielding to the fearful retribution threatened in God's word.

To give our views of God in one word, we believe in his parental character. We ascribe to him not only the name, but the dispositions and principles of a father. We believe that He has a father's concern for his creatures, a father's desire for their improvement, a father's equity in proportioning his commands to their powers, a father's joy in their progress, a father's readiness to receive the penitent, and a father's justice for the incorrigible. We look upon this world as a place of education, in which He is training men by prosperity and adversity, by aids and obstructions, by conflicts of reason and passion, by motives to duty and temptations to sin, by a various discipline suited to free and moral beings, for union with himself, and for a sublime and ever-growing virtue in heaven.

Now, we object to the systems of religion which prevail among us, that they are adverse, in a greater or less degree, to these purifying, comforting, and honorable views of God; that they take from us our Father in heaven, and substitute for him a being whom we cannot love if we would, and whom we ought not to love if we could. We object, particularly on this ground, to that system which arrogates to itself the name of Orthodoxy, and which is now industriously propagated through our country. This system indeed takes various shapes, but in all it casts dishonor on the Creator. According to its old and genuine form, it teaches that God brings us into life wholly depraved, so that under the innocent features of our childhood is hidden a nature averse to all good and propense to all evil, a nature which exposes us to God's displeasure and wrath, even before we have acquired power to understand our duties or to reflect upon our actions. According to a more modern exposition, it teaches that we came from the hands of our Maker with such a constitution, and are placed under such influences and circumstances, as to render certain and infallible the total depravity of every human being from the first moment of his moral agency; and it also teaches that the offence of the child, who brings into life this ceaseless tendency to unmingled crime, exposes him to the sentence of everlasting damnation. Now, according to the plainest principles of morality, we maintain that a natural constitution of the mind, unfailingly disposing it to evil, and to evil alone, would absolve it from guilt; that to give existence under this condition would argue unspeakable cruelty; and that to punish the sin of this unhappily constituted child with endless ruin would be a wrong unparalleled by the most merciless despotism.

This system also teaches that God selects from this corrupt mass a number to be saved, and plucks them, by a special influence, from the common ruin; that the rest of mankind, though left without that special grace which their conversion requires, are commanded to repent, under penalty of aggravated woe; and that forgiveness is promised them on terms which their very constitution infallibly disposes them to reject, and in rejecting which they awfully enhance the punishments of hell. These proffers of forgiveness and exhortations of amendment, to beings born under a blighting curse, fill our minds with a horror which we want words to express.

That this religious system does not produce all the effects on character which might be anticipated, we most joyfully admit. It is often, very often, counteracted by nature, conscience, common sense, by the general strain of Scripture, by the mild example and precepts of Christ, and by the many positive declarations of God's universal kindness and perfect equity. But still we think that we see its unhappy influence. It tends to discourage the timid, to give excuses to the bad, to feed the vanity of the fanatical, and to offer shelter to the bad feelings of the malignant. By shocking, as it does, the fundamental principles of morality, and by exhibiting a severe and partial Deity, it tends strongly to pervert the moral faculty, to form a gloomy, forbidding, and servile religion, and to lead men to substitute censoriousness, bitterness, and persecution, for a tender and impartial charity. We think, too, that this system, which begins with degrading human nature, may be expected to

end in pride; for pride grows out of a consciousness of high distinctions, however obtained, and no distinction is so great as that which is made between the elected and abandoned of God.

The false and dishonorable views of God which have now been stated, we feel ourselves bound to resist unceasingly. Other errors we can pass over with comparative indifference. But we ask our opponents to leave to us a GOD worthy of our love and trust, in whom our moral sentiments may delight, in whom our weaknesses and sorrows may find refuge. We cling to the divine perfections. We meet them everywhere in creation, we read them in the Scriptures, we see a lovely image of them in Jesus Christ; and gratitude, love, and veneration call on us to assert them. Reproached, as we often are, by men, it is our consolation and happiness that one of our chief offences is the zeal with which we vindicate the dishonored goodness and rectitude of God.

4. Having thus spoken of the unity of God; of the unity of Jesus, and his inferiority to God; and of the perfections of the divine character; I now proceed to give our views of the mediation of Christ, and of the purposes of his mission. With regard to the great object which Jesus came to accomplish, there seems to be no possibility of mistake. We believe that he was sent by the Father to effect a moral or spiritual deliverance of mankind: that is, to rescue men from sin and its consequences, and to bring them to a state of everlasting purity and happiness. We believe, too, that he accomplishes this sublime purpose by a variety of methods, — by his instructions respecting God's unity, parental character, and moral government, which are admirably fitted to reclaim the world from idolatry and impiety, to the knowledge, love, and obedience of the Creator; by his promises of pardon to the penitent, and of divine assistance to those who labor for progress in moral excellence; by the light which he has thrown on the path of duty; by his own spotless example, in which the loveliness and sublimity of virtue shine forth to warm and quicken as well as guide us to perfection; by his threatenings against incorrigible guilt; by his glorious discoveries of immortality; by his sufferings and death; by that signal event, the resurrection, which powerfully bore witness to his divine mission, and brought down to men's senses a future life; by his continual intercession, which obtains for us spiritual aid and blessings; and by the power with which he is invested of raising the dead, judging the world, and conferring the everlasting rewards promised to the faithful.

We have no desire to conceal the fact that a difference of opinion exists among us in regard to an interesting part of Christ's mediation, — I mean, in regard to the precise influence of his death on our forgiveness. Many suppose that this event contributes to our pardon, as it was a principal means of confirming his religion, and of giving it a power over the mind; in other words, that it procures forgiveness by leading to that repentance and virtue which is the great and only condition on which forgiveness is bestowed. Many of us are dissatisfied with this explanation, and think that the Scriptures ascribe the remission of sins to Christ's death with an emphasis so peculiar that we ought to consider this event as having a special influence in removing punishment, though the Scriptures may not reveal the way in which it contributes to this end.

Whilst, however, we differ in explaining the connection between Christ's death and human forgiveness, — a connection which we all gratefully acknowledge, — we agree in rejecting many sentiments which prevail in regard to his mediation. The idea which is conveyed to common minds by the popular system, that Christ's death has an influence in making God placable or merciful, in awakening his kindness towards men, we reject with strong disapprobation. We are happy to find that this very dishonorable notion is disowned by intelligent Christians of that class from which we differ. We recollect, however, that, not long ago, it was common to hear of Christ as having died to appease God's wrath, and to pay the debt of sinners to his inflexible justice; and we have a strong persuasion that the language of popular religious books, and the common mode of stating the doctrine of Christ's mediation, still communicate very degrading views of God's character. They give to multitudes the impression that the death of Jesus produces a change in

the mind of God towards man, and that in this its efficacy chiefly consists. No error seems to us more pernicious. We can endure no shade over the pure goodness of God. We earnestly maintain that Jesus, instead of calling forth, in any way or degree, the mercy of the Father, was sent by that mercy to be our Saviour; that he is nothing to the human race but what he is by God's appointment; that he communicates nothing but what God empowers him to bestow: that our Father in heaven is originally, essentially, and eternally placable, and disposed to forgive; and that his unborrowed, underived, and unchangeable love is the only fountain of what flows to us through his Son. We conceive that Jesus is dishonored, not glorified, by ascribing to him an influence which clouds the splendor of divine benevolence.

We farther agree in rejecting, as unscriptural and absurd, the explanation given by the popular system of the manner in which Christ's death procures forgiveness for men. This system used to teach, as its fundamental principle, that man, having sinned against an infinite Being, has contracted infinite guilt, and is consequently exposed to an infinite penalty. We believe, however, that this reasoning, if reasoning it may be called, which overlooks the obvious maxim that the guilt of a being must be proportioned to his nature and powers, has fallen into disuse. Still the system teaches that sin, of whatever degree, exposes to endless punishment, and that the whole human race, being infallibly involved by their nature in sin, owe this awful penalty to the justice of their Creator. It teaches that this penalty cannot be remitted, in consistency with the honor of the divine law, unless a substitute be found to endure it or to suffer an equivalent. It also teaches that, from the nature of the case, no substitute is adequate to this work save the infinite God himself; and accordingly, God, in his second person, took on him human nature, that He might pay to his own justice the debt of punishment incurred by men, and might thus reconcile forgiveness with the claims and threatenings of his law. Such is the prevalent system. Now, to us, this doctrine seems to carry on its front strong marks of absurdity; and we maintain that Christianity ought not to be encumbered with it, unless it be laid down in the New Testament fully and expressly. We ask our adversaries, then, to point to some plain passages where it is taught. We ask for one text in which we are told that God took human nature that He might make an infinite satisfaction to his own justice; for one text which tells us that human guilt requires an infinite substitute; that Christ's sufferings owe their efficacy to their being borne by an infinite being; or that his divine nature gives infinite value to the sufferings of the human. Not *one word* of this description can we find in the Scriptures; not a text which even hints at these strange doctrines. They are altogether, we believe, the fictions of theologians. Christianity is in no degree responsible for them. We are astonished at their prevalence. What can be plainer than that God cannot in any sense, be a sufferer, or bear a penalty in the room of his creatures? How dishonorable to him is the supposition, that his justice is now so severe as to exact infinite punishment for the sins of frail and feeble men, and now so easy and yielding as to accept the limited pains of Christ's human soul as a full equivalent for the endless woes due from the world? How plain is it also, according to this doctrine, that God, instead of being plenteous in forgiveness, never forgives; for it seems absurd to speak of men as forgiven, when their whole punishment, or an equivalent to it, is borne by a substitute? A scheme more fitted to obscure the brightness of Christianity and the mercy of God, or less suited to give comfort to a guilty and troubled mind, could not, we think, be easily framed.

We believe, too, that this system is unfavorable to the character. It naturally leads men to think that Christ came to change God's mind rather than their own: that the highest object of his mission was to avert punishment rather than to communicate holiness: and that a large part of religion consists in disparaging good works and human virtue, for the purpose of magnifying the value of Christ's vicarious sufferings. In this way a sense of the infinite importance and indispensable necessity of personal improvement is weakened, and high-sounding praises of Christ's cross seem often to be substituted for obe-

dience to his precepts. For ourselves, we have not so learned Jesus. Whilst we gratefully acknowledge that he came to rescue us from punishment, we believe that he was sent on a still nobler errand, namely, to deliver us from sin itself, and to form us to a sublime and heavenly virtue. We regard him as a Saviour, chiefly as he is the light, physician, and guide of the dark, diseased, and wandering mind. No influence in the universe seems to us so glorious as that over the character; and no redemption so worthy of thankfulness as the restoration of the soul to purity. Without this, pardon, were it possible, would be of little value. Why pluck the sinner from hell, if a hell be left to burn in his own breast? Why raise him to heaven, if he remain a stranger to its sanctity and love? With these impressions, we are accustomed to value the gospel chiefly as it abounds in effectual aids, motives, excitements to a generous and divine virtue. In this virtue, as in a common centre, we see all its doctrines, precepts, promises meet; and we believe that faith in this religion is of no worth, and contributes nothing to salvation, any farther than as it uses these doctrines, precepts, promises, and the whole life, character, sufferings, and triumphs of Jesus, as the means of purifying the mind, of changing it into the likeness of his celestial excellence.

5. Having thus stated our views of the highest object of Christ's mission, that it is the recovery of men to virtue, or holiness, I shall now, in the last place, give our views of the nature of Christian virtue, or true holiness. We believe that all virtue has its foundation in the moral nature of man, that is, in conscience, or his sense of duty, and in the power of forming his temper and life according to conscience. We believe that these moral faculties are the grounds of responsibility, and the highest distinctions of human nature, and that no act is praiseworthy any farther than it springs from their exertion. We believe that no dispositions infused into us without our own moral activity are of the nature of virtue, and therefore we reject the doctrine of irresistible divine influence on the human mind, moulding it into goodness as marble is hewn into a statue. Such goodness, if this word may be used, would not be the object of moral approbation, any more than the instinctive affections of inferior animals, or the constitutional amiableness of human beings.

By these remarks, we do not mean to deny the importance of God's aid or Spirit; but by his Spirit we mean a moral, illuminating, and persuasive influence, not physical, not compulsory, not involving a necessity of virtue. We object, strongly, to the idea of many Christians respecting man's impotence and God's irresistible agency on the heart, believing that they subvert our responsibility and the laws of our moral nature, that they make men machines, that they cast on God the blame of all evil deeds, that they discourage good minds, and inflate the fanatical with wild conceits of immediate and sensible inspiration.

Among the virtues, we give the first place to the love of God. We believe that this principle is the true end and happiness of our being, that we were made for union with our Creator, that his infinite perfection is the only sufficient object and true resting-place for the insatiable desires and unlimited capacities of the human mind, and that, without him, our noblest sentiments, admiration, veneration, hope, and love would wither and decay. We believe, too, that the love of God is not only essential to happiness, but to the strength and perfection of all the virtues: that conscience, without the sanction of God's authority and retributive justice, would be a weak director; that benevolence, unless nourished by communion with his goodness, and encouraged by his smile, could not thrive amidst the selfishness and thanklessness of the world; and that self-government, without a sense of the divine inspection, would hardly extend beyond an outward and partial purity. God, as he is essentially goodness, holiness, justice, and virtue, so he is the life, motive, and sustainer of virtue in the human soul.

But whilst we earnestly inculcate the love of God, we believe that great care is necessary to distinguish it from counterfeits. We think that much which is called piety is worthless. Many have fallen into the error that there can be no excess in feelings which have God for their object; and, distrusting as coldness that self-possession without which

virtue and devotion lose all their dignity, they have abandoned themselves to extravagances which have brought contempt on piety. Most certainly, if the love of God be that which often bears its name, the less we have of it the better. If religion be the shipwreck of understanding, we cannot keep too far from it. On this subject we always speak plainly. We cannot sacrifice our reason to the reputation of zeal. We owe it to truth and religion to maintain that fanaticism, partial insanity, sudden impressions, and ungovernable transports, are any thing rather than piety.

We conceive that the true love of God is a moral sentiment, founded on a clear perception, and consisting in a high esteem and veneration of his moral perfections. Thus, it perfectly coincides, and is, in fact, the same thing, with the love of virtue, rectitude, and goodness. You will easily judge, then, what we esteem the surest and only decisive signs of piety. We lay no stress on strong excitements. We esteem him, and him only, a pious man, who practically conforms to God's moral perfections and government; who shows his delight in God's benevolence by loving and serving his neighbor; his delight in God's justice by being resolutely upright; his sense of God's purity by regulating his thoughts, imagination, and desires; and whose conversation, business, and domestic life are swayed by a regard to God's presence and authority. In all things else men may deceive themselves. Disordered nerves may give them strange sights, and sounds, and impressions. Texts of Scripture may come to them as from heaven. Their whole souls may be moved, and their confidence in God's favor be undoubting. But in all this there is no religion. The question is, Do they love God's commands, in which his character is fully expressed, and give up to these their habits and passions? Without this, ecstacy is a mockery. One surrender of desire to God's will is worth a thousand transports. We do not judge of the bent of men's minds by their raptures, any more than we judge of the natural direction of a tree during a storm. We rather suspect loud profession, for we have observed that deep feeling is generally noiseless, and least seeks display.

We would not, by these remarks, be understood as wishing to exclude from religion warmth, and even transport. We honor and highly value true religious sensibility. We believe that Christianity is intended to act powerfully on our whole nature, on the heart as well as the understanding and the conscience. We conceive of heaven as a state where the love of God will be exalted into an unbounded fervor and joy; and we desire, in our pilgrimage here, to drink into the spirit of that better world. But we think that religious warmth is only to be valued when it springs naturally from an improved character, when it comes unforced, when it is the recompense of obedience, when it is the warmth of a mind which understands God by being like him, and when, instead of disordering, it exalts the understanding, invigorates conscience, gives a pleasure to common duties, and is seen to exist in connection with cheerfulness, judiciousness, and a reasonable frame of mind. When we observe a fervor called religious in men whose general character expresses little refinement and elevation, and whose piety seems at war with reason, we pay it little respect. We honor religion too much to give its sacred name to a feverish, forced, fluctuating zeal, which has little power over the life.

Another important branch of virtue we believe to be love to Christ. The greatness of the work of Jesus, the spirit with which he executed it, and the sufferings which he bore for our salvation, we feel to be strong claims on our gratitude and veneration. We see in nature no beauty to be compared with the loveliness of his character, nor do we find on earth a benefactor to whom we owe an equal debt. We read his history with delight, and learn from it the perfection of our nature. We are particularly touched by his death, which was endured for our redemption, and by that strength of charity which triumphed over his pains. His resurrection is the foundation of our hope of immortality. His intercession gives us boldness to draw nigh to the throne of grace, and we look up to heaven with new desire when we think that, if we follow him here, we shall there see his benignant countenance, and enjoy his friendship for ever.

I need not express to you our views on the subject of the benevolent virtues.

We attach such importance to these, that we are sometimes reproached with exalting them above piety. We regard the spirit of love, charity, meekness, forgiveness, liberality, and beneficence, as the badge and distinction of Christians, as the brightest image we can bear of God, as the best proof of piety. On this subject I need not and cannot enlarge; but there is one branch of benevolence which I ought not to pass over in silence, because we think that we conceive of it more highly and justly than many of our brethren. I refer to the duty of candor, charitable judgment, especially towards those who differ in religious opinion. We think that in nothing have Christians so widely departed from their religion as in this particular. We read with astonishment and horror the history of the church; and sometimes, when we look back on the fires of persecution, and on the zeal of Christians in building up walls of separation, and in giving up one another to perdition, we feel as if we were reading the records of an infernal rather than a heavenly kingdom. An enemy to every religion, if asked to describe a Christian, would, with some show of reason, depict him as an idolater of his own distinguishing opinions, covered with badges of party, shutting his eyes on the virtues and his ears on the arguments of his opponents, arrogating all excellence to his own sect and all saving power to his own creed, sheltering under the name of pious zeal the love of domination, the conceit of infallibility, and the spirit of intolerance, and trampling on men's rights under the pretence of saving their souls.

We can hardly conceive of a plainer obligation on beings of our frail and fallible nature, who are instructed in the duty of candid judgment, than to abstain from condemning men of apparent conscientiousness and sincerity, who are chargeable with no crime but that of differing from us in the interpretation of the Scriptures, and differing, too, on topics of great and acknowledged obscurity. We are astonished at the hardihood of those who, with Christ's warnings sounding in their ears, take on them the responsibility of making creeds for his church, and cast out professors of virtuous lives for imagined errors, for the guilt of thinking for themselves. We know that zeal for truth is the cover for this usurpation of Christ's prerogative; but we think that zeal for truth, as it is called, is very suspicious, except in men whose capacities and advantages, whose patient deliberation, and whose improvements in humility, mildness, and candor, give them a right to hope that their views are more just than those of their neighbors. Much of what passes for a zeal for truth we look upon with little respect, for it often appears to thrive most luxuriantly where other virtues shoot up thinly and feebly; and we have no gratitude for those reformers who would force upon us a doctrine which has not sweetened their own tempers, or made them better men than their neighbors.

We are accustomed to think much of the difficulties attending religious inquiries, — difficulties springing from the slow development of our minds, from the power of early impressions, from the state of society, from human authority, from the general neglect of the reasoning powers, from the want of just principles of criticism and of important helps in interpreting Scripture, and from various other causes. We find that on no subject have men, and even good men, ingrafted so many strange conceits, wild theories, and fictions of fancy, as on religion; and remembering, as we do, that we ourselves are sharers of the common frailty, we dare not assume infallibility in the treatment of our fellow-Christians, or encourage in common Christians, who have little time for investigation, the habit of denouncing and contemning other denominations, perhaps more enlightened and virtuous than their own. Charity, forbearance, a delight in the virtues of different sects, a backwardness to censure and condemn, these are virtues which, however poorly practised by us, we admire and recommend; and we would rather join ourselves to the church in which they abound, than to any other communion, however elated with the belief of its own orthodoxy, however strict in guarding its creed, however burning with zeal against imagined error.

I have thus given the distinguishing views of those Christians in whose names I have spoken. We have embraced this system not hastily or lightly, but after much deliberation; and we hold it fast,

not merely because we believe it to be true, but because we regard it as purifying truth, as a doctrine according to godliness, as able to "work mightily" and to "bring forth fruit" in them who believe. That we wish to spread it, we have no desire to conceal; but we think that we wish its diffusion because we regard it as more friendly to practical piety and pure morals than the opposite doctrines, because it gives clearer and nobler views of duty, and stronger motives to its performance, because it recommends religion at once to the understanding and the heart, because it asserts the lovely and venerable attributes of God, because it tends to restore the benevolent spirit of Jesus to his divided and afflicted church, and because it cuts off every hope of God's favor except that which springs from practical conformity to the life and precepts of Christ. We see nothing in our views to give offence save their purity, and it is their purity which makes us seek and hope their extension through the world.

My friend and brother, — You are this day to take upon you important duties; to be clothed with an office which the Son of God did not disdain; to devote yourself to that religion which the most hallowed lips have preached, and the most precious blood sealed. We trust that you will bring to this work a willing mind, a firm purpose, a martyr's spirit, a readiness to toil and suffer for the truth, a devotion of your best powers to the interests of piety and virtue. I have spoken of the doctrines which you will probably preach; but I do not mean that you are to give yourself to controversy. You will remember that good practice is the end of preaching, and will labor to make your people holy livers rather than skilful disputants. Be careful lest the desire of defending what you deem truth, and of repelling reproach and misrepresentation, turn you aside from your great business, which is to fix in men's minds a living conviction of the obligation, sublimity, and happiness of Christian virtue. The best way to vindicate your sentiments is to show, in your preaching and life, their intimate connection with Christian morals, with a high and delicate sense of duty, with candor towards your opposers, with inflexible integrity, and with an habitual reverence for God. If any light can pierce and scatter the clouds of prejudice, it is that of a pure example. My brother, may your life preach more loudly than your lips! Be to this people a pattern of all good works, and may your instructions derive authority from a well-grounded belief in your hearers that you speak from the heart, that you preach from experience, that the truth which you dispense has wrought powerfully in your own heart, that God, and Jesus, and heaven, are not merely words on your lips, but most affecting realities to your mind, and springs of hope, and consolation, and strength, in all your trials! Thus laboring, may you reap abundantly, and have a testimony of your faithfulness, not only in your own conscience, but in the esteem, love, virtues, and improvements of your people!

To all who hear me I would say, with the Apostle, Prove all things, hold fast that which is good. Do not, brethren, shrink from the duty of searching God's word for yourselves, through fear of human censure and denunciation. Do not think that you may innocently follow the opinions which prevail around you, without investigation, on the ground that Christianity is now so purified from errors as to need no laborious research. There is much reason to believe that Christianity is at this moment dishonored by gross and cherished corruptions. If you remember the darkness which hung over the gospel for ages; if you consider the impure union which still subsists in almost every Christian country between the church and state, and which enlists men's selfishness and ambition on the side of established error; if you recollect in what degree the spirit of intolerance has checked free inquiry, not only before but since the Reformation; you will see that Christianity cannot have freed itself from all the human inventions which disfigured it under the Papal tyranny. No. Much stubble is yet to be burned; much rubbish to be removed; many gaudy decorations which a false taste has hung around Christianity must be swept away; and the earth-born fogs which have long shrouded it must be scattered, before this divine fabric will rise before us in its native and awful majesty, in its harmonious proportions, in its mild and celestial splendors. This glorious reformation

in the church, we hope, under God's blessing, from the progress of the human intellect, from the moral progress of society, from the consequent decline of prejudice and bigotry, and, though last not least, from the subversion of human authority in matters of religion, from the fall of those hierarchies, and other human institutions, by which the minds of individuals are oppressed under the weight of numbers, and a Papal dominion is perpetuated in the Protestant church. Our earnest prayer to God is, that He will overturn, and overturn, and overturn the strongholds of spiritual usurpation, until HE shall come whose right it is to rule the minds of men; that the conspiracy of ages against the liberty of Christians may be brought to an end; that the servile assent so long yielded to human creeds may give place to honest and devout inquiry into the Scriptures; and that Christianity, thus purified from error, may put forth its almighty energy, and prove itself, by its ennobling influence on the mind, to be indeed "the power of God unto salvation."

UNITARIAN CHRISTIANITY MOST FAVORABLE TO PIETY:

Discourse at the Dedication of the Second Congregational Unitarian Church, New York, 1826.

MARK xii. 29, 30: "And Jesus answered him, The first of all the commandments is, Hear, O Israel; The Lord our God is one Lord. And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength. This is the first commandment."

WE have assembled to dedicate this building to the worship of the only living and true God, and to the teaching of the religion of his son, Jesus Christ. By this act we do not expect to confer on this spot of ground and these walls any peculiar sanctity or any mysterious properties. We do not suppose that, in consequence of rites now performed, the worship offered here will be more acceptable than prayer uttered in the closet, or breathed from the soul in the midst of business; or that the instructions delivered from this pulpit will be more effectual than if they were uttered in a private dwelling or the open air. By dedication we understand only a solemn expression of the purpose for which this building is reared, joined with prayer to him who alone can crown our enterprise with success, that our design may be accepted and fulfilled. For this religious act we find, indeed, no precept in the New Testament, and on this account some have scrupled as to its propriety. But we are not among those who consider the written word as a statute-book, by the letter of which every step in life must be governed. We believe, on the other hand, that one of the great excellences of Christianity is that it does not deal in minute regulation, but that, having given broad views of duty, and enjoined a pure and disinterested spirit, it leaves us to apply these rules and express this spirit according to the promptings of the divine monitor within us, and according to the claims and exigencies of the ever-varying conditions in which we are placed. We believe, too, that revelation is not intended to supersede God's other modes of instruction; that it is not intended to drown, but to make more audible, the voice of nature. Now, nature dictates the propriety of such an act as we are this day assembled to perform. Nature has always taught men, on the completion of an important structure, designed for public and lasting good, to solemnize its first appropriation to the purpose for which it was reared by some special service. To us there is a sacredness in this moral instinct, in this law written on the heart;

and in listening reverently to God's dictates, however conveyed, we doubt not that we shall enjoy his acceptance and blessing.

I have said we dedicate this building to the teaching of the gospel of Christ. But in the present state of the Christian church, these words are not as definite as they one day will be. This gospel is variously interpreted. It is preached in various forms. Christendom is parcelled out into various sects. When, therefore, we see a new house of worship reared, the question immediately arises, To what mode of teaching Christianity is it to be devoted? I need not tell you, my hearers, that this house has been built by that class of Christians who are called Unitarians, and that the gospel will here be taught as interpreted by that body of believers. This you all know; but perhaps all present have not attached a very precise meaning to the word by which our particular views of Christianity are designated. Unitarianism has been made a term of so much reproach, and has been uttered in so many tones of alarm, horror, indignation, and scorn, that to many it gives only a vague impression of something monstrous, impious, unutterably perilous. To such I would say, that this doctrine, which is considered by some as the last and most perfect invention of Satan, the consummation of his blasphemies, the most cunning weapon ever forged in the fires of hell, amounts to this, — That there is one God, even the Father; and that Jesus Christ is not this one God, but his son and messenger, who derived all his powers and glories from the Universal Parent, and who came into the world not to claim supreme homage for himself, but to carry up the soul to his Father as the only Divine Person, the only Ultimate Object of religious worship. To us, this doctrine seems not to have sprung from hell, but to have descended from the throne of God, and to invite and attract us thither. To us, it seems to come from the Scriptures, with a voice loud as the sound of many waters, and as articulate and clear as if Jesus, in a bodily form, were pronouncing it distinctly in our ears. To this doctrine, and to Christianity interpreted in consistency with it, we dedicate this building.

That we desire to propagate this doctrine, we do not conceal. It is a treasure which we wish not to confine to ourselves, which we dare not lock up in our own breasts. We regard it as given to us for others, as well as for ourselves. We should rejoice to spread it through this great city, to carry it into every dwelling, and to send it far and wide to the remotest settlements of our country. Am I asked why we wish this diffusion? We dare not say that we are in no degree influenced by sectarian feeling; for we see it raging around us, and we should be more than men were we wholly to escape an epidemic passion. We do hope, however, that our main purpose and aim is not sectarian, but to promote a purer and nobler piety than now prevails. We are not induced to spread our opinions by the mere conviction that they are true; for there are many truths, historical, metaphysical, scientific, literary, which we have no anxiety to propagate. We regard them as the highest, most important, most efficient truths, and therefore demanding a firm testimony and earnest efforts to make them known. In thus speaking, we do not mean that we regard our peculiar views as essential to salvation. Far from us be this spirit of exclusion, the very spirit of antichrist, the worst of all the delusions of Popery and Protestantism. We hold nothing to be essential but the simple and supreme dedication of the mind, heart, and life to God and to his will. This inward and practical devotedness to the Supreme Being, we are assured, is attained and accepted under all the forms of Christianity. We believe, however, that it is favored by that truth which we maintain, as by no other system of faith. We regard Unitarianism as peculiarly the friend of inward, living, practical religion. For this we value it, — for this we would spread it: and we desire none to embrace it but such as shall seek and derive from it this celestial influence.

This character and property of Unitarian Christianity, its fitness to promote true, deep, and living piety, being our chief ground of attachment to it, and our chief motive for dedicating this house to its inculcation, I have thought proper to make this the topic of my present discourse. I do not propose to

prove the truth of Unitarianism by Scriptural authorities, for this argument would exceed the limits of a sermon, but to show its superior tendency to form an elevated religious character. If, however, this position can be sustained, I shall have contributed no weak argument in support of the truth of our views; for the chief purpose of Christianity undoubtedly is to promote piety, to bring us to God, to fill our souls with that Great Being, to make us alive to him; and a religious system can carry no more authentic mark of a divine original than its obvious, direct, and peculiar adaptation to quicken and raise the mind to its Creator. In speaking thus of Unitarian Christianity as promoting piety, I ought to observe that I use this word in its proper and highest sense. I mean not every thing which bears the name of piety, for under this title superstition, fanaticism, and formality are walking abroad and claiming respect. I mean not an anxious frame of mind, not abject and slavish fear, not a dread of hell, not a repetition of forms, not church-going, not loud profession, not severe censure of others' irreligion; but filial love and reverence towards God, habitual gratitude, cheerful trust, ready obedience, and, though last not least, an imitation of the ever-active and unbounded benevolence of the Creator.

The object of this discourse requires me to speak with great freedom of different systems of religion. But let me not be misunderstood. Let not the uncharitableness which I condemn be lightly laid to my charge. Let it be remembered that I speak only of systems, not of those who embrace them. In setting forth with all simplicity what seem to me the good or bad tendencies of doctrines, I have not a thought of giving standards or measures by which to estimate the virtue or vice of their professors. Nothing would be more unjust than to decide on men's characters from their peculiarities of faith; and the reason is plain. Such peculiarities are not the only causes which impress and determine the mind. Our nature is exposed to innumerable other influences. If, indeed, a man were to know nothing but his creed, were to meet with no human beings but those who adopt it, were to see no example and to hear no conversation but such as were formed by it: if his creed were to meet him everywhere, and to exclude every other object of thought, — then his character might be expected to answer to it with great precision. But our Creator has not shut us up in so narrow a school. The mind is exposed to an infinite variety of influences, and these are multiplying with the progress of society. Education, friendship, neighborhood, public opinion, the state of society, "the genius of the place" where we live, books, events, the pleasures and business of life, the outward creation, our physical temperament, and innumerable other causes, are perpetually pouring in upon the soul thoughts, views, and emotions; and these influences are so complicated, so peculiarly combined in the case of every individual, and so modified by the original susceptibilities and constitution of every mind, that on no subject is there greater uncertainty than on the formation of character. To determine the precise operation of a religious opinion amidst this host of influences, surpasses human power. A great truth may be completely neutralized by the countless impressions and excitements which the mind receives from other sources; and so a great error may be disarmed of much of its power by the superior energy of other and better views, of early habits, and of virtuous examples. Nothing is more common than to see a doctrine believed without swaying the will. Its efficacy depends, not on the assent of the intellect, but on the place which it occupies in the thoughts, on the distinctness and vividness with which it is conceived, on its association with our common ideas, on its frequency of recurrence, and on its command of the attention, without which it has no life. Accordingly, pernicious opinions are not seldom held by men of the most illustrious virtue. I mean not, then, in commending or condemning systems, to pass sentence on their professors. I know the power of the mind to select from a multifarious system, for its habitual use, those features or principles which are generous, pure, and ennobling, and by these to sustain its spiritual life amidst the nominal profession of many errors. I know that a creed is one thing as written in a book, and another as it exists in the minds of its advocates. In the book, all the doctrines appear in equally

strong and legible lines. In the mind, many are faintly traced and seldom recurred to, whilst others are inscribed as with sunbeams, and are the chosen, constant lights of the soul. Hence, in good men of opposing denominations, a real agreement may subsist as to their vital principles of faith; and amidst the division of tongues there may be unity of soul, and the same internal worship of God. By these remarks, I do not mean that error is not evil, or that it bears no pernicious fruit. Its tendencies are always bad. But I mean that these tendencies exert themselves amidst so many counteracting influences; and that injurious opinions so often lie dead through the want of mixture with the common thoughts, through the mind's not absorbing them, and changing them into its own substance, that the highest respect may and ought to be cherished for men in whose creed we find much to disapprove. In this discourse I shall speak freely, and some may say severely, of Trinitarianism; but I love and honor not a few of its advocates; and in opposing what I deem their error, I would on no account detract from their worth. After these remarks, I hope that the language of earnest discussion and strong conviction will not be construed into the want of that charity which I acknowledge as the first grace of our religion.

I now proceed to illustrate and prove the superiority of Unitarian Christianity, as a means of promoting a deep and noble piety.

I. Unitarianism is a system most favorable to piety, because it presents to the mind one, and only one, Infinite Person, to whom supreme homage is to be paid. It does not weaken the energy of religious sentiment by dividing it among various objects. It collects and concentrates the soul on one Father of unbounded, undivided, unrivalled glory. To him it teaches the mind to rise through all beings. Around him it gathers all the splendors of the universe. To him it teaches us to ascribe whatever good we receive or behold, the beauty and magnificence of nature, the liberal gifts of Providence, the capacities of the soul, the bonds of society, and especially the riches of grace and redemption, the mission, and powers, and beneficent influences of Jesus Christ. All happiness it traces up to the Father, as the sole source; and the mind, which these views have penetrated, through this intimate association of every thing exciting and exalting in the universe with one Infinite Parent, can and does offer itself up to him with the intensest and profoundest love of which human nature is susceptible. The Trinitarian, indeed, professes to believe in one God, and means to hold fast this truth. But three persons, having distinctive qualities and relations, of whom one is sent and another the sender, one is given and another the giver, of whom one intercedes and another hears the intercession, of whom one takes flesh and another never becomes incarnate, — three persons, thus discriminated, are as truly three objects of the mind as if they were acknowledged to be separate divinities; and, from the principles of our nature, they cannot act on the mind as deeply and powerfully as one Infinite Person, to whose sole goodness all happiness is ascribed. To multiply infinite objects for the heart is to distract it. To scatter the attention among three equal persons is to impair the power of each. The more strict and absolute the unity of God, the more easily and intimately all the impressions and emotions of piety flow together, and are condensed into one glowing thought, one thrilling love. No language can express the absorbing energy of the thought of one Infinite Father. When vitally implanted in the soul, it grows and gains strength for ever. It enriches itself by every new view of God's word and works; gathers tribute from all regions and all ages; and attracts into itself all the rays of beauty, glory, and joy, in the material and spiritual creation.

My hearers, as you would feel the full influence of God upon your souls, guard sacredly, keep unobscured and unsullied, that fundamental and glorious truth, that there is one, and only one, Almighty Agent in the universe, — one Infinite Father. Let this truth dwell in me in its uncorrupted simplicity, and I have the spring and nutriment of an ever-growing piety. I have an object for my mind towards which all things bear me. I know whither to go in all trial, whom to bless in all joy, whom to adore in all I behold. But let three persons claim from me supreme homage, and claim it

on different grounds, one for sending and another for coming to my relief, and I am divided, distracted, perplexed. My frail intellect is overborne. Instead of one Father, on whose arm I can rest, my mind is torn from object to object, and I tremble lest, among so many claimants of supreme love, I should withhold from one or another his due.

II. Unitarianism is the system most favorable to piety, because it holds forth and preserves inviolate the spirituality of God. "God is a spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth." It is of great importance to the progress and elevation of the religious principle that we should refine more and more our conceptions of God; that we should separate from him all material properties, and whatever is limited or imperfect in our own nature; that we should regard him as a pure intelligence, an unmixed and infinite Mind. When it pleased God to select the Jewish people and place them under miraculous interpositions, one of the first precepts given them was, that they should not represent God under any bodily form, any graven image, or the likeness of any creature. Next came Christianity, which had this as one of its great objects, to render religion still more spiritual, by abolishing the ceremonial and outward worship of former times, and by discarding those grosser modes of describing God through which the ancient prophets had sought to impress an unrefined people.

Now, Unitarianism concurs with this sublime moral purpose of God. It asserts his spirituality. It approaches him under no bodily form, but as a pure spirit, as the infinite and the universal Mind. On the other hand, it is the direct influence of Trinitarianism to materialize men's conceptions of God; and, in truth, this system is a relapse into the error of the rudest and earliest ages, into the worship of a corporeal God. Its leading feature is the doctrine of a God clothed with a body, and acting and speaking through a material frame, — of the Infinite Divinity dying on a cross; a doctrine which, in earthliness reminds us of the mythology of the rudest pagans, and which a pious Jew, in the twilight of the Mosaic religion, would have shrunk from with horror. It seems to me no small objection to the Trinity, that it supposes God to take a body in the later and more improved ages of the world, when it is plain that such a manifestation, if needed at all, was peculiarly required in the infancy of the race. The effect of such a system in debasing the idea of God, in associating with the Divinity human passions and infirmities, is too obvious to need much elucidation. On the supposition that the second person of the Trinity became incarnate, God may be said to be a material being, on the same general ground on which this is affirmed of man; for man is material only by the union of the mind with the body; and the very meaning of incarnation is that God took a body, through which he acted and spoke, as the human soul operates through its corporeal organs. Every bodily affection may thus be ascribed to God. Accordingly the Trinitarian, in his most solemn act of adoration, is heard to pray in these appalling words: "Good Lord, deliver us; by the mystery of thy holy incarnation, by thy holy nativity and circumcision, by thy baptism, fasting, and temptation, by thine agony and bloody sweat, by thy cross and passion, good Lord, deliver us." Now I ask you to judge, from the principles of human nature, whether to worshippers, who adore their God for his wounds and tears, his agony, and blood, and sweat, the ideas of corporeal existence and human suffering will not predominate over the conceptions of a purely spiritual essence; whether the mind, in clinging to the man, will not lose the God; whether a surer method for depressing and adulterating the pure thought of the Divinity could have been devised. That the Trinitarian is unconscious of this influence of his faith, I know, nor do I charge it on him as a crime. Still it exists, and cannot be too much deplored.

The Roman Catholics, true to human nature and their creed, have sought by painting and statuary to bring their imagined God before their eyes; and have thus obtained almost as vivid impressions of him as if they had lived with him on the earth. The Protestant condemns them for using these similitudes and representations in their worship; but, if a Trinitarian, he does so to his own condemnation. For if, as he believes, it was once a duty to bow in

adoration before the living body of his incarnate God, what possible guilt can there be in worshipping before the pictured or sculptured memorial of the same being? Christ's body may as truly be represented by the artist as any other human form; and its image may be used as effectually and properly as that of an ancient sage or hero, to recall him with vividness to the mind. Is it said that God has expressly forbidden the use of images in our worship? But why was that prohibition laid on the Jews? For this express reason, that God had not presented himself to them in any form which admitted of representation. Hear the language of Moses: "Take good heed lest ye make you a graven image, for ye saw no manner of similitude on the day that the Lord spake unto you in Horeb out of the midst of the fire." * If, since that period, God has taken a body, then the reason of the prohibition has ceased; and, if he took a body, among other purposes, that He might assist the weakness of the intellect, which needs a material form, then a statue, which lends so great an aid to the conception of an absent friend, is not only justified, but seems to be required.

This materializing and embodying of the Supreme Being, which is the essence of Trinitarianism, cannot but be adverse to a growing and exalted piety. Human and divine properties, being confounded in one being, lose their distinctness. The splendors of the Godhead are dimmed. The worshippers of an incarnate Deity, through the frailty of their nature, are strongly tempted to fasten chiefly on his human attributes; and their devotion, instead of rising to the Infinite God, and taking the peculiar character which infinity inspires, becomes rather a human affection, borrowing much of its fervor from the ideas of suffering, blood, and death. It is indeed possible that this God-man (to use the strange phraseology of Trinitarians) may excite the mind more easily than a purely spiritual divinity; just as a tragedy, addressed to the eye and ear, will interest the multitude more than the contemplation of the most exalted character. But the emotions which are the most easily roused, are not the profoundest or most enduring. This human love, inspired by a human God, though at first more fervid, cannot grow and spread through the soul, like the reverential attachment which an infinite, spiritual Father awakens. Refined conceptions of God, though more slowly attained, have a more quickening and all-pervading energy, and admit of perpetual accessions of brightness, life, and strength.

True, we shall be told that Trinitarianism has converted only one of its three persons into a human deity, and that the other two remain purely spiritual beings. But who does not know that man will attach himself most strongly to the God who has become a man? Is not this even a duty, if the Divinity has taken a body to place himself within the reach of human comprehension and sympathy? That the Trinitarian's views of the Divinity will be colored more by his visible, tangible, corporeal God, than by those persons of the Trinity who remain comparatively hidden in their invisible and spiritual essence, is so accordant with the principles of our nature as to need no labored proof.

My friends, hold fast the doctrine of a purely spiritual Divinity. It is one of the great supports and instruments of a vital piety. It brings God near as no other doctrine can. One of the leading purposes of Christianity is to give us an ever-growing sense of God's immediate presence, — a conciousness of him in our souls. Now, just as far as corporeal or limited attributes enter into our conception of him, we remove him from us. He becomes an outward, distant being, instead of being viewed and felt as dwelling in the soul itself. It is an unspeakable benefit of the doctrine of a purely spiritual God, that He can be regarded as inhabiting, filling our spiritual nature: and, through this union with our minds, He can and does become the object of an intimacy and friendship such as no embodied being can call forth.

III. Unitarianism is the system most favorable to piety, because it presents a distinct and intelligible object of worship, — a Being whose nature, whilst inexpressibly sublime, is yet simple and suited to human apprehension. An Infinite Father is the most exalted of all conceptions, and yet the least perplexing. It involves no incongruous ideas.

* Deut. iv. 15, 16. — The arrangement of the text is a little changed, to put the reader immediately in possession of the meaning.

It is illustrated by analogies from our own nature. It coincides with that fundamental law of the intellect through which we demand a cause proportioned to effects. It is also as interesting as it is rational; so that it is peculiarly congenial with the improved mind. The sublime simplicity of God, as He is taught in Unitarianism, by relieving the understanding from perplexity, and by placing him within the reach of thought and affection, gives him peculiar power over the soul. Trinitarianism, on the other hand, is a riddle. Men call it a mystery: but it is mysterious, not like the great truths of religion, by its vastness and grandeur, but by the irreconcilable ideas which it involves. One God, consisting of three persons or agents, is so strange a being, so unlike our own minds, and all others with which we hold intercourse, — is so misty, so incongruous, so contradictory, that He cannot be apprehended with that distinctness and that feeling of reality which belong to the opposite system. Such a heterogeneous being, who is at the same moment one and many; who includes in his own nature the relations of Father and Son, or, in other words, is Father and Son to himself; who, in one of his persons, is at the same moment the Supreme God and a mortal man, omniscient and ignorant, almighty and impotent; such a being is certainly the most puzzling and distracting object ever presented to human thought. Trinitarianism, instead of teaching an intelligible God, offers to the mind a strange compound of hostile attributes, bearing plain marks of those ages of darkness when Christianity shed but a faint ray, and the diseased fancy teemed with prodigies and unnatural creations. In contemplating a being who presents such different and inconsistent aspects, the mind finds nothing to rest upon; and, instead of receiving distinct and harmonious impressions, is disturbed by shifting, unsettled images. To commune with such a being must be as hard as to converse with a man of three different countenances, speaking with three different tongues. The believer in this system must forget it when he prays, or he could find no repose in devotion. Who can compare it, in distinctness, reality, and power, with the simple doctrine of one Infinite Father?

IV. Unitarianism promotes a fervent and enlightened piety by asserting the absolute and unbounded perfection of God's character. This is the highest service which can be rendered to mankind. Just and generous conceptions of the Divinity are the soul's true wealth. To spread these is to contribute more effectually than by any other agency to the progress and happiness of the intelligent creation. To obscure God's glory is to do greater wrong than to blot out the sun. The character and influence of a religion must answer to the views which it gives of the Divinity; and there is a plain tendency in that system which manifests the divine perfections most resplendently to awaken the sublimest and most blessed piety.

Now, Trinitarianism has a fatal tendency to degrade the character of the Supreme Being, though its advocates, I am sure, intend no such wrong. By multiplying divine persons, it takes from each the glory of independent, all-sufficient, absolute perfection. This may be shown in various particulars. And, in the first place, the very idea that three persons in the Divinity are in any degree important, implies and involves the imperfection of each; for it is plain that if one divine person possesses all possible power, wisdom, love, and happiness, nothing will be gained to himself or to the creation by joining with him two, or two hundred other persons. To say that he needs others for any purpose or in any degree, is to strip him of independent and all-sufficient majesty. If our Father in heaven, the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, is not of himself sufficient to all the wants of his creation; if, by his union with other persons, he can accomplish any good to which he is not of himself equal; or if he thus acquires a claim to the least degree of trust or hope, to which he is not of himself entitled by his own independent attributes; then it is plain he is not a being of infinite and absolute perfection. Now, Trinitarianism teaches that the highest good accrues to the human race from the existence of three divine persons, sustaining different offices and relations to the world; and it regards the Unitarian as subverting the foundation of human hope, by asserting that the God and Father of our Lord Jesus is alone

and singly God. Thus it derogates from his infinite glory.

In the next place, Trinitarianism degrades the character of the Supreme Being, by laying its disciples under the necessity of making such a distribution of offices and relations among the three persons as will serve to designate and distinguish them; for in this way it interferes with the sublime conceptions of one Infinite Person, in whom all glories are concentred. If we are required to worship three persons, we must view them in different lights, or they will be mere repetitions of each other, mere names and sounds, presenting no objects, conveying no meaning to the mind. Some appropriate character, some peculiar acts, feelings, and relations, must be ascribed to each. In other words, the glory of all must be shorn, that some special distinguishing lustre may be thrown on each. Accordingly, creation is associated peculiarly with the conception of the Father; satisfaction for human guilt with that of the Son; whilst sanctification, the noblest work of all, is given to the Holy Spirit as his more particular work. By a still more fatal distribution, the work of justice, the office of vindicating the rights of the Divinity, falls peculiarly to the Father, whilst the loveliness of interposing mercy clothes peculiarly the person of the Son. By this unhappy influence of Trinitarianism, from which common minds at least cannot escape, the splendors of the Godhead, being scattered among three objects, instead of being united in one Infinite Father, are dimmed; and he whose mind is thoroughly and practically possessed by this system, can hardly conceive the effulgence of glory in which the one God offers himself to a pious believer in his strict unity.

But the worst has not been told. I observe, then, in the third place, that if three divine persons are believed in, such an administration or government of the world must be ascribed to them as will furnish them with a sphere of operation. No man will admit three persons into his creed, without finding a use for them. Now, it is an obvious remark, that a system of the universe which involves and demands more than one Infinite Agent, must be wild, extravagant, and unworthy the perfect God; because there is no possible or conceivable good to which such an Agent is not adequate. Accordingly we find Trinitarianism connecting itself with a scheme of administration exceedingly derogatory to the divine character. It teaches that the Infinite Father saw fit to put into the hands of our first parents the character and condition of their whole progeny; and that, through one act of disobedience, the whole race bring with them into being a corrupt nature, or are born depraved. It teaches that the offences of a short life, though begun and spent under this disastrous influence, merit endless punishment, and that God's law threatens this infinite penalty; and that man is thus burdened with a guilt which no sufferings of the created universe can expiate, which nothing but the sufferings of an Infinite Being can purge away. In this condition of human nature, Trinitarianism finds a sphere of action for its different persons. I am aware that some Trinitarians, on hearing this statement of their system, may reproach me with ascribing to them the errors of Calvinism, — a system which they abhor as much as ourselves. But none of the peculiarities of Calvinism enter into this exposition. I have given what I understand to be the leading features of Trinitarianism all the world over; and the benevolent professors of that faith who recoil from this statement must blame not the preacher, but the creeds and establishments by which these doctrines are diffused. For ourselves, we look with horror and grief on the views of God's government which are naturally and intimately united with Trinitarianism. They take from us our Father in heaven, and substitute a stern and unjust lord. Our filial love and reverence rise up against them. We say to the Trinitarian, touch any thing but the perfections of God. Cast no stain on that spotless purity and loveliness. We can endure any errors but those which subvert or unsettle the conviction of God's paternal goodness. Urge not upon us a system which makes existence a curse, and wraps the universe in gloom. Leave us the cheerful light, the free and healthful atmosphere of a liberal and rational faith; the ennobling and consoling influences of the doctrine, which nature and revelation in blessed concord teach

us, of one Father of unbounded and inexhaustible love.

V. Unitarianism is peculiarly favorable to piety, because it accords with nature, with the world around and the world within us; and through this accordance it gives aid to nature, and receives aid from it, in impressing the mind with God. We live in the midst of a glorious universe, which was meant to be a witness and a preacher of the Divinity; and a revelation from God may be expected to be in harmony with this system, and to carry on a common ministry with it in lifting the soul to God. Now, Unitarianism is in accordance with nature. It teaches one Father, and so does creation, the more it is explored. Philosophy, in proportion as it extends its views of the universe, sees in it, more and more, a sublime and beautiful unity, and multiplies proofs that all things have sprung from one intelligence, one power, one love. The whole outward creation proclaims to the Unitarian the truth in which he delights. So does his own soul. But neither nature nor the soul bears one trace of three divine persons. Nature is no Trinitarian. It gives not a hint, not a glimpse of a tri-personal author. Trinitarianism is a confined system, shut up in a few texts, a few written lines, where many of the wisest minds have failed to discover it. It is not inscribed on the heavens and the earth, not borne on every wind, not resounding and re-echoing through the universe. The sun and stars say nothing of a God of three persons. They all speak of the one Father whom *we* adore. To *our* ears, one and the same voice comes from God's word and works, — a full and swelling strain, growing clearer, louder, more thrilling as we listen, and with one blessed influence lifting up our souls to the Almighty Father.

This accordance between nature and revelation increases the power of both over the mind. Concurring as they do in one impression, they make that impression deeper. To men of reflection, the conviction of the reality of religion is exceedingly heightened by a perception of harmony in the views of it which they derive from various sources. Revelation is never received with so intimate a persuasion of its truth as when it is seen to conspire to the same ends and impressions for which all other things are made. It is no small objection to Trinitarianism that it is an insulated doctrine, that it reveals a God whom we meet nowhere in the universe. Three divine persons, I repeat it, are found only in a few texts, and those so dark that the gifted minds of Milton, Newton, and Locke could not find them there. Nature gives them not a whisper of evidence. And can they be as real and powerful to the mind as that one Father whom the general strain and common voice of Scripture, and the universal voice of nature, call us to adore?

VI. Unitarianism favors piety by opening the mind to new and ever-enlarging views of God. Teaching, as it does, the same God with nature, it leads us to seek him in nature. It does not shut us up in the written word, precious as that manifestation of the Divinity is. It considers revelation, not as independent of his other means of instruction; not as a separate agent; but as a part of the great system of God for enlightening and elevating the human soul; as intimately joined with creation and providence, and intended to concur with them; and as given to assist us in reading the volume of the universe. Thus Unitarianism, where its genuine influence is experienced, tends to enrich and fertilize the mind; opens it to new lights, wherever they spring up; and, by combining, makes more efficient the means of religious knowledge. Trinitarianism, on the other hand, is a system which tends to confine the mind; to shut it up in what is written; to diminish its interest in the universe; and to disincline it to bright and enlarged views of God's works. This effect will be explained, in the first place, if we consider that the peculiarities of Trinitarianism differ so much from the teachings of the universe, that he who attaches himself to the one will be in danger of losing his interest in the other. The ideas of three divine persons, of God clothing himself in flesh, of the infinite Creator saving the guilty by transferring their punishment to an innocent being, — these ideas cannot easily be made to coalesce in the mind with that which nature gives, of one Almighty Father and Unbounded Spirit, whom no worlds can contain, and whose vicegerent in the human breast

pronounces it a crime to lay the penalties of vice on the pure and unoffending.

But Trinitarianism has a still more positive influence in shutting the mind against improving views from the universe. It tends to throw gloom over God's works. Imagining that Christ is to be exalted by giving him an exclusive agency in enlightening and recovering mankind, it is tempted to disparage other lights and influences; and, for the purpose of magnifying his salvation, it inclines to exaggerate the darkness and desperateness of man's present condition. The mind, thus impressed, naturally leans to those views of nature and of society which will strengthen the ideas of desolation and guilt. It is tempted to aggravate the miseries of life, and to see in them only the marks of divine displeasure and punishing justice; and overlooks their obvious fitness and design to awaken our powers, exercise our virtues, and strengthen our social ties. In like manner it exaggerates the sins of men, that the need of an infinite atonement may be maintained. Some of the most affecting tokens of God's love within and around us are obscured by this gloomy theology. The glorious faculties of the soul, its high aspirations, its sensibility to the great and good in character, its sympathy with disinterested and suffering virtue, its benevolent and religious instincts, its thirst for a happiness not found on earth; these are overlooked or thrown into the shade, that they may not disturb the persuasion of man's natural corruption. Ingenuity is employed to disparage what is interesting in the human character. Whilst the bursts of passion in the newborn child are gravely urged as indications of a native, rooted corruption; its bursts of affection, its sweet smile, its innocent and irrepressible joy, its loveliness and beauty, are not listened to, though they plead more eloquently its alliance with higher natures. The sacred and tender affections of home; the unwearied watchings and cheerful sacrifices of parents; the reverential, grateful assiduity of children, smoothing an aged father's or mother's descent to the grave; woman's love, stronger than death; the friendship of brothers and sisters; the anxious affection, which tends around the bed of sickness, the subdued voice, which breathes comfort into the mourner's heart; all the endearing offices which shed a serene light through our dwellings; — these are explained away by the thorough advocates of this system, so as to include no real virtue, so as to consist with a natural aversion to goodness. Even the higher efforts of disinterested benevolence, and the most unaffected expressions of piety, if not connected with what is called "the true faith," are, by the most rigid disciples of the doctrine which I oppose, resolved into the passion for distinction, or some other working of "unsanctified nature." Thus, Trinitarianism and its kindred doctrines have a tendency to veil God's goodness, to sully his fairest works, to dim the lustre of those innocent and pure affections which a divine breath kindles in the soul, to blight the beauty and freshness of creation, and in this way to consume the very nutriment of piety. We know, and rejoice to know, that in multitudes this tendency is counteracted by a cheerful temperament, a benevolent nature, and a strength of gratitude which bursts the shackles of a melancholy system. But from the nature of the doctrine, the tendency exists and is strong; and an impartial observer will often discern it resulting in gloomy, depressing views of life and the universe.

Trinitarianism, by thus tending to exclude bright and enlarged views of the creation, seems to me not only to chill the heart, but to injure the understanding, as far as moral and religious truth is concerned. It does not send the mind far and wide for new and elevating objects; and we have here one explanation of the barrenness and feebleness by which theological writings are so generally marked. It is not wonderful that the prevalent theology should want vitality and enlargement of thought, for it does not accord with the perfections of God and the spirit of the universe. It has not its root in eternal truth: but is a narrow, technical, artificial system, the fabrication of unrefined ages, and consequently incapable of being blended with the new lights which are spreading over the most interesting subjects, and of being incorporated with the results and anticipations of original and progressive minds. It stands apart in the mind, instead of

seizing upon new truths, and converting them into its own nutriment. With few exceptions, the Trinitarian theology of the present day is greatly deficient in freshness of thought, and in power to awaken the interest and to meet the intellectual and spiritual wants of thinking men. I see, indeed, superior minds and great minds among the adherents of the prevalent system; but they seem to me to move in chains, and to fulfil poorly their high function of adding to the wealth of the human intellect. In theological discussion, they remind me more of Samson grinding in the narrow mill of the Philistines, than of that undaunted champion achieving victories for God's people, and enlarging the bounds of their inheritance. Now, a system which has a tendency to confine the mind, and to impair its sensibility to the manifestations of God in the universe, is so far unfriendly to piety, to a bright, joyous, hopeful, ever-growing love of the Creator. It tends to generate and nourish a religion of a melancholy tone, such, I apprehend, as now predominates in the Christian world.

VII. Unitarianism promotes piety, by the high place which it assigns to piety in the character and work of Jesus Christ. What is it which the Unitarian regards as the chief glory of the character of Christ? I answer, his filial devotion, the entireness with which he surrendered himself to the will and benevolent purposes of God. The piety of Jesus, which, on the supposition of his Supreme Divinity, is a subordinate and incongruous, is, to us, his prominent and crowning attribute. We place his "oneness with God," not in an unintelligible unity of essence, but in unity of mind and heart, in the strength of his love, through which he renounced every separate interest, and identified himself with his Father's designs. In other words, filial piety, the consecration of his whole being to the benevolent will of his Father, this is the mild glory in which he always offers himself to our minds; and, of consequence, all our sympathies with him, all our love and veneration towards him, are so many forms of delight in a pious character, and our whole knowledge of him incites us to a like surrender of our whole nature and existence to God.

In the next place, Unitarianism teaches that the highest work or office of Christ is to call forth and strengthen piety in the human breast; and thus it sets before us this character as the chief acquisition and end of our being. To us, the great glory of Christ's mission consists in the power with which he "reveals the Father," and establishes the "kingdom or reign of God within" the soul. By the crown which he wears, we understand the eminence which he enjoys in the most beneficent work in the universe, that of bringing back the lost mind to the knowledge, love, and likeness of its Creator. With these views of Christ's office, nothing can seem to us so important as an enlightened and profound piety, and we are quickened to seek it as the perfection and happiness to which nature and redemption jointly summon us.

Now, we maintain that Trinitarianism obscures and weakens these views of Christ's character and work; and this it does by insisting perpetually on others of an incongruous, discordant nature. It diminishes the power of his piety. Making him, as it does, the Supreme Being, and placing him as an equal on his Father's throne, it turns the mind from him as the meekest worshipper of God; throws into the shade, as of very inferior worth, his self-denying obedience: and gives us other grounds for revering him than his entire homage, his fervent love, his cheerful self-sacrifice to the Universal Parent. There is a plain incongruity in the belief of his Supreme Godhead with the ideas of filial piety and exemplary devotion. The mind, which has been taught to regard him as of equal majesty and authority with the Father, cannot easily feel the power of his character as the affectionate son, whose meat it was to do his Father's will. The mind, accustomed to make him the ultimate object of worship, cannot easily recognize in him the pattern of that worship, the guide to the Most High. The characters are incongruous, and their union perplexing, so that neither exerts its full energy on the mind.

Trinitarianism also exhibits the work as well as character of Christ in lights less favorable to piety. It does not make the promotion of piety his chief end. It teaches that the highest pur-

pose of his mission was to reconcile God to man, not man to God. It teaches that the most formidable obstacle to human happiness lies in the claims and threatenings of divine justice. Hence it leads men to prize Christ more for answering these claims, and averting these threatenings, than for awakening in the human soul sentiments of love towards its Father in heaven. Accordingly, multitudes seem to prize pardon more than piety, and think it a greater boon to escape, through Christ's sufferings, the fire of hell, than to receive, through his influence, the spirit of heaven, the spirit of devotion. Is such a system propitious to a generous and ever-growing piety?

If I may be allowed a short digression, I would conclude this head with the general observation, that we deem our views of Jesus Christ more interesting than those of Trinitarianism. We feel that we should lose much by exchanging the distinct character and mild radiance with which he offers himself to our minds for the confused and irreconcilable glories with which that system labors to invest him. According to Unitarianism, he is a being who may be understood, for he is one mind, one conscious nature. According to the opposite faith, he is an inconceivable compound of two most dissimilar minds, joining in one person a finite and infinite nature, a soul weak and ignorant, and a soul almighty and omniscient. And is such a being a proper object for human thought and affection? I add, as another important consideration, that to us Jesus, instead of being the second of three obscure, unintelligible persons, is first and pre-eminent in the sphere in which he acts, and is thus the object of a distinct attachment, which he shares with no equals or rivals. To us, he is first of the sons of God, the Son by peculiar nearness and likeness to the Father. He is first of all the ministers of God's mercy and beneficence, and through him the largest stream of bounty flows to the creation. He is first in God's favor and love, the most accepted of worshippers, the most prevalent of intercessors. In this mighty universe, framed to be a mirror of its Author, we turn to Jesus as the brightest image of God, and gratefully yield him a place in our souls, second only to the Infinite Father, to whom he himself directs our supreme affection.

VIII. I now proceed to a great topic. Unitarianism promotes piety by meeting the wants of man as a sinner. The wants of the sinner may be expressed almost in one word. He wants assurances of mercy in his Creator. He wants pledges that God is love in its purest form, that is, that He has a goodness so disinterested, free, full, strong, and immutable, that the ingratitude and disobedience of his creatures cannot overcome it. This unconquerable love, which in Scripture is denominated grace, and which waits not for merit to call it forth, but flows out to the most guilty, is the sinner's only hope, and it is fitted to call forth the most devoted gratitude Now, this grace or mercy of God, which seeks the lost, and receives and blesses the returning child, is proclaimed by that faith which we advocate with a clearness and energy which cannot be surpassed. Unitarianism will not listen for a moment to the common errors by which this bright attribute is obscured. It will not hear of a vindictive wrath in God which must be quenched by blood; or of a justice which binds his mercy with an iron chain until its demands are satisfied to the full. It will not hear that God needs any foreign influence to awaken his mercy, but teaches that the yearnings of the tenderest human parent towards a lost child are but a faint image of God's deep and overflowing compassion towards erring man. This essential and unchangeable propensity of the Divine Mind to forgiveness, the Unitarian beholds shining forth through the whole word of God, and especially in the mission and revelation of Jesus Christ, who lived and died to make manifest the inexhaustible plenitude of divine grace; and, aided by revelation, he sees this attribute of God everywhere, both around him and within him. He sees it in the sun which shines, and the rain which descends on the evil and unthankful; in the peace which returns to the mind in proportion to its return to God and duty; in the sentiment of compassion which springs up spontaneously in the human breast towards the fallen and lost; and in the moral instinct which teaches us to cherish this compassion as a sacred principle, as an emanation of God's in-

finite love. In truth, Unitarianism asserts so strongly the mercy of God, that the reproach thrown upon it is that it takes from the sinner the dread of punishment, — a reproach wholly without foundation; for our system teaches that God's mercy is not an instinctive tenderness, which cannot inflict pain, but an all-wise love, which desires the true and lasting good of its object, and consequently desires first for the sinner that restoration to purity without which shame. and suffering, and exile from God and heaven are of necessity and unalterably his doom. Thus Unitarianism holds forth God's grace and forgiving goodness most resplendently; and, by this manifestation of him, it tends to awaken a tender and confiding piety; an ingenuous love, which mourns that it has offended; an ingenuous aversion to sin, not because sin brings punishment, but because it separates the mind from this merciful Father.

Now we object to Trinitarianism, that it obscures the mercy of God. It does so in various ways. We have already seen that it gives such views of God's government, that we can hardly conceive of this attribute as entering into his character. Mercy to the sinner is the principle of love or benevolence in its highest form; and surely this cannot be expected from a being who brings us into existence burdened with hereditary guilt, and who threatens with endless punishment and woe the heirs of so frail and feeble a nature. With such a Creator the idea of mercy cannot coalesce; and I will say more, that under such a government man would need no mercy; for he would owe no allegiance to such a Maker, and could not, of course, contract the guilt of violating it; and, without guilt, no grace or pardon would be wanted. The severity of this system would place him on the ground of an injured being. The wrong would lie on the side of the Creator.

In the next place, Trinitarianism obscures God's mercy by the manner in which it supposes pardon to be communicated. It teaches that God remits the punishment of the offender in consequence of receiving an equivalent from an innocent person; that the sufferings of the sinner are removed by a full satisfaction made to divine justice in the sufferings of a substitute. And is this "the quality of mercy"? What means forgiveness, but the reception of the returning child through the strength of parental love? This doctrine invests the Saviour with a claim of merit, with a right to the remission of the sins of his followers; and represents God's reception of the penitent as a recompense due to the worth of his Son. And is mercy, which means free and undeserved love, made more manifest, more resplendent, by the introduction of merit and right as the ground of our salvation? Could a surer expedient be invented for obscuring its freeness, and for turning the sinner's gratitude from the sovereign who demands, to the sufferer who offers, full satisfaction for his guilt?

I know it is said that Trinitarianism magnifies God's mercy, because it teaches that He himself provided the substitute for the guilty. But I reply, that the work here ascribed to mercy is not the most appropriate, nor most fitted to manifest it and impress it on the heart. This may be made apparent by familiar illustrations. Suppose that a creditor, through compassion to certain debtors, should persuade a benevolent and opulent man to pay him in their stead. Would not the debtors see a greater mercy, and feel a weightier obligation, if they were to receive a free, gratuitous release? And will not their chief gratitude stray beyond the creditor to the benevolent substitute? Or, suppose that a parent, unwilling to inflict a penalty on a disobedient but feeble child, should persuade a stronger child to bear it. Would not the offender see a more touching mercy in a free forgiveness, springing immediately from a parent's heart, than in this circuitous remission? And will he not be tempted to turn with his strongest love to the generous sufferer? In this process of substitution, of which Trinitarianism boasts so loudly, the mercy of God becomes complicated with the rights and merits of the substitute, and is a more distant cause of our salvation. These rights and merits are nearer, more visible, and more than divide the glory with grace and mercy in our rescue. They turn the mind from Divine Goodness, as the only spring of its happiness and only rock of its hope. Now this is to deprive piety of one of its chief means of growth and joy. Nothing should stand between the soul

and God's mercy. Nothing should share with mercy the work of our salvation. Christ's intercession should ever be regarded as an application to love and mercy, not as a demand of justice, not as a claim of merit. I grieve to say that Christ, as now viewed by multitudes, hides the lustre of that very attribute which it is his great purpose to display. I fear that, to many, Jesus wears the glory of a more winning, tender mercy than his Father, and that he is regarded as the sinner's chief resource. Is this the way to invigorate piety?

Trinitarians imagine that there is one view of their system peculiarly fitted to give peace and hope to the sinner, and consequently to promote gratitude and love. It is this. They say, it provides an infinite substitute for the sinner, than which nothing can give greater relief to the burdened conscience. Jesus, being the second person of the Trinity, was able to make infinite satisfaction for sin; and what, they ask, in Unitarianism, can compare with this? I have time only for two brief replies. And first, this doctrine of an infinite satisfaction, or, as it is improperly called, of an infinite atonement, subverts, instead of building up, hope; because it argues infinite severity in the government which requires it. Did I believe, what Trinitarianism teaches, that not the least transgression, not even the first sin of the dawning mind of the child, could be remitted without an infinite expiation, I should feel myself living under a legislation unspeakably dreadful, under laws written, like Draco's, in blood; and, instead of thanking the Sovereign for providing an infinite substitute, I should shudder at the attributes which render this expedient necessary. It is commonly said that an infinite atonement is needed to make due and deep impressions of the evil of sin. But He who framed all souls, and gave them their susceptibilities, ought not to be thought so wanting in goodness and wisdom as to have constituted a universe which demands so dreadful and degrading a method of enforcing obedience as the penal sufferings of a God. This doctrine, of an infinite substitute suffering the penalty of sin, to manifest God's wrath against sin, and thus to support his government, is, I fear, so familiar to us all, that its severe character is overlooked. Let me, then, set it before you in new terms, and by a new illustration; and if, in so doing, I may wound the feelings of some who hear me, I beg them to believe that I do it with pain, and from no impulse but a desire to serve the cause of truth. Suppose, then, that a teacher should come among you, and should tell you that the Creator, in order to pardon his own children, had erected a gallows in the centre of the universe, and had publicly executed upon it, in room of the offenders, an Infinite Being, the partaker of his own Supreme Divinity; suppose him to declare that this execution was appointed as a most conspicuous and terrible manifestation of God's justice, and of the infinite woe denounced by his law; and suppose him to add that all beings in heaven and earth are required to fix their eyes on this fearful sight, as the most powerful enforcement of obedience and virtue. Would you not tell him that he calumniated his Maker? Would you not say to him, that this central gallows threw gloom over the universe; that the spirit of a government whose very acts of pardon were written in such blood was terror, not paternal love; and that the obedience which needed to be upheld by this horrid spectacle was nothing worth? Would you not say to him, that even you, in this infancy and imperfection of your being, were capable of being wrought upon by nobler motives, and of hating sin through more generous views: and that, much more, the angels, those pure flames of love, need not the gallows and an executed God to confirm their loyalty? You would all so feel at such teaching as I have supposed; and yet how does this differ from the popular doctrine of atonement? According to this doctrine, we have an Infinite Being sentenced to suffer, as a substitute, the death of the cross, a punishment more ignominious and agonizing than the gallows, a punishment reserved for slaves and the vilest malefactors; and he suffers this punishment that he may show forth the terrors of God's law, and strike a dread of sin through the universe. I am indeed aware that multitudes who profess this doctrine are not accustomed to bring it to their minds distinctly in this light; that they do not ordinarily regard the death of Christ as a criminal execu-

tion, as an infinitely dreadful infliction of justice, as intended to show that, without an infinite satisfaction, they must hope nothing from God. Their minds turn, by a generous instinct, from these appalling views, to the love, the disinterestedness, the moral grandeur and beauty of the sufferer; and through such thoughts they make the cross a source of peace, gratitude, love, and hope; thus affording a delightful exemplification of the power of the human mind to attach itself to what is good and purifying in the most irrational system. Not a few may shudder at the illustration which I have here given; but in what respects it is unjust to the popular doctrine of atonement, I cannot discern. I grieve to shock sincere Christians, of whatever name; but I grieve more for the corruption of our common faith, which I have now felt myself bound to expose.

I have a second objection to this doctrine of infinite atonement. When examined minutely, and freed from ambiguous language, it vanishes into air. It is wholly delusion. The Trinitarian tells me that, according to his system, we have an infinite substitute; that the Infinite God was pleased to bear our punishment, and consequently that pardon is made sure. But I ask him, Do I understand you? Do you mean, that the Great God, who never changes, whose happiness is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever, that this Eternal Being really bore the penalty of my sins, — really suffered and died? Every pious man, when pressed by this question, answers, No. What, then, does the doctrine of infinite atonement mean? Why, this; that God took into union with himself our nature, that is, a human body and soul; and these bore the suffering for our sins; and, through his union with these, God may be said to have borne it himself. Thus, this vaunted system goes out — in words. The infinite victim proves to be frail man, and God's share in the sacrifice is a mere fiction. I ask with solemnity, Can this doctrine give one moment's ease to the conscience of an unbiassed, thinking man? Does it not unsettle all hope, by making the whole religion suspicious and unsure? I am compelled to say that I see in it no impression of majesty, or wisdom, or love, nothing worthy of a God; and when I compare it with that nobler faith which directs our eyes and hearts to God's essential mercy, as our only hope, I am amazed that any should ascribe to it superior efficacy, as a religion for sinners, as a means of filling the soul with pious trust and love. I know, indeed, that some will say that, in giving up an infinite atonement, I deprive myself of all hope of divine favor. To such I would say, You do wrong to God's mercy. On that mercy I cast myself without a fear. I indeed desire Christ to intercede for me. I regard his relation to me as God's kindest appointment. Through him, "grace and truth come" to me from heaven, and I look forward to his friendship as among the highest blessings of my whole future being. But I cannot and dare not ask him to offer an infinite satisfaction for my sins; to appease the wrath of God; to reconcile the Universal Father to his own offspring; to open to me those arms of divine mercy which have encircled and borne me from the first moment of my being. The essential and unbounded mercy of my Creator is the foundation of my hope, and a broader and surer the universe cannot give me.

IX. I now proceed to the last consideration which the limits of this discourse will permit me to urge. It has been more than once suggested, but deserves to be distinctly stated. I observe, then, that Unitarianism promotes piety because it is a rational religion. By this I do not mean that its truths can be fully comprehended; for there is not an object in nature or religion which has not innumerable connections and relations beyond our grasp of thought. I mean that its doctrines are consistent with one another, and with all established truth. Unitarianism is in harmony with the great and clear principles of revelation; with the laws and powers of human nature; with the dictates of the moral sense; with the noblest instincts and highest aspirations of the soul; and with the lights which the universe throws on the character of its Author. We can hold this doctrine without self-contradiction, without rebelling against our rational and moral powers, without putting to silence the divine monitor in the breast. And this is an unspeakable benefit; for a religion thus

coincident with reason, conscience, and our whole spiritual being, has the foundations of universal empire in the breast; and the heart, finding no resistance in the intellect, yields itself wholly, cheerfully, without doubts or misgivings, to the love of its Creator.

To Trinitarianism we object, what has always been objected to it, that it contradicts and degrades reason, and thus exposes the mind to the worst delusions. Some of its advocates, more courageous than prudent, have even recommended "the prostration of the understanding," as preparatory to its reception. Its chief doctrine is an outrage on our rational nature. Its three persons who constitute its God must either be frittered away into three unmeaning distinctions, into sounds signifying nothing; or they are three conscious agents, who cannot, by any human art or metaphysical device, be made to coalesce into one being; who cannot be really viewed as one mind, having one consciousness and one will. Now a religious system, the cardinal principle of which offends the understanding, very naturally conforms itself throughout to this prominent feature, and becomes prevalently irrational. He who is compelled to defend his faith, in any particular, by the plea that human reason is so depraved through the fall as to be an inadequate judge of religion, and that God is honored by our reception of what shocks the intellect, seems to have no defence left against accumulated absurdities. According to these principles, the fanatic who exclaimed, "I believe, because it is impossible," had a fair title to canonization. Reason is too godlike a faculty to be insulted with impunity. Accordingly, Trinitarianism, as we have seen, links itself with several degrading errors; and its most natural alliance is with Calvinism, that cruel faith, which, stripping God of mercy and man of power, has made Christianity an instrument of torture to the timid, and an object of doubt or scorn to hardier spirits. I repeat it, a doctrine which violates reason like the Trinity, prepares its advocates, in proportion as it is incorporated into the mind, for worse and worse delusions. It breaks down the distinctions and barriers between truth and falsehood. It creates a diseased taste for prodigies, fictions, and exaggerations, for startling mysteries, and wild dreams of enthusiasm. It destroys the relish for the simple, chaste, serene beauties of truth. Especially when the prostration of understanding is taught as an act of piety, we cannot wonder that the grossest superstitions should be devoured, and that the credulity of the multitude should keep pace with the forgeries of imposture and fanaticism. The history of the church is the best comment on the effects of divorcing reason from religion; and if the present age is disburdened of many of the superstitions under which Christianity and human nature groaned for ages, it owes its relief in no small degree to the reinstating of reason in her long-violated rights.

The injury to religion from irrational doctrines, when thoroughly believed, is immense. The human soul has a unity. Its various faculties are adapted to one another. One life pervades it; and its beauty, strength, and growth depend on nothing so much as on the harmony and joint action of all its principles. To wound and degrade it in any of its powers, and especially in the noble and distinguishing power of reason, is to inflict on it universal injury. No notion is more false than that the heart is to thrive by dwarfing the intellect; that perplexing doctrines are the best food of piety; that religion flourishes most luxuriantly in mist and darkness. Reason was given for God as its great object; and for him it should be kept sacred, invigorated, clarified, protected from human usurpation, and inspired with a meek self-reverence.

The soul never acts so effectually or joyfully as when all its powers and affections conspire; as when thought and feeling, reason and sensibility, are called forth together by one great and kindling object. It will never devote itself to God with its whole energy whilst its guiding faculty sees in him a being to shock and confound it. We want a harmony in our inward nature. We want a piety which will join light and fervor, and on which the intellectual power will look benignantly. We want religion to be so exhibited that, in the clearest moments of the intellect, its signatures of truth will grow brighter: that, instead of tottering, it will gather strength and stability from the progress

of the human mind. These wants we believe to be met by Unitarian Christianity, and, therefore we prize it as the best friend of piety.

I have thus stated the chief grounds on which I rest the claim of Unitarianism to the honor of promoting an enlightened, profound, and happy piety.

Am I now asked, why we prize our system, and why we build churches for its inculcation? If I may be allowed to express myself in the name of conscientious Unitarians, who apply their doctrine to their own hearts and lives, I would reply thus: We prize and would spread our views, because we believe that they reveal God to us in greater glory, and bring us nearer to him, than any other. We are conscious of a deep want, which the creation cannot supply, — the want of a perfect Being, on whom the strength of our love may be centred, and of an Almighty Father, in whom our weaknesses, imperfections, and sorrows may find resource; and such a Being and Father Unitarian Christianity sets before us. For this we prize it above all price. We can part with every other good. We can endure the darkening of life's fairest prospects. But this bright, consoling doctrine of one God, even the Father, is dearer than life, and we cannot let it go. Through this faith, every thing grows brighter to our view. Born of such a Parent, we esteem our existence an inestimable gift. We meet everywhere our Father, and his presence is as a sun shining on our path. We see him in his works, and hear his praise rising from every spot which we tread. We feel him near in our solitudes, and sometimes enjoy communion with him more tender than human friendship. We see him in our duties, and perform them more gladly, because they are the best tribute we can offer our Heavenly Benefactor. Even the consciousness of sin, mournful as it is, does not subvert our peace; for, in the mercy of God, as made manifest in Jesus Christ, we see an inexhaustible fountain of strength, purity, and pardon, for all who, in filial reliance, seek these heavenly gifts. Through this faith, we are conscious of a new benevolence springing up to our fellow-creatures, purer and more enlarged than natural affection. Towards all mankind we see a rich and free love flowing from the common Parent, and, touched by this love, we are the friends of all. We compassionate the most guilty, and would win them back to God. Through this faith, we receive the happiness of an ever-enlarging hope. There is no good too vast for us to anticipate for the universe or for ourselves, from such a Father as we believe in. We hope from him, what we deem his greatest gift, even the gift of his own Spirit, and the happiness of advancing for ever in truth and virtue, in power and love, in union of mind with the Father and the Son. We are told, indeed, that our faith will not prove an anchor in the last hour. But we have known those whose departure it has brightened; and our experience of its power, in trial and peril, has proved it to be equal to all the wants of human nature. We doubt not that, to its sincere followers, death will be a transition to the calm, pure, joyful mansions prepared by Christ for his disciples. There we expect to meet that great and good Deliverer. With the eye of faith, we already see him looking round him with celestial love on all of every name who have imbibed his spirit. His spirit; his loyal and entire devotion to the will of his Heavenly Father; his universal, unconquerable benevolence, through which he freely gave from his pierced side his blood, his life for the salvation of the world; this divine love, and not creeds, and names, and forms, will then be found to attract his supreme regard. This spirit we trust to see in multitudes of every sect and name; and we trust, too, that they who now reproach us will at that day recognize, in the dreaded Unitarian, this only badge of Christ, and will bid him welcome to the joy of our common Lord. I have thus stated the views with which we have reared this building. We desire to glorify God, to promote a purer, nobler, happier piety. Even if we err in doctrine, we think that these motives should shield us from reproach; should disarm that intolerance which would exclude us from the church on earth, and from our Father's house in heaven.

We end, as we began, by offering up this building to the Only Living and True God. We have erected it amidst our private habitations, as a remembrancer of our Creator. We have

reared it in this busy city, as a retreat for pious meditation and prayer. We dedicate it to the King and Father Eternal, the King of kings and Lord of lords. We dedicate it to his Unity, to his unrivalled and undivided Majesty. We dedicate it to the praise of his free, unbought, unmerited grace. We dedicate it to Jesus Christ, to the memory of his love, to the celebration of his divine virtue, to the preaching of that truth which he sealed with blood. We dedicate it to the Holy Spirit, to the sanctifying influence of God, to those celestial emanations of light and strength which visit and refresh the devout mind. We dedicate it to prayers and praises which, we trust, will be continued and perfected in heaven. We dedicate it to social worship, to Christian intercourse, to the communion of saints. We dedicate it to the cause of pure morals, of public order, of temperance, uprightness, and general good-will. We dedicate it to Christian admonition, to those warnings, remonstrances, and earnest and tender persuasions, by which the sinner may be arrested and brought back to God. We dedicate it to Christian consolation, to those truths which assuage sorrow, animate penitence, and lighten the load of human anxiety and fear. We dedicate it to the doctrine of immortality, to sublime and joyful hopes which reach beyond the grave. In a word, we dedicate it to the great work of perfecting the human soul, and fitting it for nearer approach to its Author. Here may heart meet heart! Here may man meet God! From this place may the song of praise, the ascription of gratitude, the sigh of penitence, the prayer for grace, and the holy resolve, ascend as fragrant incense to heaven; and, through many generations, may parents bequeath to their children this house, as a sacred spot, where God had "lifted upon them his countenance," and given them pledges of his everlasting love!

OBJECTIONS TO UNITARIAN CHRISTIANITY CONSIDERED.

1819.

It is due to truth, and a just deference to our fellow-Christians, to take notice of objections which are currently made to our particular views of religion; nor ought we to dismiss such objections as unworthy of attention on account of their supposed lightness; because what is light to us may weigh much with our neighbor, and truth may suffer from obstructions which a few explanations might remove. It is to be feared that those Christians who are called Unitarian have been wanting in this duty. Whilst they have met the labored arguments of their opponents fully and fairly, they have overlooked the loose, vague, indefinite objections which float through the community, and operate more on common minds than formal reasoning. On some of these objections remarks will now be offered; and it is hoped that our plainness of speech will not be construed into severity, nor our strictures on different systems be ascribed to a desire of retaliation. It cannot be expected that we shall repel with indifference what seem to us reproaches on some of the most important and consoling views of Christianity. Believing that the truths which through God's good providence we are called to maintain are necessary to the vindication of the divine character, and to the prevalence of a more enlightened and exalted piety, we are bound to assert them earnestly, and to speak freely of the opposite errors which now disfigure Christianity. What, then, are the principal objections to Unitarian Christianity?

I. It is objected to us, that we deny the divinity of Jesus Christ. Now what does this objection mean? What are

we to understand by the divinity of Christ? In the sense in which many Christians, and perhaps a majority, interpret it, we do not deny it, but believe it as firmly as themselves. We believe firmly in the divinity of Christ's mission and office, that he spoke with divine authority, and was a bright image of the divine perfections. We believe that God dwelt in him, manifested himself through him, taught men by him, and communicated to him his spirit without measure. We believe that Jesus Christ was the most glorious display, expression, and representative of God to mankind, so that in seeing and knowing him, we see and know the invisible Father; so that when Christ came, God visited the world and dwelt with men more conspicuously than at any former period. In Christ's words we hear God speaking; in his miracles we behold God acting; in his character and life we see an unsullied image of God's purity and love. We believe, then, in the divinity of Christ, as this term is often and properly used. How, then, it may be asked, do we differ from other Christians? We differ in this important respect. Whilst we honor Christ as the Son, representative, and image of the Supreme God, we do not believe him to be the Supreme God himself. We maintain that Christ and God are *distinct beings*, two beings, not one and the same being. On this point a little repetition may be pardoned, for many good Christians, after the controversies of ages, misunderstand the precise difference between us and themselves. Trinitarianism teaches that Jesus Christ is the supreme and infinite God, and that he and his Father are not only one in affection, counsel, and will, but are strictly and literally one and the same being. Now to us this doctrine is most unscriptural and irrational. We say that the Son cannot be the same being with his own Father; that he, who was sent into the world to save it, cannot be the living God who sent him. The language of Jesus is explicit and unqualified. "I came not to do mine own will." — "I came not from myself." — "I came from God." Now we affirm, and this is our chief heresy, that Jesus was not and could not be the God from whom he came, but was another being; and it amazes us that any can resist simple truth. The doctrine that Jesus, who was born at Bethlehem; who ate and drank and slept; who suffered and was crucified; who came from God; who prayed to God; who did God's will; and who said, on leaving the world, "I ascend to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God;" the doctrine that this Jesus was the supreme God himself, and the same being with his Father, this seems to us a contradiction to reason and Scripture so flagrant, that the simple statement of it is a sufficient refutation. We are often charged with degrading Christ; but if this reproach belong to any Christians, it falls, we fear, on those who accuse him of teaching a doctrine so contradictory, and so subversive of the supremacy of our Heavenly Father. Certainly our humble and devout Master has given no ground for this accusation. He always expressed towards God the reverence of a son. He habitually distinguished himself from God. He referred to God all his powers. He said, without limitation or reserve, "The Father is greater than I." — "Of myself I can do nothing." If to represent Christ as a being distinct from God, and as inferior to him, be to degrade him, then let our opponents lay the guilt where it belongs, not on us, but on our Master, whose language we borrow, in whose very words we express our sentiments, whose words we dare not trifle with and force from their plain sense. Our limits will not allow us to say more: but we ask common Christians, who have taken their opinions from the Bible rather than from human systems, to look honestly into their own minds, and to answer frankly, whether they have not understood and believed Christ's divinity in the sense maintained by us, rather than in that for which the Trinitarians contend.

2. We proceed to another objection, and one which probably weighs more with multitudes than any other. It is this, that our doctrine respecting Christ takes from the sinner the only ground of hope. It is said by our opponents, "We and all men are sinners by our very nature, and infinitely guilty before God. The sword of divine justice hangs over us, and hell opens beneath us; and where shall we find a refuge but in an infinite Saviour? We want an infinite atonement; and in depriving us of this you rob us of our hope, you tear from

the Scriptures the only doctrine which meets our wants. We may burn our Bibles if your interpretation be true, for our case is desperate; we are lost for ever." In such warm and wild language, altogether unwarranted by Scripture, yet exceedingly fitted to work on common and terror-stricken minds, our doctrine is constantly assailed.

Now to this declamation, for such we esteem it, we oppose one plain request. Show us, we say, a single passage in the Bible, in which we are told that the sin of man is infinite, and needs an infinite atonement. We find not one. Not even a whisper of this doctrine comes to us from the sacred writers. Let us stop a moment and weigh this doctrine. It teaches us that man, although created by God a frail, erring, and imperfect being, and even created with an irresistible propensity to sin, is yet regarded by the Creator as an infinite offender, meriting infinite punishment for his earliest transgressions; and that he is doomed to endless torment, unless an infinite Saviour appear for his rescue! How can any one, we ask, charge on our benevolent and righteous Parent such a government of his creatures? We maintain that man is not created in a condition which makes an infinite atonement necessary; nor do we believe that any creature can fall into a condition from which God may not deliver him without this rigid expedient. Surely, if an infinite satisfaction to justice were indispensable to our salvation, if God took on him human nature for the very purpose of offering it, and if this fact constitute the peculiar glory, the life and essence, and the saving efficacy of the gospel, we must find it expressed clearly, definitely, in at least one passage in the Bible. But not one, we repeat it, can be found there. We maintain, further, that this doctrine of God becoming a victim and sacrifice for his own rebellious subjects, is as irrational as it is unscriptural. We have always supposed that atonement, if necessary, was to be made *to*, not by, the sovereign who has been offended; and we cannot conceive a more unlikely method of vindicating his authority, than that he himself should bear the punishment which is due to transgressors of his laws. We have another objection. If an infinite atonement be necessary, and if, consequently, none but God can make it, we see not but that God must become a sufferer, must take upon himself our pain and woe, — a thought from which a pious mind shrinks with horror. To escape this difficulty, we are told that Christ suffered as man, not as God; but if man only suffered, if only a human and finite mind suffered, if Christ, as God, was perfectly happy on the cross, and bore only a short and limited pain in his human nature, where, we ask, was the infinite atonement? Where is the boasted hope which this doctrine is said to give to the sinner?

The objection that there is no hope for the sinner unless Christ be the infinite God, amazes us. Surely, if we have a Father in heaven, of infinite goodness and power, we need no other infinite person to save us. The common doctrine disparages and dishonors the only true God, our Father, as if, without the help of a second and a third divinity, equal to himself, He could not restore his frail creature, man. We have not the courage of our brethren. With the Scriptures in our hands, with the solemn attestations which they contain to the divine Unity, and to Christ's dependence, we dare not give to the God and Father of Jesus an equal or rival in the glory of originating our redemption, or of accomplishing it by underived and infinite power. Are we asked, as we sometimes are, what is our hope if Christ be not the supreme God? We answer, it is the boundless and almighty goodness of his Father and our Father, — a goodness which cannot require an infinite atonement for the sins of a frail and limited creature. God's essential and unchangeable mercy, not Christ's infinity, is the Scriptural foundation of a sinner's hope. In the Scriptures, our Heavenly Father is always represented as the sole original, spring, and first cause of our salvation; and let no one presume to divide his glory with another. That Jesus came to save us, we owe entirely to the Father's benevolent appointment. That Jesus is perfectly adequate to the work of our salvation is to be believed, not because he is himself the supreme God, but because the supreme and unerring God selected, commissioned, and empowered him for this office. That his death is

an important means of our salvation, we gratefully acknowledge; but ascribe its efficacy to the merciful disposition of God towards the human race. To build the hope of pardon on the independent and infinite sufficiency of Jesus Christ, is to build on an unscriptural and false foundation; for Jesus teaches us that of himself he can do nothing; that all power is given to him by his Father; and that he is a proper object of trust, because he came not of himself, or to do his own will, but because the Father sent him. We indeed lean on Christ, but it is because he is "a corner-stone, chosen by God and laid by God in Zion." God's forgiving love, declared to mankind by Jesus Christ, and exercised through him, is the foundation of hope to the penitent on which we primarily rest, and a firmer the universe cannot furnish us.

3. We now proceed to another objection. We are charged with expecting to be saved by works, and not by grace. This charge may be easily despatched, and a more groundless one cannot easily be imagined. We indeed attach great importance to Christian works, or Christian obedience, believing that a practice or life conformed to the precepts and example of Jesus is the great end for which faith in him is required, and is the great condition on which everlasting life is bestowed. We are accustomed to speak highly of the virtues and improvements of a true Christian, rejecting with abhorrence the idea that they are no better than the outward Jewish righteousness, which the Prophet called "filthy rags;" and maintaining with the Apostle that they are, "in the sight of God, of great price." We believe that holiness or virtue is the very image of God in the human soul, — a ray of his brightness, the best gift which He communicates to his creatures, the highest benefit which Christ came to confer, the only important and lasting distinction between man and man. Still, we always and earnestly maintain that no human virtue, no human obedience, can give a legal claim, a right by merit, to the life and immortality brought to light by Christ. We see and mourn over the deficiencies, broken resolutions, and mixed motives of the best men. We always affirm that God's grace, benignity, free kindness, is needed by the most advanced Christians, and that to this alone we owe the promise in the gospel, of full remission and everlasting happiness to the penitent. None speak of mercy more constantly than we. One of our distinctions is, that we magnify this lovely attribute of the Deity. So accustomed are we to insist on the infinity of God's grace and mercy, that our adversaries often charge us with forgetting his justice; and yet it is objected to us that, renouncing grace, we appeal to justice, and build our hope on the abundance of our merit!

4. We now proceed to another objection often urged against our views, or rather against those who preach them; and it is this, that we preach morality. To meet this objection, we beg to know what is intended by morality. Are we to understand by it, what it properly signifies, our whole duty, however made known to us, whether by nature or revelation? Does it mean the whole extent of those obligations which belong to us as moral beings? Does it mean that "sober, righteous, godly life," which our moral Governor has prescribed to us by his Son, as the great preparation for heaven? If this be morality, we cheerfully plead guilty to the charge of preaching it, and of laboring chiefly and constantly to enforce it; and believing, as we do, that all the doctrines, precepts, threatenings, and promises of the gospel are revealed for no other end than to make men moral, in this true and generous sense, we hope to continue to merit this reproach.

We fear, however, that this is not the meaning of the morality which is said to be the burden of our preaching. Some, at least, who thus reproach us, mean that we are accustomed to enjoin only a worldly and social morality, consisting in common honesty, common kindness, and freedom from gross vices; neglecting to inculcate inward purity, devotion, heavenly-mindedness, and love to Jesus Christ. We hope that the persons who thus accuse us speak from rumor, and have never heard our instructions for themselves; for the charge is false; and no one who ever sat under our ministry can urge it without branding himself a slanderer. The first and great commandment, which is to love God supremely, is recognized and enforced habitually in

our preaching; and our obligations to Jesus Christ, the friend who died for us, are urged, we hope, not wholly without tenderness and effect.

It is but justice, however, to observe of many, that when they reproach us with moral preaching, they do not mean that we teach only outward decencies, but that we do not inculcate certain favorite doctrines, which are to them the very marrow and richness of the gospel. When such persons hear a sermon, be the subject what it may, which is not seasoned with recognitions of the Trinity, total depravity, and similar articles of faith, they call it moral. According to this strange and unwarrantable use of the term, we rejoice to say that we are "moral preachers;" and it comforts us that we have for our pattern "him who spake as man never spake," and who, in his longest discourse, has dropped not a word about a Trinity, or inborn corruption, or special and electing grace; and, still more, we seriously doubt whether our preaching could with propriety be called moral, did we urge these doctrines, especially the two last; for, however warmly they may be defended by honest men, they seem to us to border on immorality; that is, to dishonor God, to weaken the sense of responsibility, to break the spirit, and to loosen the restraints on guilty passion.

5. Another objection urged against us is, that our system does not produce as much zeal, seriousness, and piety as other views of religion. The objection it is difficult to repel, except by language which will seem to be a boasting of ourselves. When expressed in plain language, it amounts to this: "We Trinitarians and Calvinists are better and more pious than you Unitarians, and consequently our system is more Scriptural than yours." Now, assertions of this kind do not strike us as very modest and humble, and we believe that truth does not require us to defend it by setting up our piety above that of our neighbors. This, however, we would say, that if our zeal and devotion are faint, the fault is our own, not that of our doctrine. We are sure that our views of the Supreme Being are incomparably more affecting and attractive than those which we oppose. It is the great excellence of our system, that it exalts God, vindicates his parental attributes, and appeals powerfully to the ingenuous principles of love, gratitude, and veneration; and when we compare it with the doctrines which are spread around us we feel that of all men we are most inexcusable, if a filial piety do not spring up and grow strong in our hearts.

Perhaps it may not be difficult to suggest some causes for the charge that our views do not favor seriousness and zeal. One reason probably is, that we interpret with much rigor those precepts of Christ which forbid ostentation, and enjoin modesty and retirement in devotion. We dread a showy religion. We are disgusted with pretensions to superior sanctity, — that stale and vulgar way of building up a sect. We believe that true religion speaks in actions more than in words, and manifests itself chiefly in the common temper and life; in giving up the passions to God's authority, in inflexible uprightness and truth, in active and modest charity, in candid judgment, and in patience under trials and injuries. We think it no part of piety to publish its fervors, but prefer a delicacy in regard to these secrets of the soul; and hence, to those persons who think religion is to be worn conspicuously and spoken of passionately, we may seem cold and dead, when perhaps, were the heart uncovered, it might be seen to be "alive to God" as truly as their own.

Again, it is one of our principles, flowing necessarily from our views of God, that religion is cheerful; that where its natural tendency is not obstructed by false theology, or a melancholy temperament, it opens the heart to every pure and innocent pleasure. We do not think that piety disfigures its face, or wraps itself in a funeral pall as its appropriate garb. Now, too many conceive of religion as something gloomy, and never to be named but with an altered tone and countenance; and where they miss these imagined signs of piety, they can hardly believe that a sense of God dwells in the heart.

Another cause of the error in question we believe to be this. Our religious system excludes, or at least does not favor, those overwhelming terrors and transports which many think essential to piety. We do not believe in

shaking and disordering men's understandings, by excessive fear, as a preparation for supernatural grace and immediate conversion. This we regard as a dreadful corruption and degradation of religion. Religion, we believe, is a gradual and rational work, beginning sometimes in sudden impressions, but confirmed by reflection, growing by the regular use of Christian means, and advancing silently to perfection. Now, because we specify no time when we were overpowered and created anew by irresistible impulse; because we relate no agonies of despair succeeded by miraculous light and joy, we are thought by some to be strangers to piety; — how reasonably, let the judicious determine

Once more; we are thought to want zeal, because our principles forbid us to use many methods for spreading them, which are common with other Christians. Whilst we value highly our peculiar views, and look to them for the best fruits of piety, we still consider ourselves as bound to think charitably of those who doubt or deny them; and with this conviction, we cannot enforce them with that vehemence, positiveness, and style of menace, which constitute much of the zeal of certain denominations; — and we freely confess that we would on no account exchange our charity for their zeal; and we trust that the time is near when he who holds what he deems truth with lenity and forbearance, will be accounted more pious than he who compasseth sea and land to make proselytes to his sect, and "shuts the gates of mercy" on all who will not bow their understandings to his creed. We fear that in these remarks we may have been unconsciously betrayed into a self-exalting spirit. Nothing could have drawn them from us but the fact that a very common method of opposing our sentiments is to decry the piety of those who adopt them. After all, we mean not to deny our great deficiencies. We have nothing to boast before God, although the cause of truth forbids us to submit to the censoriousness of our brethren.

6. Another objection to our views is, that they lead to a rejection of revelation. Unitarianism has been called "a half-way house to infidelity." Now, to this objection we need not oppose general reasonings. We will state a plain fact. It is this. A large proportion of the most able and illustrious defenders of the truth of Christianity have been Unitarians; and our religion has received from them, to say the least, as important service in its conflicts with infidelity as from any class of Christians whatever. From the long catalogue of advocates of Christianity among Unitarians, we can select now but a few; but these few are a host. The name of John Locke is familiar to every scholar. He rendered distinguished service to the philosophy of the human mind; nor is this his highest praise. His writings on government and toleration contributed more than those of any other individual to the diffusion of free and generous sentiments through Europe and America; and perhaps Bishop Watson was not guilty of great exaggeration when he said, "This great man has done more for the establishment of pure Christianity than any author I am acquainted with." He was a laborious and successful student of the Scriptures. His works on the "Epistles of Paul," and on the "Reasonableness of Christianity," formed an era in sacred literature; and he has the honor of having shed a new and bright light on the darkest parts of the New Testament, and in general on the Christian system. Now Locke, be it remembered, was a Unitarian. We pass to another intellectual prodigy, — to Newton, a name which every man of learning pronounces with reverence; for it reminds him of faculties so exalted above those of ordinary men, that they seem designed to help our conceptions of superior orders of being. This great man, who gained by intuition what others reap from laborious research, after exploring the laws of the universe, turned for light and hope to the Bible; and although his theological works cannot be compared with Locke's, yet in his illustrations of the prophecies, and of Scripture chronology, and in his criticisms on two doubtful passages,* which are among the chief supports of the doctrine of the Trinity, he is considered as having rendered valuable services to the Christian cause. Newton, too, was a Unitarian. We are not accustomed to boast of men, or to prop our faith by great names; for Christ, and he only, is our Master; but it is with pleasure that

* 1 John v. 7; 1 Tim. iii. 16.

we find in our ranks the most gifted, sagacious, and exalted minds; and we cannot but smile when we sometimes hear from men and women of very limited culture, and with no advantages for enlarged inquiry, reproachful and contemptuous remarks on a doctrine which the vast intelligence of Locke and Newton, after much study of the Scriptures, and in opposition to a prejudiced and intolerant age, received as the truth of God. It is proper to state that doubts have lately been raised as to the religious opinions of Locke and Newton, and for a very obvious reason. In these times of growing light, their names have been found too useful to the Unitarian cause. But the long and general belief of the Unitarianism of these illustrious men can hardly be accounted for, but by admitting the fact; and we know of no serious attempts to set aside the proofs on which this belief is founded.

We pass to another writer, who was one of the brightest ornaments of the Church of England and of the age in which he lived, Dr. Samuel Clarke. In classical literature, and in metaphysical speculation, Dr. Clarke has a reputation which needs no tribute at our hands. His sermons are an invaluable repository of Scriptural criticism; and his work on the evidences of natural and revealed religion has ever been considered as one of the ablest vindications of our common faith. This great man was a Unitarian. He believed firmly that Jesus was a distinct being from his Father, and a derived and dependent being; and he desired to bring the liturgy of his church into a correspondence with these doctrines.

To those who are acquainted with the memorable infidel controversy in the early part of the last century, excited by the writings of Bolingbroke, Tindal, Morgan, Collins, and Chubb, it will be unnecessary to speak of the zeal and power with which the Christian cause was maintained by learned Unitarians. But we must pass over these, to recall a man whose memory is precious to enlightened believers; we mean Lardner, that most patient and successful advocate of Christianity; who has written, we believe, more largely than any other author on the evidences of the gospel; from whose works later authors have drawn as from a treasure-house; and whose purity and mildness have disarmed the severity and conciliated the respect of men of very different views from his own. Lardner was a Unitarian. Next to Lardner, the most laborious advocate of Christianity against the attacks of infidels, in our own day, was Priestley; and whatever we may think of some of his opinions, we believe that none of his opposers ever questioned the importance of his vindications of our common faith. We certainly do not say too much, when we affirm that Unitarians have not been surpassed by any denomination in zealous, substantial service to the Christian cause. Yet we are told that Unitarianism leads to infidelity! We are reproached with defection from that religion, round which we have gathered in the day of its danger, and from which, we trust, persecution and death cannot divorce us.

It is, indeed, said that instances have occurred of persons who, having given up the Trinitarian doctrine, have not stopped there, but have resigned one part of Christianity after another, until they have become thorough infidels. To this we answer, that such instances we have never known; but that such should occur is not improbable, and is what we should even expect; for it is natural that when the mind has detected one error in its creed, it should distrust every other article, and should exchange its blind and hereditary assent for a sweeping scepticism. We have examples of this truth at the present moment, both in France and Spain, where multitudes have proceeded from rejecting Popery to absolute Atheism. Now, who of us will argue that the Catholic faith is true, because multitudes who relinquished it have also cast away every religious principle and restraint; and if the argument be not sound on the side of Popery, how can it be pressed into the service of Trinitarianism? The fact is, that false and absurd doctrines, when exposed, have a natural tendency to beget scepticism in those who received them without reflection. None are so likely to believe too little as those who have begun with believing too much; and hence we charge upon Trinitarianism whatever tendency may exist in those who forsake it, to sink gradually into infidelity.

Unitarianism does not lead to infi-

delity. On the contrary, its excellence is that it fortifies faith. Unitarianism is Christianity stripped of those corrupt additions which shock reason and our moral feelings. It is a rational and amiable system, against which no man's understanding, or conscience, or charity, or piety revolts. Can the same be said of that system which teaches the doctrines of three equal persons in one God, of natural and total depravity, of infinite atonement, of special and electing grace, and of the everlasting misery of the non-elected part of mankind? We believe that unless Christianity be purified from these corruptions, it will not be able to bear the unsparing scrutiny to which the progress of society is exposing it. We believe that it must be reformed, or intelligent men will abandon it. As the friends of Christianity, and the foes of infidelity, we are therefore solicitous to diffuse what seem to us nobler and juster views of this divine system.

7. It was our purpose to consider one more objection to our views; namely, that they give no consolation in sickness and death. But we have only time to express amazement at such a charge. What! a system which insists with a peculiar energy on the pardoning mercy of God, on his universal and parental love, and on the doctrine of a resurrection and immortality, — such a system unable to give comfort! It unlocks infinite springs of consolation and joy, and gives to him who practically receives it a living, overflowing, and unspeakable hope. Its power to sustain the soul in death has been often tried; and did we believe dying men to be inspired, or that peace and hope in the last hours were God's seal to the truth of doctrines, we should be able to settle at once the controversy about Unitarianism. A striking example of the power of this system in disarming death was lately given by a young minister in a neighboring town,* known to many of our readers, and singularly endeared to his friends by eminent Christian virtue. He was smitten by sickness in the midst of a useful and happy life, and sunk slowly to the grave. His religion — and it was that which has now been defended — gave habitual peace to his mind, and spread a sweet smile over his pale countenance. He retained his faculties to his last hour: and when death came, having left pious counsel to the younger members of his family, and expressions of gratitude to his parents, he breathed out life in the language of Jesus, — "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit." Such was the end of one who held, with an unwavering faith, the great principles which we have here advanced; and yet our doctrine has no consolation, we are told, for sickness and death!

We have thus endeavored to meet objections commonly urged against our views of religion; and we have done this, not to build up a party, but to promote views of Christianity which seem to us particularly suited to strengthen men's faith in it, and to make it fruitful of good works and holy lives. Christian virtue, Christian holiness, love to God and man, these are all which we think worth contending for; and these we believe to be intimately connected with the system now maintained. If in this we err, may God discover our error, and disappoint our efforts! We ask no success but what He may approve, — no proselytes but such as will be made better, purer, happier by the adoption of our views.

* Rev. John E. Abbot, of Salem. This tract was first published in 1819 in the "Christian Disciple."

CHRISTIAN WORSHIP:

Discourse at the Dedication of the Unitarian Congregational Church, Newport, Rhode Island, July 27, 1836.

JOHN iv. 23, 24: "The hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth; for the Father seeketh such to worship him. God is a Spirit; and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth."

THE dedication of an edifice to the worship of God is a proper subject of gratitude and joy. Even if the consecration be made by Christians from whom we differ in opinion, we should still find satisfaction in the service. We

should desire that our neighbors, whose convictions of truth and duty require them to separate from us in religious services, should enjoy the same accommodations with ourselves; and it should comfort us to think that Christianity is so eminently "the power of God unto salvation," its great truths so plain and so quickening, that among all sects acknowledging Christ and consulting his word, its purifying influences, however counteracted by erroneous views, will more or less be felt. We should rejoice to think that God can be monopolized by no party; that his spirit is a universal presence; that religion, having its root in the soul of man, can live and flourish amidst many errors; that truth and goodness can no more be confined to a single church than the light of the sun can be shut up in a private dwelling; that amidst all the diversities of forms, names, and creeds, acceptable worship may be offered to God, and the soul ascend to heaven.

It is the custom of our times to erect beautiful structures for the purposes of the present life, for legislation, for literature, for the arts. But important as these interests are, they are not the noblest. Man's highest relations are not political, earthly, human. His whole nature is not exhausted in studying and subduing outward nature, in establishing outward order, in storing the mind with knowledge which may adorn and comfort his outward life. He has wants too deep, and powers and affections too large, for the outward world. He comes from God. His closest connection is with God; and he can find life and peace only in the knowledge of his Creator. Man's glory or true end is not revealed to us in the most magnificent structure which the architect ever reared for earthly uses. An humble spire pointing heavenward from an obscure church speaks of man's nature, man's dignity, man's destiny, more eloquently than all the columns and arches of Greece and Rome, the mausoleums of Asia, or the pyramids of Egypt. Is it not meet, then, to be grateful and joyful when a house is set apart to the worship of God?

This edifice where we now meet is not indeed wholly new. Its frame is older than the oldest of us. But so great are the changes which it has undergone, that, were they who laid its foundation to revisit the earth, they would trace hardly a feature of their work; and as it is now entered by a new religious congregation, there is a fitness in the present solemnity by which we dedicate it to the worship of God. My purpose in this discourse is to show that we should enter this edifice with gratitude and joy; first, because it is dedicated to worship in the most general sense of that term; and, in the second place, on account of the particular worship to which it is set apart. I shall close with some remarks of a personal and local character, which may be allowed to one who was born and brought up on this island, whose heart swells with local attachment, and whose memory is crowded with past years, as he stands, after a long absence, within these walls where he sat in his childhood, and where some of his earliest impressions were received.

I. We ought to enter this house with gratitude and joy, for it is dedicated to worship. Its end is, that men should meet within its walls to pay religious homage; to express and strengthen pious veneration, love, thankfulness, and confidence; to seek and receive pure influences from above; to learn the will of God; and to consecrate themselves to the virtue in which He delights. This edifice is reared to the glory of God, reared like the universe to echo with his praise, to be a monument to his being, perfection, and dominion. Worship is man's highest end, for it is the employment of his highest faculties and affections on the sublimest object. We have much for which to thank God, but for nothing so much as for the power of knowing and adoring himself. This creation is a glorious spectacle; but there is a more glorious existence for our minds and hearts, and that is the Creator. There is something divine in the faculties by which we study the visible world, and subject it to our wills, comfort, enjoyment. But it is a diviner faculty by which we penetrate beyond the visible, free ourselves of the finite and the mutable, and ascend to the Infinite and the Eternal. It is good to make earth and ocean, winds and flames, sun and stars, tributary to our present well-being. How much better to make them ministers to our spiritua-

wants, teachers of heavenly truth, guides to a more glorious Being than themselves, bonds of union between man and his Maker!

There have been those who have sought to disparage worship, by representing it as an arbitrary, unnatural service, a human contrivance, an invention for selfish ends. Had I time, I should be glad to disprove this sophistry by laying open to you human nature, and showing the deep foundation laid in all its principles and wants for religion; but I can meet the objection only by a few remarks drawn from history. There have been, indeed, periods of history in which the influence of the religious principle seems to have been overwhelmed; but in this it agrees with other great principles of our nature, which in certain stages of the race disappear. There are certain conditions of society in which the desire of knowledge seems almost extinct among men, and they abandon themselves for centuries to brutish ignorance. There are communities in which the natural desire of reaching a better lot gives not a sign of its existence, and society remains stationary for ages. There are some in which even the parental affection is so far dead, that the new-born child is cast into the stream or exposed to the storm. So the religious principle is in some periods hardly to be discerned; but it is never lost. No principle is more universally manifested. In the darkest ages there are some recognitions of a superior power. Man feels that there is a being above himself, and he clothes that being in what to his rude conception is great and venerable. In countries where architecture was unknown, men chose the solemn wood or the mountain top for worship; and when this art appeared its monuments were temples to God. Before the invention of letters, hymns were composed to the Divinity; and music, we have reason to think, was the offspring of religion. Music in its infancy was the breathing of man's fears, wants, hopes, thanks, praises, to an unseen power. You tell me, my sceptical friend, that religion is the contrivance of the priest. How came the priest into being? What gave him his power? Why was it that the ancient legislator professed to receive his laws from the gods? The fact is a striking one, that the earliest guides and leaders of the human race looked to the heavens for security and strength to earthly institutions, that they were compelled to speak to men in a higher name than man's. Religion was an earlier bond and a deeper foundation of society than government. It was the root of civilization. It has founded the mightiest empires; and yet men question whether religion be an element, a principle of human nature!

In the earliest ages, before the dawn of science, man recognized an immediate interference of the Divinity in whatever powerfully struck his senses. To the savage, the thunder was literally God's voice, the lightning his arrow, the whirlwind his breath. Every unusual event was a miracle, a prodigy, a promise of good, or a menace of evil from heaven. These rude notions have faded before the light of science, which reveals fixed laws, a stated order of nature. But in these laws, this order, the religious principle now finds confirmations of God, infinitely more numerous and powerful than the savage found in his prodigies. In this age of the world there is a voice louder than thunder and whirlwinds, attesting the Divinity; the voice of the wisely interpreted works of God, everywhere proclaiming wisdom unsearchable, harmony unbroken, and a benevolent purpose in what to ages of ignorance seemed ministers of wrath. In the present, above all times, worship may be said to have its foundation in our nature; for by the improvements of this nature, we have placed ourselves nearer to God as revealed in his universe. The clouds which once hung over the creation are scattered. The heavens, the earth, the plant, the human frame, now that they are explored by science, speak of God as they never did before. His handwriting is brought out where former ages saw but a blank. Nor is it only by the progress of science that the foundation of religion is made broader and deeper. The progress of the arts, in teaching us the beneficent uses to which God's works may be applied, in extracting from them new comforts, and in diminishing or alleviating human suffering, has furnished new testimonies to the goodness of the Creator. Still more, the progress of society has given new power and delicacy to the sense of

beauty in human nature, and in consequence of this the creation of God has become a far more attractive, lovely, and magnificent work than men looked on in earlier times. Above all, the moral susceptibilities and wants, the deeper and more refined feelings, which unfold themselves in the course of human improvement, are so many new capacities and demands for religion. Our nature is perpetually developing new senses for the perception and enjoyment of God. The human race, as it advances, does not leave religion behind it, as it leaves the shelter of caves and forests; does not outgrow faith, does not see it fading like the mist before its rising intelligence. On the contrary, religion opens before the improved mind in new grandeur. God, whom uncivilized man had narrowed into a local and tutelar deity, rises with every advance of knowledge to a loftier throne, and is seen to sway a mightier sceptre. The soul, in proportion as it enlarges its faculties and refines its affections, possesses and discerns within itself a more and more glorious type of the Divinity, learns his spirituality in its own spiritual powers, and offers him a profounder and more inward worship. Thus deep is the foundation of worship in human nature. Men may assail it, may reason against it; but sooner can the laws of the outward universe be repealed by human will, sooner can the sun be plucked from his sphere, than the idea of God can be erased from the human spirit, and his worship banished from the earth. All other wants of man are superficial. His animal wants are but for a day, and are to cease with the body. The profoundest of all human wants is the want of God. Mind, spirit, must tend to its source. It cannot find happiness but in the perfect Mind, the Infinite Spirit. Worship has survived all revolutions. Corrupted, dishonored, opposed, it yet lives. It is immortal as its Object, immortal as the soul from which it ascends.

Let us rejoice, then, in this house. It is dedicated to worship; it can have no higher use. The heaven of heavens has no higher service or joy. The universe has no higher work. Its chief office is to speak of God. The sun, in awakening innumerable forms of animal and vegetable life, exerts no influence to be compared with what it puts forth in kindling the human soul into piety, in being a type, representative, preacher of the glory of God.

II. I have now spoken of worship in the most general sense. I have said that this house, considered as separated to the adoration of God, should be entered joyfully and gratefully, without stopping to inquire under what particular views or forms God is here to be adored. I now proceed to observe, that when we consider the particular worship which is here to be offered, this occasion ought to awaken pious joy. I need not tell you, that whilst the religious principle is a part of man's nature, it is not always developed and manifested under the same forms. Men, agreeing in the recognition of a Divinity, have not agreed as to the service He may accept. Indeed it seems inevitable that men, who differ in judgment on all subjects of thought, should form different apprehensions of the invisible, infinite, and mysterious God, and of the methods of adoring him. Uniformity of opinion is to be found nowhere, and ought to be expected least of all in religion. Who, that considers the vast, the indescribable diversity in men's capacities and means of improvement, in the discipline to which they are subjected, in the schools in which they are trained, in the outward vicissitudes and inward conflicts through which they pass, can expect them to arrive at the same conclusions in regard to their origin and destiny, in regard to the Being from whom they sprang, and the world toward which they tend. Accordingly, religion has taken innumerable forms, and some, it must be acknowledged, most unworthy of its objects. The great idea of God has been seized upon by men's selfish desires, hopes, and fears, and often so obscured that little of its purifying power has remained. Man, full of wants, conscious of guilt, exposed to suffering, and peculiarly struck by the more awful phenomena of nature, has been terror-smitten before the unseen, irresistible power with which he has felt himself encompassed. Hence, to appease his wrath and to secure his partial regards has been the great object of worship. Hence, worship has been so often a pompous machinery, a tribute of obsequious adulation, an accumulation of gifts and victims. Hence, worship

has been the effort of nations and individuals to bend the Almighty to their particular interests and purposes, and not the reverential, grateful, joyful, filial lifting up of the soul to Infinite Greatness, Goodness, Rectitude, and Purity. Even under Christianity human infirmity has disfigured the thought of God. Worship has been debased, by fear and selfishness, into a means of propitiating wrath, calming fear, and securing future enjoyment. All sects have carried their imperfection into their religion. None of us can boast of exemption from the common frailty. That this house is to be set apart to a perfect, spotless, unerring worship, none of us are so presumptuous as to hope. But I believe that in the progress of society and Christianity, higher and purer conceptions of the Divinity have been unfolded; and I cannot but believe that the views of God and of his worship to which this house is now consecrated, are so far enlightened, enlarged, purified, as to justify us in entering its walls with great thankfulness and joy.

This house is not reared to perpetuate the superstitions of past ages nor of the present age. It is not reared to doom the worshipper to continual repetition of his own or other delusions. It is reared for the progress of truth, reared in the faith that the church is destined to new light and new purity, reared in the anticipation of a happier, holier age. As I look round, I am met by none of the representations of the Divinity which degraded the ancient temples. My eyes light on no image of wood or stone, on no efforts of art to embody to the eye the invisible Spirit. As I look round, I am met by none of the forms which Providence, in accommodation to a rude stage of society, allowed to the Jewish people. No altar sends up here the smoke of incense or victims. No priesthood, gorgeously arrayed, presents to God the material offerings of man. Nor are my eyes pained by cumbersome ceremonies, by which in later ages Christianity was overlaid, and almost overwhelmed. No childish pomps, borrowed from Judaism and Heathenism, obscure here the simple majesty, the sublime spiritual purpose of Christianity. Nor is this house reared for the promulgation of doctrines which tend to perpetuate the old servility with which God was approached, to make man abject in the sight of his Maker, to palsy him with terror, to prostrate his reason. This house is reared to assist the worshipper in conceiving and offering more and more perfectly the worship described in the text, the worship of the Father in spirit and in truth. On this topic, on the nature of the worship to be offered in this house, I have many reflections to offer. My illustrations may be reduced to the following heads: — This house is reared, first, for the worship of one Infinite Person, and one only; of him whom Jesus always distinguished and addressed as the Father. In the next place, it is erected for the worship of God under the special character of Father, that is, of a Parental Divinity. In the last place, it is set apart to the worship of him in spirit and in truth.

First, you have prepared this edifice that here you may worship one Infinite Person, even him and him only whom Jesus continually calls the Father. One would think that on this point there could be no difference among Christians. One would think that Jesus had placed the Object of Christian worship beyond all dispute. It is hard to conceive more solemn, more definite language than he has used. "The hour cometh and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth, for the Father seeketh such to worship him." Yet it is well known that very many Christians deny that one person, the Father, is the only proper object of supreme worship. They maintain that two other persons, the Son and the Holy Spirit, are to be joined with him in our adoration, and that the most important distinction of the Christian religion is the worship of God in three persons. Against this human exposition of Christianity we earnestly protest. Whilst we recognize with joy the sincerity and piety of those who adopt it, we maintain that this gross departure from the simplicity and purity of our faith is fraught with evil to the individual and the church. This house is reared to be a monument to the proper unity of God. We worship the Father.

All the grounds of this peculiarity of our worship cannot of course be expounded in the limits of a discourse, nor indeed do we deem any labored exposition necessary. We start from a

plain principle. We affirm that if any point in a religious system must be brought out explicitly, must not be left to inference, but set forth in simple, direct, authoritative language, it is the object of worship. On this point we should expect peculiar explicitness, if a revelation should be communicated for the purpose of giving a new direction to men's minds in this particular. Now, among Jews and Gentiles, the worship of three infinite persons, one of whom was clothed with a human form, was unknown; and, of consequence, if this strange, mighty innovation had been intended by Jesus, and had constituted the most striking peculiarity of his system, it must have been announced with all possible clearness and strength. Be it then remembered that Jesus, in a solemn description of the true worship which he was to introduce, made not an allusion to this peculiarity, but declared, as the characteristic to the true worshippers, that they should worship the Father in spirit and in truth. Be it also remembered that Jesus never enjoined the worship of three persons, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Not one injunction to this effect can be found in the Gospel or in the writings of the Apostles. This strange worship rests on inference alone. "The true worshippers," says the text, "shall worship the Father." When his disciples came to him to be instructed in prayer, he taught them to say, Our Father. In his last affectionate discourse, he again and again taught his disciples to pray to the Father in his name. This dying injunction, so often and so tenderly repeated, should not for slight reasons be explained away. Still more, just before his death, Jesus himself, in presence of his disciples, prayed to the Father, and prayed in this language: Father, This is life eternal, that they (*i. e.*, men) should know *thee, the only true God*, and Jesus Christ, whom *thou hast sent*.

To these remarks it is common to reply that we read in the New Testament that Jesus was again and again worshipped, and that in admitting this he manifested himself to be the object of religious adoration. It is wonderful that this fallacy, so often exposed, should be still repeated. Jesus indeed received worship or homage, but this was not offered as adoration to the Infinite God; it was the homage which, according to the custom of the age and of the eastern world, was paid to men invested with great authority, whether in civil or religious concerns. Whoever has studied the Scriptures with the least discernment must know that the word worship is used in two different senses, to express, first, the adoration due to the Infinite Creator, and secondly, the reverence which was due to sovereigns and prophets, and which of course belonged peculiarly to the most illustrious representative of God, to his beloved Son. Whoever understands the import of the English language in the time when our translation was made, must know that the word was then used to express the homage paid to human superiors, as well as the supreme reverence belonging to God alone. Let not an ambiguous word darken the truth. We are sure that the worship paid to Christ during his public ministry was rendered to him as a divine messenger, and not as God; for, in the first place, it was offered before his teachings had been sufficiently full and distinct to reveal the mystery of his nature, supposing it to have been divine. We pronounce it not merely improbable, but impossible, that Jesus, a poor man, a mechanic from Galilee, at the beginning of his mission, when his chosen disciples were waiting for his manifestation as an earthly prince, should have been adored as the everlasting, invisible God. Again, the titles given him by those who worshipped him, such as Good Teacher, Son of David, Son of God, show us that the thought of adoring him as the self-existent, infinite Divinity, had no place in their minds. But there is one consideration which sets this point at rest. The worship paid to Jesus during his ministry was offered him in public, in sight of the Jewish people. Now, to the Jews no crime was so flagrant as the paying of divine homage to a human being, such as they esteemed Jesus to be. Of consequence, had they seen in the marks of honor yielded to Jesus even an approach to this adoration, their exasperation would have burst forth in immediate overwhelming violence on the supposed impiety. The fact that they witnessed the frequent prostration of men before Jesus, or what is called the worship of him, without once charg-

ing it as a crime, is a demonstration that the act was in no respect a recognition of him as the Supreme God.

It is worthy of remark that the passages which are announced as the strongest proofs of the divine worship of Christ directly disprove the doctrine, if the connection be regarded. One of these texts is the declaration of Jesus that we must "honor the Son even as we honor the Father." Hear the whole passage: "The Father hath *given* all judgment to the Son, that all men should honor the Son, as they honor the Father. He that honoreth not the Son, honoreth not the Father *who sent him*."* You observe, that it is not the supreme underived divinity of Christ, but the power given him by his Father, which is here expressly declared to be the foundation of the honor challenged for him, and that we are called to honor him, as sent by God. Another passage much relied on is the declaration of Paul, that "at the name of Jesus every knee should bow and every tongue acknowledge him Lord." Read the whole text: "God hath highly exalted him, and given him a name above every name, that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father."† Could language express more clearly the distinct, derived, and dependent nature of Jesus Christ, or teach that the worship due him is subordinate, having for its foundation the dignity conferred on him by God, and terminating on the Father as its supreme object?‡

This house, then, is erected to the supreme worship of the Father, to the recognition of the Father only as the self-existent, Infinite God. Homage will here be paid to Jesus Christ, and, I trust, a far more profound and affectionate homage than he received on earth, when his spiritual character and the true purposes of his mission were almost unknown. But we shall honor him as the Son, the brightest image, the sent of God, not as God himself. We shall honor him as exalted above every name or dignity in heaven or earth, but as exalted by God for his obedience unto death. We shall honor him as clothed with power to give life, and judge, but shall remember that the Father hath given all judgment and quickening energy to the Son. We look up with delight and reverence to his divine virtues, his celestial love, his truth, his spirit: and we are sure that in as far as we imbibe these from the affectionate remembrance of his life, death, and triumphs, we shall render the worship most acceptable to this disinterested friend of the human race.

I have said that this house is set apart to the worship of the Father. But this term expresses not only the Person, the Being to whom it is to be paid. It expresses a peculiar character. It ascribes peculiar attributes to God. It ascribes to him the parental relation and the disposition of a parent. I therefore observe, in the second place, that this house is reared to the adoration of God in his paternal character. It is reared to a Parental Divinity. To my own mind this view is more affecting than the last. Nothing so touches me, when I look round these walls, as the thought that God is to be worshipped here as the Father. That God has not always been worshipped as a Father, even among Christians, you well know. Men have always inclined to think that they honor God by placing him on a distant throne, much more than by investing him with the mild lustre of parental goodness. They have made him a stern sovereign, giving life on hard terms, preferring his own honor to the welfare of his creatures, demanding an obedience which He gives no strength to perform, preparing endless torments for creatures whom He brings into being wholly evil, and refusing to pardon the least sin, the sin of the child, without an infinite satisfaction. Men have too often been degraded, broken in spirit, stripped of manly feeling, rather than lifted up to true dignity, by their religion. How seldom has worship breathed the noblest sentiments of human nature! Thanks to Jesus Christ, that he came to bring us to a purifying, ennobling, rejoicing adoration. He has revealed the Father. His own character was a bright revelation of the most lovely and attractive attributes of the Divinity, so that he was able to say, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father." By his mani-

* John v. 22, 23. † Philippians ii. 9.
‡ See author's note (A) at end of this discourse.

festation of the parental character of God, he created religion anew. He breathed a new and heavenly spirit into worship. He has made adoration a filial communion, assimilating us to our Creator. Ought we not, then, to rejoice in this house as set apart to the worship of the Father, to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ?

The Father! In this one word what consoling, strengthening, ennobling truth is wrapped up! In this single view of God, how much is there to bind us to him with strong, indissoluble, ever-growing love, and to make worship not only our chief duty, but our highest privilege and joy! The Father! can it be that "the High and Holy One who inhabiteth eternity," "the Lord of heaven and earth," the Majesty of the universe, bears to us this relation, reveals himself under this name, and that we, so weak and erring, may approach him with the hope of children! Who cannot comprehend the dignity and blessedness of such worship? Who does not feel that the man to whom God's parental character is a deep-felt reality, has in this conviction a fountain of strength, hope, and purity, springing up into everlasting life?

But to offer this true worship, we must understand distinctly what we mean when we call God the Father. The word has a deep and a glorious import, and in as far as this is unknown, religion will want life and power. Is it understood? I am bound to say that there seems to me a want of purity, of spirituality, in the conception of God's parental relation, even among those Christians who profess to make it the great foundation and object of their worship. Too many rest in vague conceptions of God as their Creator, who supplies their wants, and who desires their happiness, and they think that, thus regarding him, they know the Father. Such imperfect views incline me to state at some length what I deem the truth on this point. No truth is so essential to Christian worship. No truth sheds such a flood of light on the whole subject of religion.

My friends, you are to come here to worship the Father. What does this term import? It does not mean merely that God is your Creator. He is, indeed, the Creator, and, as such, let him be adored. This is his sole prerogative. His, and his only, is the mysterious power which filled the void space with a universe; his the Almighty voice which called the things which were not, and they came forth. The universe is a perpetual answer to this creating word. For this, worship God. In every thing hear an exhortation to adore. In the grandeur, beauty, order of nature, see a higher glory than its own, a mysterious force deeper than all its motions; and from its countless voices, from its mild and awful tones, gather the one great lesson which they conspire to teach, — the majesty of their Author.

But, my friends, God is more than Creator. To create is not to be a Father in the highest sense of that term. He created the mountain, the plant, the insect, but we do not call him their father. We do not call the artist the father of the statue which he models, nor the mechanician the father of the machine he contrives. It is the distinction of a father that he communicates an existence like his own. The father gives being to the child, and the very idea of the child is, that he bears the image as well as receives existence from the power of the parent. God is the Father, because He brings into life minds, spirits, partaking of energies kindred to his own attributes. Accordingly the Scripture teaches us that God made man in his own image, after his own likeness. Here is the ground of his paternal relation to the human race, and hence He is called in an especial sense the Father of those who make it the labor of life to conform themselves more and more to their divine original. God is "the Father of spirits."

My friends, we are not wholly matter, we are not wholly flesh. Were we so, we could not call God our Father. God is a spirit, says the text, and we are spirits also. This our consciousness teaches. We are conscious of a principle superior to the body which comprehends and controls it. We are conscious of faculties higher than the senses. We do something more than receive impressions passively, unresistingly, like the brute, from the outward world. We analyze, compare, and combine anew the things which we see, subject the outward world to the inquisition of reason, create sciences, rise to general laws.

and through these establish an empire over earth and sea. We penetrate beneath the surface which the senses report; search for the hidden causes, inquire for the ends or purposes, trace out the connections, dependencies, and harmonies of nature; discover a sublime unity amidst its boundless variety, and order amidst its seeming confusion; rise to the idea of one all-comprehending and all-ordaining Mind; and thus by thought make as it were a new universe radiant with wisdom, beneficence, and beauty. We are not mere creatures of matter and sense. We conceive a higher good than comes from the senses. We possess, as a portion of our being, a law higher than appetite, nobler and more enduring than all the laws of matter, — the law of duty. We discern, we approve, the right, the good, the just, the holy, and by this sense of rectitude are laid under obligations which no power of the outward universe can dissolve. We have within us a higher force than all the forces of material nature, — a power of will which can adhere to duty and to God in opposition to all the might of the elements and all the malignity of earth or hell. We have thoughts, ideas, which do not come from matter, — the ideas of the Infinite, the Everlasting, the Immutable, the Perfect. Living amidst the frail, the limited, the changing, we rise to the thought of Unbounded, Eternal, Almighty Goodness. Nor is this all. While matter obeys mechanical and irresistible laws, and is bound by an unrelaxing necessity to the same fixed, unvarying movements, we feel ourselves to be free. We have power over ourselves, over thought and desire, power to conform ourselves to a law written on our hearts, and power to resist this law. Man must never be confounded with the material, mechanical world around him. He is a spirit. He has capacities, thoughts, impulses, which assimilate him to God. His reason is a ray of the Infinite Reason; his conscience, an oracle of the Divinity, publishing the everlasting law of rectitude. Therefore God is his Father. Therefore he is bound to his Maker by a spiritual bond. This we must feel, or we know nothing of the parental relation of God to the human race.

God is the Father, and as such let him be worshipped. He is the Father. By this I understand that He has given being not only to worlds of matter, but to a rational, moral, spiritual universe; and, still more, I understand not only that He has created a spiritual family in heaven and on earth, but that He manifests towards them the attributes and exerts on them the influences of a father. Some of these attributes and influences I will suggest, that the parental character in which God is to be worshipped may be more distinctly apprehended and more deeply felt.

First, then, in calling God the Father, I understand that He loves his rational and moral offspring with unbounded affection. Love is the fundamental attribute of a father. How deep, strong, tender, enduring, the attachment of a human parent! But this shadows forth feebly the Divine Parent. He loves us with an energy like that with which He upholds the universe. The human parent does not comprehend his child, cannot penetrate the mystery of the spiritual nature which lies hid beneath the infant form. It is the prerogative of God alone to understand the immortal mind to which He gives life. The narrowest human spirit can be comprehended in its depths and destiny by none but its Maker, and is more precious in his sight than material worlds. Is He not peculiarly its Father?

Again, in calling God the Father, I understand that it is his chief purpose in creating and governing the universe to educate, train, form, and ennoble the rational and moral being to whom He has given birth. Education is the great work of a parent, and he who neglects it is unworthy the name. God gives birth to the mind, that it may grow and rise for ever, and its progress is the end of all his works. This outward universe, with its sun and stars, and mighty revolutions, is but a school in which the Father is training his children. God is ever present to the human mind to carry on its education, pouring in upon it instruction and incitement from the outward world, stirring up everlasting truth within itself, rousing it to activity by pleasure and pain, calling forth its affections by surrounding fellow-creatures, calling it to duty by placing it amidst various relations, awakening its sympathy by sights of sorrow awakening its imagination by a world of beauty,

and especially exposing it to suffering, hardship, and temptation, that by resistance it may grow strong, and by seeking help from above it may bind itself closely to its Maker. Thus he is the Father. There are those who think that God, if a parent, must make our enjoyment his supreme end. He has a higher end, our intellectual and moral education. Even the good human parent desires the progress, the virtue of his child more than its enjoyment. God never manifests himself more as our Father than in appointing to us pains, conflicts, trials, by which we may rise to the heroism of virtue, may become strong to do, to dare, to suffer, to sacrifice all things at the call of truth and duty.

Again, in calling God a Father, I understand that he exercises authority over his rational offspring. Authority is the essential attribute of a father. A parent, worthy of that name, embodies and expresses, both in commands and actions, the everlasting law of duty. His highest function is to bring out in the minds of his children the idea of right, and to open to them the perfection of their nature. It is too common a notion, that God, as Father, must be more disposed to bless than to command. His commands are among his chief blessings. He never speaks with more parental kindness than by that inward voice which teaches duty, and excites and cheers to its performance. Nothing is so strict, so inflexible in enjoining the right and the good, as perfect love. This can endure no moral stain in its object. The whole experience of life, rightly construed, is a revelation of God's parental authority and righteous retribution.

Again. When I call God the Father, I understand that He communicates himself, his own spirit, what is most glorious in his own nature, to his rational offspring, — a doctrine almost overwhelming by its grandeur, but yet true, and the very truth which shines most clearly from the Christian Scriptures. It belongs to a parent to breathe into the child whatever is best and loftiest in his own soul, and for this end a good father seeks every approach to the mind of the child. Such a father is God. He has created us not only to partake of his works, but to be "partakers of a divine nature;" not only to receive his gifts, but to receive himself. As He is a pure spirit, He has an access to the minds of his children not enjoyed by human parents. He pervades, penetrates our souls. All other beings, our nearest friends, are far from us, foreign to us, strangers compared with God. Others hold intercourse with us through the body. He is in immediate contact with our souls. We do not discern him because He is too near, too inward, too deep to be recognized by our present imperfect consciousness. And He is thus near, not only to discern, but to act, to influence, to give his spirit, to communicate to us divinity. This is the great paternal gift of God. He has greater gifts than the world. He confers more than the property of the earth and heavens. The very attributes from which the earth and heavens sprung, these he imparts to his rational offspring. Even his disinterested, impartial, universal goodness, which diffuses beauty, life, and happiness, — even this excellence it is his purpose to breathe into and cherish in the human soul. In regard to the spiritual influence by which God brings the created spirit into conformity to his own, I would that I could speak worthily. It is gentle, that it may not interfere with our freedom. It sustains, mingles with, and moves all our faculties. It acts through nature, providence, revelation, society, and experience; and the Scriptures, confirmed by reason and the testimonies of the wisest and best men, teach us that it acts still more directly. God, being immediately present to the soul, holds immediate communion with it, in proportion as it prepares itself to receive and to use aright the heavenly inspiration. He opens the inward eye to himself, communicates secret monitions of duty, revives and freshens our convictions of truth, builds up our faith in human immortality, unseals the deep, unfathomed fountains of love within us, instils strength, peace, and comfort, and gives victory over pain, sin, and death.

This influence of God, exerted on the soul to conform it to himself, to make it worthy of its divine parentage, this it is which most clearly manifests what is meant by his being our Father. We understand his parental relation to us only as far as we comprehend this great purpose and exercise of his love. We

must have faith in the human soul as receptive of the Divinity, as made for greatness, for spiritual elevation, for likeness to God, or God's character as a Father will be to us as an unrevealed mystery. If we think, as so many seem to think, that God has made us only for low pleasures and attainments, that our nature is incapable of godlike virtues, that our prayers for the Divine Spirit are unheard, that celestial influences do not descend into the human soul, that God never breathes on it to lift it above its present weakness, to guide it to a more perfect existence, to unite it more intimately with himself, then we know but faintly the meaning of a Father in heaven. The great revelation in Christianity of a Paternal Divinity is still to be made to us.

I might here pause in the attempt to give distinct conceptions of the Father whom we are to worship; but there are two views so suited to us, as sinful and mortal beings, that I cannot pass them over without brief notice. Let me add, then, that in speaking of God as the Father, I understand that He looks with overflowing compassion on such of his rational offspring as forsake him, as forsake the law of duty. It is the property of the human parent to follow with yearnings of tenderness an erring child; and in this he is a faint type of God, who sees his lost sons "a great way off," who, to recover his human family, spared not his beloved Son, who sends his regenerating spirit into the fallen soul, sends rebuke, and shame, and fear, and sorrow, and awakens the dead in trespasses and sins to a higher life than that which the first birth conferred.

I also understand, in calling God the Father, that He destines his rational, moral creature to immortality. How ardently does the human parent desire to prolong the life of his child! And how much more must He who gave being to the spirit, with its unbounded faculties, desire its endless being! God is our Father, for He has made us to bear the image of his own eternity as well as of his other attributes. Other things pass away, for they fulfil their end; but the soul, which never reaches its goal, whose development is never complete, is never to disappear from the universe. God created it to receive for ever of his fulness. His fatherly love is not exhausted in what he now bestows. There *is* a higher life. Human perfection is not a dream. The brightest visions of genius fade before the realities of excellence and happiness to which good men are ordained. In that higher life, the parental character of God will break forth from the clouds which now obscure it. His bright image in his children will proclaim the Infinite Father.

I have thus, my friends, set before you the true object of Christian worship. You are here to worship God as your spiritual parent, as the Father of your spirits, whose great purpose is your spiritual perfection, your participation of a divine nature. I hold this view of God to be the true, deep foundation of Christian worship. On your reception of it depends the worth of the homage to be offered here. It is not enough to think of God as operating around and without you, as creating material worlds, as the former of your bodies, as ordaining the revolution of seasons for your animal wants. There is even danger in regarding God exclusively as the author of the outward universe. There is danger, lest you feel as if you were overlooked in this immensity, lest you shrink before these mighty masses of matter, lest you see in the unchangeable laws of nature a stern order to which the human being is a victim, and which heeds not the puny individual in maintaining the general good. It is only by regarding God as more than Creator, as your spiritual Father, as having made you to partake of his spiritual attributes, as having given you a spiritual power worth more than the universe, it is only by regarding his intimacy with the soul, his paternal concern for it, his perpetual influence on it, it is only by these views that worship rises into filial confidence, hope, joy, and rapture, and puts forth a truly ennobling power. Worship has too often been abject, — the offering of fear or selfishness. God's greatness, though a pledge of greatness to his children, and his omnipotence, though an assurance to us of mighty power in our conflict with evil, have generated self-contempt and discouraged access to him. My friends, come hither to worship God as your spiritual Father. No other view can so touch and penetrate the soul, can place it so near its Maker, can open

before it such vast prospects, can awaken such transports of praise and gratitude, can bow the soul in such ingenuous sorrow for sin, can so fortify you for the conflict against evil. Ought we not to rejoice that this house is reared for the worship of the spiritual Father?

The exposition which I have given under this head of the parental relation of God to the human race, is one in which I take the deepest interest. I have felt, however, as I proceeded, that very possibly objections would spring up in the minds of some who hear me. There are not a few who are sceptical as to whatever supposes a higher condition of human nature than they now observe. Perhaps some here, could they speak, would say, "We do not see the marks of this fatherly interest of God in man of which you have spoken. We do not see in man the signs of a being so beloved, so educated, as you have supposed. His weakness, sufferings, and sins are surely no proofs of his having been created to receive God's spirit, to partake of the divinity." On this point I have much to say, but my answer must be limited to a few words. I reply, that the love of an Infinite Father may be expected often to work in methods beyond the comprehension of our limited minds. An immortal being in his infancy cannot of course comprehend all the processes of his education, many of which look forward to ages too distant for the imagination to explore. I would add, that notwithstanding the darkness which hangs over human life on account of the greatness of our nature, we can yet see bright signatures of the parental concern of God, and see them in the very circumstances which at first create doubt. Because we suffer, it ought not to be inferred that God is not a Father. Suffering, trial, exposure, seem to be necessary elements in the education of a moral being. It is fit that a being whose happiness and dignity are to be found in vigorous action and in forming himself, should be born with undeveloped capacities, and be born into a world of mingled difficulties and aids. We do see that energy of thought, will, affection, virtue, the energy which is our true life and joy, often springs from trial. We can see, too, that it is well that society, like the individual, should begin in imperfection, because men in this way become to each other means of discipline, because joint sufferings and the necessity of joint efforts awaken both the affections and the faculties, because occasion and incitement are thus given to generous sacrifices, to heroic struggles, to the most beautiful and stirring manifestations of philanthropy, patriotism, and devotion. Were I called on to prove God's spiritual parental interest in us, I would point to the trials, temptations, evils of life; for to these we owe the character of Christ, we owe the apostle and martyr, we owe the moral force and deep sympathy of private and domestic life, we owe the devolopment of what is divine in human nature. Truly God is our Father, and as such to be worshipped.

Having thus set forth very imperfectly, but from a full heart, the excellence of the homage which is here to be rendered to God in his parental character, I ought now to proceed, according to the plan of this discourse, to show that we should enter this house with joy, because it is set apart to the worship of God in spirit and in truth, to an inward not outward worship. In discussing this topic, I might enlarge on the vast and beneficent revolution which Jesus Christ wrought in religion by teaching that God is a spirit, and to be spiritually adored. I might show how much he wrought for human elevation and happiness when, in pronouncing the text, he shook the ancient temples to their foundations, quenched the fire on the heathen and Jewish altars, wrested the instruments of sacrifice from the hand of the priest, abolished sanctity of place, and consecrated the human soul as the true house of God. But the nature, grandeur, benefits of this spiritual worship are subjects too extensive for our present consideration. Instead of discussion, I can only use the words of exhortation. I can only say that you who are to assemble in this place are peculiarly bound to inward worship, for to you especially Christianity is an inward system. Most other denominations expect salvation more or less from what Jesus does abroad, especially from his agency on the mind of God. You expect it from what he does within your own minds. His great glory, according to your views, lies in

his influence on the human soul, in the communication of his spirit to his followers. To you salvation, heaven, and hell have their seat in the soul. To you Christianity is wholly a spiritual system. Come, then, to this place to worship with the soul, to elevate the spirit to God. Let not this house be desecrated by a religion of show. Let it not degenerate into a place of forms. Let not your pews be occupied by lifeless machines. Do not come here to take part in lethargic repetitions of sacred words. Do not come from a cold sense of duty, to quiet conscience with the thought of having paid a debt to God. Do not come to perform a present task to insure a future heaven. Come to find heaven now, to anticipate the happiness of that better world by breathing its spirit, to bind your souls indissolubly to your Maker. Come to worship in spirit and in truth; that is, intelligently, rationally, with clear judgment, with just and honorable conceptions of the Infinite Father, not prostrating your understandings, not renouncing the divine gift of reason, but offering an enlightened homage, such as is due to the Fountain of intelligence and truth. Come to worship with the heart as well as intellect, with life, fervor, zeal. Sleep over your business if you will, but not over your religion. Come to worship with strong conviction, with living faith in a higher presence than meets the eye, with a feeling of God's presence not only around you, but in the depths of your souls. Come to worship with a filial spirit, not with fear, dread, and gloom; not with sepulchral tones and desponding looks, but with humble, cheerful, boundless trust, with overflowing gratitude, with a love willing and earnest to do and to suffer whatever may approve your devotion to God. Come to worship him with what He most delights in, with aspiration for spiritual light and life; come to cherish and express desires for virtue, for purity, for power over temptation, stronger and more insatiable than spring up in your most eager pursuits of business or pleasure; and welcome joyfully every holy impulse, every accession of strength to virtuous purpose, to the love of God and man. In a word, come to offer a refined, generous worship, to offer a tribute worthy of him who is the perfection of truth, goodness, beauty, and blessedness. Adore him with the calmest reason and the profoundest love, and strive to conform yourselves to what you adore.

I have now, my friends, set before you the worship to which this building is set apart, and which, from its rational, filial, pure, and ennobling character, renders this solemnity a season for thankfulness and joy. I should not, however, be just to this occasion, or to the great purpose of this house, if I were to stop here. My remarks have hitherto been confined to the worship which is to be offered within these walls, to the influence to be exerted on you when assembled here. But has this house no higher end than to give an impulse to your minds for the very few hours which you are to spend beneath its roof? Then we have little reason to enter it with joy. The great end for which you are to worship here is, that you may worship everywhere. You are to feel God's presence here, that it may be felt wherever you go, and whatever you do. The very idea of spiritual homage is, that it takes possession of the soul, and becomes a part of our very being. The great design of this act of dedication is, that your houses, your places of business, may be consecrated to God. This topic of omnipresent worship I cannot expand. One view of it, however, I must not omit. From the peculiar character of the worship to which this house is consecrated, you learn the *kind* of worship which you should carry from it into your common lives. It is not uncommon for the Christian teacher to say to his congregation, that, when they leave the church, they go forth into a nobler temple than one made with hands, into the temple of the creation, and that they must go forth to worship God in his works. The views given of the true worship in this discourse will lead me to a somewhat different style of exposition. I will, indeed, say to you, go from this house to adore God as He is revealed in the boundless universe. This is one end of your worship here. But I would add, that a higher end is, that you should go forth to worship him as He is revealed in his rational and moral offspring, and to worship him by fulfilling, as you have power, his purposes in regard to these. My great aim in this

discourse has been to show that God is to be adored here as the Father of rational and moral beings, of yourselves and all mankind; and such a worship tends directly and is designed to lead us, when we go hence, to recognize God in our own nature, to see in men his children, to respect and serve them for their relationship to the Divinity, to see in them signatures of greatness amidst all their imperfection, and to love them with more than earthly love. We must not look round on the universe with awe and on man with scorn; for man, who can comprehend the universe and its laws, "is greater than the universe, which cannot comprehend itself." God dwells in every human being more intimately than in the outward creation. The voice of God comes to us in the ocean, the thunder, the whirlwind; but how much more of God is there in his inward voice, in the intuitions of reason, in the rebukes of conscience, in the whispers of the Holy Spirit! I would have you see God in the awful mountain and the tranquil valley; but more, much more, in the clear judgment, the moral energy, the disinterested purpose, the pious gratitude, the immortal hope of a good man. Go from this house to worship God by reverencing the human soul as his chosen sanctuary. Revere it in yourselves, revere it in others, and labor to carry it forward to perfection. Worship God within these walls, as universally, impartially good to his human offspring; and go forth to breathe the same spirit. Go forth to respect the rights, and seek the true, enduring welfare of all within your influence. Carry with you the conviction that to trample on a human being, of whatever color, clime, rank, condition, is to trample on God's child; that to degrade or corrupt a man, is to deface a holier temple than any material sanctuary. Mercy, love, is more acceptable worship to God than all sacrifices or outward offerings. The most celestial worship ever paid on earth was rendered by Christ, when he approached man, and the most sinful man, as a child of God, when he toiled and bled to awaken what was divine in the human soul, to regenerate a fallen world. Be such the worship which you shall carry from this place. Go forth to do good with every power which God bestows, to make every place you enter happier by your presence, to espouse all human interests, to throw your whole weight into the scale of human freedom and improvement, to withstand all wrong, to uphold all right, and especially to give light, life, strength to the immortal soul. He who rears up one child in Christian virtue, or recovers one fellow-creature to God, builds a temple more precious than Solomon's or St. Peter's, more enduring than earth or heaven.

I have now finished the general discussion which this occasion seemed to me to require, and I trust that a few remarks of a personal and local character will be received with indulgence. It is with no common emotion that I take part in the present solemnity. I stand now to teach where, in my childhood and youth, I was a learner. The generation which I then knew has almost wholly disappeared. The venerable man, whose trembling voice I then heard in this place, has long since gone to his reward. My earliest friends, who watched over my childhood and led me by the hand to this spot, have been taken. Still my emotions are not sad. I rejoice; for whilst I see melancholy changes around me, and, still more, feel that time, which has bowed other frames, has touched my own, I see that the work of human improvement has gone on. I see that clearer and brighter truths than were opened on my own youthful mind are to be imparted to succeeding generations. Herein I do and will rejoice.

On looking back to my early years, I can distinctly recollect unhappy influences exerted on my mind by the general tone of religion in this town. I can recollect, too, a corruption of morals among those of my own age, which made boyhood a critical, perilous season. Still I must bless God for the place of my nativity; for, as my mind unfolded, I became more and more alive to the beautiful scenery which now attracts strangers to our island. My first liberty was used in roaming over the neighboring fields and shores; and, amid this glorious nature, that love of liberty sprang up which has gained strength within me to this hour. I early received impressions of the great and the beautiful, which I believe have had no small influence in determining my modes of thought and habits of life. In this town I pursued for a time my studies of theology

I had no professor or teacher to guide me; but I had two noble places of study. One was yonder beautiful edifice, now so frequented and so useful as a public library, then so deserted that I spent day after day, and sometimes week after week, amidst its dusty volumes, without interruption from a single visitor. The other place was yonder beach, the roar of which has so often mingled with the worship of this place, my daily resort, dear to me in the sunshine, still more attractive in the storm. Seldom do I visit it now without thinking of the work which there, in the sight of that beauty, in the sound of those waves, was carried on in my soul. No spot on earth has helped to form me so much as that beach. There I lifted up my voice in praise amidst the tempest. There, softened by beauty, I poured out my thanksgiving and contrite confessions. There, in reverential sympathy with the mighty power around me, I became conscious of power within. There struggling thoughts and emotions broke forth, as if moved to utterance by nature's eloquence of the winds and waves. There began a happiness surpassing all worldly pleasures, all gifts of fortune, — the happiness of communing with the works of God. Pardon me this reference to myself. I believe that the worship of which I have this day spoken was aided in my own soul by the scenes in which my early life was passed. Amidst these scenes, and in speaking of this worship, allow me to thank God that this beautiful island was the place of my birth.

Leaving what is merely personal, I would express my joy, and it is most sincere, in the dedication of this house, regarded as a proof and a means of the diffusion of Christian truth. Some, perhaps, may think that this joy is not a little heightened by seeing a church set apart to the particular sect to which I am said to belong. But I trust that what you have this day heard will satisfy most, if not all who hear, that it is not a sectarian exultation to which I am giving utterance. I indeed take pleasure in thinking that the particular views which I have adopted of the disputed doctrines of religion will here be made known: but I rejoice much more in thinking that this house is pledged to no peculiar doctrines, that it is not erected to bind my own or any man's opinions on this or on future times, that it is consecrated to free investigation of religious truth, to religious progress, to the right of private judgment, to Protestant and Christian liberty. Most earnestly do I pray that a purer theology, that diviner illuminations, that a truer worship than can now be found in our own or in any sect, may be the glory of this house. We who now consecrate it to God believe in human progress. We do not say to the spirit of truth, "Thus far, and no farther." We reprobate the exclusive, tyrannical spirit of the churches of this age, which denounce as an enemy to Christianity whoever in the use of his intellectual liberty, and in the interpretation of God's word for himself, may differ from the traditions and creeds which have been received from fallible forefathers. We rear these walls not to a sect, but to religious, moral, intellectual, Protestant, Christian liberty.

I rejoice that this temple of liberty is opened on this spot. I feel that this town has a right to an establishment in which conscientious Christians may inquire and speak without dreading the thunders of excommunication, in which Protestantism will not be dishonored by the usurpations of the Romish Church. This island, like the State to which it belongs, was originally settled by men who came hither for liberty of conscience, and in assertion of the right to interpret for themselves the word of God. Religious freedom was the very principle on which this town was founded, and I rejoice to know that the spirit of religious freedom has never wanted champions here. I have recently read a very valuable discourse, which was delivered in this town about a century ago, and just a century after the cession of this island to our fathers by the Indians, and which breathes a liberality of thought and feeling, a reverence for the rights of the understanding and the conscience, very rare at that time in other parts of the country, and very far from being universal now. Its author, the Rev. Mr. Callender, was pastor of the first Baptist church in this place, the oldest of our churches, and it was dedicated to a descendant of the venerable Coddington, our first Governor. The spirit of religious liberty which pervades

this discourse has astonished as well as rejoiced me, and it should thrill the hearts of this people. Let me read a few sentences: —

"It must be a mean, contracted way of thinking, to confine the favor of God, and the power of godliness, to one set of speculative opinions, or any particular external forms of worship. How hard must it be to imagine that all other Christians but ourselves must be formal, and hypocritical, and destitute of the grace of God, because their education or capacity differs from ours, or that God has given them more or less light than to us; though we cannot deny they give the proper evidence of their fearing God by their working righteousness, and show their love to him by keeping what they understand He has commanded; and though their faith in Christ Jesus purifies their hearts and works by love and overcomes the world. It would be hard to show why liberty of conscience, mutual forbearance and good-will, why brotherly kindness and charity is not as good a centre of unity as a constrained uniformity in external ceremonies, or a forced subscription to ambiguous articles. Experience has dearly convinced the world that unanimity in judgment and affection cannot be secured by penal law. Who can tell why the unity of spirit in the bonds of peace is not enough for Christians to aim at? And who can assign a reason why they may not love one another though abounding in their own several senses? And why, if they live in peace, the God of love and peace may not be with them? There is no other bottom but this to rest upon, to leave others the liberty we should desire ourselves, the liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free."

Such was the liberal spirit expressed in this town a hundred years ago. I would it were more common in our own day.

Another noble friend of religious liberty threw a lustre on this island immediately before the revolution. I mean the Rev. Dr. Stiles, pastor of the Second Congregational Church, and afterwards President of Yale College. This country has not, perhaps, produced a more learned man. To enlarged acquaintance with physical science he added extensive researches into philology, history, and antiquities. Nor did his indefatigable mind suffer any opportunity to escape him of adding to his rich treasures of knowledge. His virtues were proportioned to his intellectual acquisition. I can well remember how his name was cherished among his parishioners after years of separation. His visit to this place was to many a festival. When little more than a child, I was present at some of his private meetings with the more religious part of his former congregation; and I recollect how I was moved by the tears and expressive looks with which his affectionate exhortations were received. In his faith he was what was called a moderate Calvinist; but his heart was of no sect. He carried into his religion the spirit of liberty which then stirred the whole country. Intolerance, church tyranny in all its forms, he abhorred. He respected the right of private judgment where others would have thought themselves authorized to restrain it. A young man, to whom he had been as a father, one day communicated to him doubts concerning the Trinity. He expressed his sorrow; but mildly, and with undiminished affection, told him to go to the Scriptures, and to seek his faith there, and only there. His friendships were confined to no parties. He desired to heal the wounds of the divided church of Christ, not by a common creed, but by the spirit of love. He wished to break every yoke, civil and ecclesiastical, from men's necks. To the influence of this distinguished man in the circle in which I was brought up, I may owe in part the indignation which I feel towards every invasion of human rights. In my earliest years, I regarded no human being with equal reverence. I have his form before me at this moment almost as distinctly as if I had seen him yesterday, so strong is the impression made on the child through the moral affections.

Let me add one more example of the spirit of religious freedom on this island. You may be surprised, perhaps, when you hear me name in this connection the venerable man who once ministered in this place, the Rev. Dr. Hopkins. His name is, indeed, associated with a stern and appalling theology, and it is true that he wanted toleration towards those who rejected his views. Still, in forming his religious opinions, he was superior to human authority; he broke away from human creeds; he interpreted God's word for himself; he revered reason, the oracle of God within him. His system, however fearful, was yet built on a generous foundation. He

maintained that all holiness, all moral excellence, consists in benevolence, or disinterested devotion to the greatest good; that this is the character of God; that love is the only principle of the divine administration. He taught that sin was introduced into the creation, and is to be everlastingly punished, because evil is necessary to the highest good. To this government, in which the individual is surrendered to the well-being of the whole, he required entire and cheerful submission. Other Calvinists were willing that their neighbors should be predestined to everlasting misery for the glory of God. This noble-minded man demanded a more generous and impartial virtue, and maintained that we should consent to our own perdition, should be willing ourselves to be condemned, if the greatest good of the universe and the manifestation of the divine perfections should so require. True virtue, as he taught, was an entire surrender of personal interest to the benevolent purposes of God. Self-love he spared in none of its movements. He called us to seek our own happiness as well as that of others in a spirit of impartial benevolence; to do good to ourselves, not from self-preference, not from the impulse of personal desires, but in obedience to that sublime law which requires us to promote the welfare of each and all within our influence. I need not be ashamed to confess the deep impression which this system made on my youthful mind. I am grateful to this stern teacher for turning my thoughts and heart to the claims and majesty of impartial, universal benevolence. From such a man, a tame acquiescence in the established theology was not to be expected. He indeed accepted the doctrine of predestination in its severest form; but in so doing, he imagined himself a disciple of reason as well as of revelation. He believed this doctrine to be sustained by profound metaphysical argumentation, and to rest on the only sound philosophy of the human mind, so that in receiving it he did not abandon the ground of reason. In accordance with his free spirit of inquiry, we find him making not a few important modifications of Calvinism. The doctrine that we are liable to punishment for the sin of our first parent he wholly rejected; and, not satisfied with denying the imputation of Adam's guilt to his posterity, he subverted what the old theology had set forth as the only foundation of divine acceptance, namely, the imputation of Christ's righteousness or merits to the believer. The doctrine that Christ died for the elect only, found no mercy at his hands. He taught that Christ suffered equally for all mankind The system of Dr. Hopkins was indeed an effort of reason to reconcile Calvinism with its essential truths. Accordingly his disciples were sometimes called, and willingly called, Rational Calvinists. The impression which he made was much greater than is now supposed. The churches of New England received a decided impression from his views; and though his name, once given to his followers, is no longer borne, his influence is still felt. The conflict now going on in our country, for the purpose of mitigating the harsh features of Calvinism, is a stage of the revolutionary movement to which he more than any man gave impulse. *I* can certainly bear witness to the spirit of progress and free inquiry which possessed him. In my youth, I preached in this house at the request of the venerable old man. As soon as the services were closed, he turned to me with an animated, benignant smile, and, using a quaintness of expression which I need not repeat, said to me that theology was still imperfect, and that he hoped I should live to carry it towards perfection. Rare and most honorable liberality in the leader of a sect! He wanted not to secure a follower, but to impel a young mind to higher truth. I feel that ability has not been given me to accomplish this generous hope; but such quickening language from such lips, though it could not give strength, might kindle desire, and elevate exertion.*

Thus the spirit of religious freedom has not been wanting to this island. May this spirit, unawed by human reproach, unfettered by human creeds, availing itself gratefully of human aids, and, above all, looking reverently to God for light, dwell in the hearts of those who are to minister, and of those who shall worship, within these walls! May this spirit spread far and wide, and

* See author's note (B) at end of this discourse

redeem the Christian world from the usurpations of Catholic and Protestant infallibility, from uncharitableness, intolerance, persecution, and every yoke which has crushed the human soul!

I have done with the personal and the local. In conclusion, let me revert for one moment to the great topic of this discourse. My friends, the spiritual worship of which I have this day spoken is something *real*. There *is* a worship in the spirit, — a worship very different from standing in the church, or kneeling in the closet, — a worship which cannot be confined to set phrases, and asks not the clothing of outward forms, a thirst of the soul for its Creator, an inward voice, which our nearest neighbor cannot hear, but which pierces the skies. To the culture of this spiritual worship we dedicate this house. My friends, rest not in offering breath, in moving the lips, in bending the knee to your Creator. There is another, a nearer, a happier intercourse with heaven, a worship of love, sometimes too full and deep for utterance, a union of mind with him closer than earthly friendships. This is the worship to which Christ calls. Christ came not to build churches, not to rear cathedrals with Gothic arches or swelling domes, but to dedicate the human soul to God. When God "bows the heavens and comes down," it is not that He may take up his abode beneath the vault of a metropolitan temple; it is not that He is drawn by majestic spires or by clouds of fragrance, but that He may visit and dwell in the humble, obedient, disinterested soul. This house is to moulder away. Temples hewn from the rock will crumble to dust, or melt in the last fire. But the inward temple will survive all outward change. When winds and oceans and suns shall have ceased to praise God, the human soul will praise him. It will receive more and more divine inspirations of truth and love; will fill with its benevolent ministry wider and wider spheres; and will accomplish its destiny by a progress towards God as unlimited, as mysterious, as enduring as eternity.

NOTE A. — I have not quoted the verses preceding those which I have extracted from the Epistle to the Philippians, which are often adduced in proof of Christ's supreme divinity, because it is acknowledged by learned men of all denominations that our translation of the most important clause is incorrect, and a critical discussion of the subject would have been out of place. I think, however, that no man, unacquainted with the common theories, can read any translation and escape the impression that Jesus Christ is a derived, dependent, subordinate being, and a distinct being from the Father. How plain is it that in this passage Paul intends by the terms "God" and "the Father," not Jesus Christ but another being! How plain is it that, in the passage chosen as the text for this discourse, our Saviour intended by these terms not himself but another being! What other idea could his hearers receive? What decisive proofs are furnished by his constant habit of speaking of "the Father" and of "God" as another being, and of distinguishing himself from Him!

NOTE B. — I understand that the interest expressed by me in the character of Dr. Hopkins has surprised some of my townsmen of Newport, who knew him only by report, or who saw him in their youth. I do not wonder at this. He lived almost wholly in his study, and, like very retired men, was the object of little sympathy. His appearance was that of a man who had nothing to do with the world. I can well recollect the impression which he made on me when a boy, as he rode on horseback in a plaid gown fastened by a girdle round his waist, and with a study cap on his head instead of his wig. His delivery in the pulpit was the worst I ever met with. Such tones never came from any human voice within my hearing. He was the very ideal of bad delivery. Then I must say the matter was often as uninviting as the manner. Dr. Hopkins was distinguished by nothing more than by faithfulness to his principles. He carried them out to their full extent. Believing, as he did, in total depravity, believing that there was nothing good or generous in human nature to which he could make an appeal, believing that he could benefit men only by setting before them their utterly lost and helpless condition, he came to the point without any circumlocution, and dealt out terrors with an unsparing liberality. Add to all this, that his manners had a

bluntness, partly natural, partly the result of long seclusion in the country. We cannot wonder that such a man should be set down as hard and severe. But he had a true benevolence, and, what is more worthy of being noted, he was given to a facetious style of conversation. Two instances immediately occur to me, which happened in my own circle. One day he dined at my father's with a young minister who was willing to comply with the costume of the day, but whose modesty only allowed the ruffles to peep from his breast. The Doctor said, with good humor, "I don't care for ruffles; but if I wore them, I'd wear them like a man." I recollect that on visiting him one day when he was about eighty years of age, I found his eyes much inflamed by reading and writing. I took the liberty to recommend abstinence from these occupations. He replied, smilingly, with an amusing story, and then added, "If my eyes won't study, no eyes for me." This facetiousness may seem to some, who are unacquainted with the world, not consistent with the great severity of his theology; but nothing is more common than this apparent self-contradiction. The ministers who deal most in terrors, who preach doctrines which ought to make their flesh creep, and to turn their eyes into fountains of tears, are not generally distinguished by their spare forms or haggard countenances. They take the world as easily as people of a milder creed; and this does not show that they want sincerity or benevolence. It only shows how superficially men may believe in doctrines, which yet they would shudder to relinquish. It shows how little the import of language, which is thundered from the lips, is comprehended and felt. I should not set down as hard-hearted a man whose appetite should be improved by preaching a sermon full of images and threatenings of "a bottomless hell." The best meals are sometimes made after such effusions. This is only an example of the numberless contradictions in human life. Men are every day saying and doing, from the power of education, habit, and imitation, what has no root whatever in their serious convictions. Dr. Hopkins, though his style of preaching and conversation did not always agree, was a sincere, benevolent man. I remember hearing of his giving on a journey all he had to a poor woman. On another occasion he contributed to some religious object a hundred dollars, which he had received for the copyright of a book; and this he gave from his penury, for he received no fixed salary, and depended, in a measure, on the donations of friends for common comforts. When he first established himself in Newport, he was brought into contact with two great evils, the slave-trade and slavery, in both of which a large part of the inhabitants were or had been engaged. "His spirit was stirred in him," and without "conferring with flesh or blood," without heeding the strong prejudices and passions enlisted on the side of these abuses, he bore his faithful testimony against them from the pulpit and the press. Still more, he labored for the education of the colored people, and had the happiness of seeing the fruits of his labors in the intelligence and exemplary piety of those who came under his influence. Much as he disapproved of the moderate theology of Dr. Stiles, he cheerfully co-operated with him in this work. Their names were joined to a circular for obtaining funds to educate Africans as missionaries to their own country. These two eminent men, who, as I think, held no ministerial intercourse, forgot their differences in their zeal for freedom and humanity.

Dr. Hopkins, in conversing with me on his past history, reverted more frequently to his religious controversies than to any other event of his life, and always spoke as a man conscious of having gained the victory; and in this, I doubt not, that he judged justly. He was true, as I have said, to his principles, and carried them out fearlessly to their consequences; whilst his opponents wished to stop half-way. Of course it was easy for a practised disputant to drive them from their position. They had, indeed, the advantage of common-sense on their side, but this availed little at a time when it was understood that common-sense was to yield to the established creed. These controversies are most of them forgotten, but they were agitated with no small warmth. One of the most important, and which was confined to the Calvinists, turned on what were called the "Means of Grace." The question was,

whether the unregenerate could do any thing for themselves, whether an unconverted man could, by prayer, by reading the Scriptures, and by public worship, promote his own conversion; whether, in a word, any means used by an unregenerate man would avail to that change of heart on which his future happiness depended. Dr. Hopkins, true to the fundamental principles of Calvinism, took the negative side of the question. He maintained that man, being wholly depraved by nature, wholly averse to God and goodness, could do nothing but sin, before the mighty power of God had implanted a new principle of holiness within his heart; that, of course, his prayers and efforts before conversion were sins, and deserved the divine wrath; that his very struggles for pardon and salvation, wanting, as they did, a holy motive, springing from the deep selfishness of an unrenewed soul, only increased his guilt and condemnation. The doctrine was, indeed, horrible, but a plain, necessary result of man's total corruption and impotence. I state this controversy, that the reader may know the kind of topics in which the zeal and abilities of our fathers were employed. It also shows us how extremes meet. Dr. Hopkins contended that no means of religion or virtue could avail, unless used with a sincere love of religion and virtue. In this doctrine all liberal Christians concur. In their hands, however, the doctrine wears an entirely different aspect in consequence of their denial of total, original depravity, that terrible error which drove Dr. Hopkins to conclusions equally shocking to the reason, to common-sense, and to the best feelings of the heart.

The characteristic disposition of Dr. Hopkins to follow out his principles was remarkably illustrated in a manuscript of his which was never published, and which perhaps was suppressed by those who had the charge of his papers, in consequence of its leaning towards some of the speculations of the infidel philosophy of the day, in regard to utility or the general good. It fell into my hands after his death, and struck me so much that I think I can trust my recollections of it. It gave the author's ideas of moral good. He maintained that the object of "moral good," the object on which virtue is fixed, and the choice of which constitutes virtue, is "natural good," or the greatest possible amount of enjoyment, not our own enjoyment only, but that of the whole system of being. He virtually, if not expressly, set forth this "natural good," that is, happiness in the simple sense of enjoyment, as the ultimate good, and made moral good the means. I well recollect how, in starting from this principle, he justified eternal punishment. He affirmed that sin or selfishness (synonymous words in his vocabulary) tended to counteract God's system, which is framed for infinite happiness, or tended to produce infinite misery. He then insisted that by subjecting the sinner to endless, that is, infinite misery, this tendency was made manifest; a correspondence was established between the sin and the punishment, and a barrier was erected against sin, which was demanded by the greatness of the good menaced by the wrong-doer.

I have thrown together these recollections of a man who has been crowded out of men's minds by the thronging events and interests of our time, but who must always fill an important place in our ecclesiastical history. He was a singularly blameless man, with the exception of intolerance towards those who differed from him. This he sometimes expressed in a manner which, to those unacquainted with him, seemed a sign of any thing but benignity. In one point of view, I take pleasure in thinking of him. He was an illustration of the power of our spiritual nature. In narrow circumstances, with few outward indulgences, in great seclusion, he yet found much to enjoy. He lived in a world of thought, above all earthly passions. He represented to himself, as the result of the divine government, a boundless diffusion of felicity through the universe, and contrived to merge in this the horrors of his theological system. His doctrines, indeed, threw dark colors over the world around him; but he took refuge from the present state of things in the millennium. The millennium was his chosen ground. If any subject of thought possessed him above all others, I suppose it to have been this. The millennium was more than a belief to him. It had the freshness of visible things. He was at home in it.

His book on the subject has an air of reality, as if written from observation. He describes the habits and customs of the millennium as one familiar with them. He enjoyed this future glory of the church not a whit the less because it was so much his own creation. The fundamental idea, the germ, he found in the Scriptures, but it expanded in and from his own mind. Whilst to the multitude he seemed a hard, dry theologian, feeding on the thorns of controversy, he was living in a region of imagination, feeding on visions of a holiness and a happiness which are to make earth all but heaven. It has been my privilege to meet with other examples of the same character, with men who, amidst privation, under bodily infirmity, and with none of those materials of enjoyment which the multitude are striving for, live in a world of thought, and enjoy what affluence never dreamed of, — men having nothing, yet possessing all things; and the sight of such has done me more good, has spoken more to my head and heart, than many sermons and volumes. I have learned the sufficiency of the mind to itself, its independence on outward things.

I regret that I did not use my acquaintance with Dr. Hopkins to get the particulars of the habits and conversation of Edwards and Whitefield, whom he knew intimately. I value the hints which I get about distinguished men from their friends much more than written accounts of them. Most biographies are of little worth. The true object of a biography, which is to give us an insight into men's characters, such as an intimate acquaintance with them would have furnished, is little comprehended. The sayings and actions of a man, which breathe most of what was individual in him, should be sought above all things by his historian; and yet most lives contain none, or next to none, of these. They are panegyrics, not lives. No department of literature is so false as biography. The object is, not to let down the hero; and consequently what is most human, most genuine, most characteristic in his history, is excluded. Sometimes one anecdote will let us into the secret of a man's soul more than all the prominent events of his life. It is not impossible that some readers may object to some of my notices of the stern theologian, to whom this note refers, as too familiar. This seems to me their merit. They show that he was not a mere theologian, that he had the sympathies of a man.

THE CHURCH:

A Discourse delivered in the First Congregational Unitarian Church of Philadelphia, Sunday, May 30, 1841.

MATTHEW vii. 21–27: "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven. Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name? and in thy name have cast out devils? and in thy name done many wonderful works? And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you; depart from me, ye that work iniquity.

"Therefore, whosoever heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man, which built his house upon a rock; and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house, and it fell not; for it was founded upon a rock.

"And every one that heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man, which built his house upon the sand; and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house, and it fell; and great was the fall of it."

THESE words, which form the conclusion of Christ's Sermon on the Mount, teach a great truth; namely, that there is but one thing essential in religion, and this is the doing of God's will, the doing of those sayings or precepts of Christ which constitute the substance of that memorable discourse. We learn that it will avail us nothing to call Christ Lord, Lord, to profess ourselves his disciples, to hear his words, to teach in his name, to take our place in his church, or even to do wonderful works or miracles in attestation of his truth, if we neglect to cherish the spirit and virtues of his religion. God heeds not what we say, but what we are, and what we do. The subjection of our wills to

the divine, the mortification of sensual and selfish propensities, the cultivation of supreme love to God, and of universal justice and charity towards our neighbor, — this, this is the very essence of religion; this alone places us on a rock; this is the end, the supreme and ultimate good, and is to be prized and sought above all other things.

This is a truth as simple as it is grand. The child can understand it; and yet men, in all ages, have contrived to overlook it; have contrived to find substitutes for purity of heart and life; have hoped by some other means to commend themselves to God, to enter the kingdom of heaven. Forms, creeds, churches, the priesthood, the sacraments, these and other things have been exalted into supremacy. The grand and only qualification for heaven, that which in itself is heaven, the virtue and the spirit of Jesus Christ, has been obscured, depreciated; whilst assent to certain mysteries, or union with certain churches, has been thought the narrow way that leads to life. I have not time in a single discourse to expose all the delusions which have spread on this subject. I shall confine myself to one, which is not limited to the past, but too rife in our own times.

There has always existed, and still exists, a disposition to attach undue importance to "the church" which a man belongs to. To be a member of "the true church" has been insisted on as essential to human salvation. Multitudes have sought comfort, and not seldom found their ruin, in the notion that they were embraced in the motherly arms of "the true church;" for with this they have been satisfied. Professed Christians have fought about "the church" as if it were a matter of life and death. The Roman Catholic shuts the gate of heaven on you because you will not enter his "church." Among the Protestants are those who tell you that the promises of Christianity do not belong to you, be your character what it may, unless you receive the Christian ordinances from the ministers of their "church." Salvation is made to flow through a certain priesthood, through an hereditary order, through particular rites administered by consecrated functionaries. Even among denominations in which such exclusive claims are not set up, you will still meet the idea that a man is safer in their particular "church" than elsewhere; so that something distinct from Christian purity of heart and life is made the way of salvation.

This error I wish to expose. I wish to show that Christ's spirit, Christ's virtue, or "the doing of the Sermon on the Mount," is the great end of our religion, the only essential thing, and that all other things are important only as ministering to this. I know, indeed, that very many acknowledge the doctrine now expressed. But too often their conviction is not deep and living, and it is impaired by superstitious notions of some mysterious saving influence in "the church," or in some other foreign agency. To meet these erroneous tendencies, I shall not undertake to prove in a formal way, by logical process, the supreme importance, blessedness, and glory of righteousness, of sanctity, of love towards God and man, or to prove that nothing else is indispensable. This truth shines by its own light. It runs through the whole New Testament, and is a gospel written in the soul by a divine hand. To vindicate it against the claims set up for "the church," nothing is needed but to offer a few plain remarks in the order in which they rise up of themselves to my mind.

I begin with the remark that in the Sermon on the Mount Jesus said nothing about the "church;" nor do we find him, or his disciples, laying down anywhere a definite plan for its organization, or a ritual for its worship. Nor ought this to surprise us. It was the very thing to be expected in such a religion as Christianity. Judaism was intended to educate a particular nation, half-civilized and surrounded with the grossest idolatry, and accordingly it hedged them in by multiplied and rigid forms. But Christianity proposes, as its grand aim, to spread the inward, spiritual worship of God through all nations, in all stages of society, under all varieties of climate, government, and condition; and such a religion cannot be expected to confine itself to any particular outward shape. Especially when we consider that it is destined to endure through all ages, to act on all, to blend itself with new forms of society, and

with the highest improvements of the race, it cannot be expected to ordain an immutable mode of administration, but must leave its modes of worship and communion to conform themselves silently and gradually to the wants and progress of humanity. The rites and arrangements which suit one period lose their significance or efficiency in another. The forms which minister to the mind now may fetter it hereafter, and must give place to its free unfolding. A system wanting this freedom and flexibleness would carry strong proof in itself of not having been intended for universality. It is one proof of Christ's having come to "inherit all nations," that he did not institute for all nations and all times a precise machinery of forms and outward rules, that he entered into no minute legislation as to the worship and government of his church, but left these outward concerns to be swayed by the spirit and progress of successive ages. Of consequence, no particular order of the church can be essential to salvation. No church can pretend that its constitution is defined and ordained in the Scriptures so plainly and undeniably that whoever forsakes it gives palpable proof of a spirit of disobedience to God. All churches are embraced by their members with equal religious reverence, and this assures us that in all God's favor may be equally obtained.

It is worthy of remark that, from the necessity of the case, the church assumed at first a form which it could not long retain. It was governed by the Apostles who had founded it, men who had known Christ personally, and received his truth from his lips, and witnessed his resurrection, and were enriched above all men by the miraculous illuminations and aids of his Spirit. These presided over the church with an authority peculiar to themselves, and to which none after them could with any reason pretend. They understood "the mind of Christ" as none could do but those who had enjoyed so long and close an intimacy with him; and not only were they sent forth with miraculous powers, but, by imposition of their hands, similar gifts of the Spirit were conferred on others. This presence of inspired apostles and supernatural powers gave to the primitive church obvious and important distinctions, separating it widely from the form which it was afterwards to assume. Of this we have a remarkable proof in a passage of Paul, in which he sets before us the offices or functions exercised in the original church. "God hath set in the church apostles, prophets, teachers, miracles, gifts of healings, helps, governments, diversities of tongues." * Now, of all these endowments or offices, one only, that of teacher, remains in our day. The Apostles, the founders and heroes of the primitive church, with their peculiar powers, have vanished, leaving as their representatives their writings, to be studied alike by all. Teachers remain, not because they existed in the first age, but because their office, from its nature, and from the condition of human nature, is needed still. The office, however, has undergone an important change. At first the Christian teacher enjoyed immediate communication with the Apostles, and received miraculous aids, and thus enjoyed means of knowledge possessed by none of his successors. The Christian minister now can only approach the Apostles as other men do, that is, through the Gospels and Epistles which they have left us; and he has no other aid from above in interpreting them than every true Christian enjoys. The promise of the Holy Spirit, that greatest of promises, is made without distinction to every man, of every office or rank, who perseveringly implores the Divine help; and this establishes an essential equality among all. Whether teachers are to continue in the brighter ages which prophecy announces is rendered doubtful by a very striking prediction of the times of the Messiah. "After those days," saith the Lord, "I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts, and will be their God, and they shall be my people. And they shall teach no more every man his neighbor, and every man his brother, saying, 'Know the Lord;' for they shall all know me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them." † Is it possible that any man, with a clear comprehension of the peculiarity of the primitive church, can look back to this as an immutable form and rule, can regard any church form as essential to

* 1 Cor. xii. 28. † Jeremiah xxxi. 33, 34.

salvation, can ascribe to outward ordinances, so necessarily fluctuating, an importance to be compared with that which belongs to the immutable, everlasting distinctions of holiness and virtue?

The church as at first constituted presents interesting and beautiful aspects. It was not a forced and arbitrary, but free, spontaneous union. It grew out of the principles and feelings of human nature. Our nature is social. We cannot live alone. We cannot shut up any great feeling in our hearts. We seek for others to partake it with us. The full soul finds at once relief and strength in sympathy. This is especially true in religion, the most social of all our sentiments, the only universal bond on earth. In this law of our nature the Christian church had its origin. Christ did not establish it in a formal way. If you consult the New Testament, you do not find Jesus or his Apostles setting about the task of forming an artificial organization of the first disciples. Read in the book of Acts the simple, touching narratives of the union of the first converts. They "were of one heart and of one soul." They could not be kept asunder. The new truth melted them into one mass, knit them into one body. In their mutual love they could not withhold from one another their possessions, but had all things in common. Blessed unity! a type of that oneness and harmony which a purer Christianity is to spread through all nations. Among those early converts the most gifted and enlightened were chosen to be teachers in public assemblies. To these assemblies the brotherhood repaired with eagerness, to hear expositions of the new faith, to strengthen one another's loyalty to Christ, and to be open witnesses of him in the world. In their meetings they were left very much to follow the usages of the synagogue, in which they had been brought up; so little did Christianity trouble itself about forms. How simple, how natural this association! It is no mystery. It grew out of the plainest wants of the human heart. The religious sentiment, the spirit of love towards God and man, awakened afresh by Christ, craved for a new union through which to find utterance and strength. And shall this church union, the growth of the Christian spirit, and so plainly subordinate to it, usurp its place, or in any way detract from its sole sufficiency, from its supreme, unrivalled glory?

The church, according to its true idea and purpose, is an association of sincere, genuine followers of Christ; and at first this idea was in a good degree realized. The primitive disciples were drawn to Christ by conviction. They met together and confessed him, not from usage, fashion, or education, but in opposition to all these. In that age, profession and practice, the form and the spirit, the reality and the outward signs of religion, went together. But with the growth of the church its life declined; its great idea was obscured; the name remained, and sometimes little more than the name. It is a remarkable fact, that the very spirit to which Christianity is most hostile, the passion for power, dominion, pomp, and preeminence, struck its deepest roots in the church. The church became the very stronghold of the lusts and vices which Christianity most abhors. Accordingly its history is one of the most melancholy records of past times. It is sad enough to read the blood-stained annals of worldly empires; but when we see the spiritual kingdom of Christ a prey for ages to usurping popes, prelates, or sectarian chiefs, inflamed with bigotry and theological hate and the lust of rule, and driven by these fires of hell to grasp the temporal sword, to persecute, torture, imprison, butcher their brethren, to mix with and embitter national wars, and to convulse the whole Christian world, we experience a deeper gloom, and are more tempted to despair of our race. History has not a darker page than that which records the persecutions of the Albigenses, or the horrors of the Inquisition. And when we come to later times, the church wears anything rather than "Holiness" inscribed on her front. How melancholy to a Christian the history lately given us by Ranke of the reaction of Catholicism against Protestantism! Throughout we see the ecclesiastical powers resorting to force as the grand instrument of conversion; thus proving their alliance, not with heaven, but with earth and hell. If we take broad views of the church in any age or land, how seldom

do we see the prevalence of true sanctity! How many of its ministers preach for lucre or display, preach what they do not believe, or deny their doctrines in their lives! How many congregations are there, made up in a great degree of worldly men and women, who repair to the house of God from usage, or for propriety's sake, or from a vague notion of being saved; not from thirst for the Divine Spirit, not from a fulness of heart which longs to pour itself forth in prayer and praise! Such is the church. We are apt, indeed, to make it an abstraction, or to separate it in our thoughts from the individuals who compose it; and thus it becomes to us a holy thing, and we ascribe to it strange powers. Theologians speak of it as a unity, a mighty whole, one and the same in all ages; and in this way the imagination is cheated into the idea of its marvellous sanctity and grandeur. But we must separate between the theory or the purpose of the church and its actual state. When we come down to facts, we see it to be, not a mysterious, immutable unity, but a collection of fluctuating, divided, warring individuals, who bring into it too often hearts and hands any thing but pure. Painful as it is, we must see things as they are; and so doing, we cannot but be struck with the infinite absurdity of ascribing to such a church mysterious powers, of supposing that it can confer holiness on its members, or that the circumstance of being joined to it is of the least moment in comparison with purity of heart and life.

Purity of heart and life, Christ's spirit of love towards God and man; this is all in all. This is the only essential thing. The church is important only as it ministers to this; and every church which so ministers is a good one, no matter how, when, or where it grew up, no matter whether it worship on its knees or on its feet, or whether its ministers are ordained by pope, bishop, presbyter, or people; these are secondary things, and of no comparative moment. The church which opens on heaven is that, and that only, in which the spirit of heaven dwells. The church whose worship rises to God's ear is that, and that only, where the soul ascends. No matter whether it be gathered in cathedral or barn; whether it sit in silence, or send up a hymn; whether the minister speak from carefully prepared notes, or from immediate, fervent, irrepressible suggestion. If God be loved, and Jesus Christ be welcomed to the soul, and his instructions be meekly and wisely heard, and the solemn purpose grow up to do all duty amidst all conflict, sacrifice, and temptation, then the true end of the church is answered. "This is no other than the house of God, the gate of heaven."

In these remarks I do not mean that all churches are of equal worth. Some undoubtedly correspond more than others to the spirit and purpose of Christianity, to the simple usages of the primitive disciples, and to the principles of human nature. All have their superstitions and corruptions, but some are more pure than the rest; and we are bound to seek that which is purest, which corresponds most to the Divine will. As far as we have power to select, we should go to the church where we shall be most helped to become devout, disinterested, and morally strong. Our salvation, however, does not depend on our finding the best church on earth, for this may be distant or unknown. Amidst diversities of administrations there is the same spirit. In all religious societies professing Christ as their Lord, the plainest, grandest truths of religion will almost certainly be taught, and some souls may be found touched and enlightened from above. This is a plain, undeniable fact. In all sects, various as they are, good and holy men may be found; nor can we tell in which the holiest have grown up. The church, then, answers its end in all; for its only end is, to minister to human virtue. It is delightful to read in the records of all denominations the lives of eminent Christians who have given up every thing for their religion, who have been faithful unto death, who have shed around them the sweet light and fragrance of Christian hope and love. We cannot, then, well choose amiss, if we choose the church which, as it seems to us, best represents the grand ideas of Christ, and speaks most powerfully to our consciences and hearts. This church, however, we must not choose for our brother. He differs from us, probably, in temperament, in his range of intellect, or in the impressions which education and habit have given him. Perhaps the worship which

most quickens you and me may hardly keep our neighbor awake. He must be approached through the heart and imagination; we through the reason. What to him is fervor passes with us for noise. What to him is an imposing form is to us vain show. Condemn him not. If, in his warmer atmosphere, he builds up a stronger faith in God and a more steadfast choice of perfect goodness than ourselves, his church is better to him than ours to us.

One great error in regard to churches contributes to the false estimate of them as essential to salvation. We imagine that the church, the minister, the worship can do something for us mechanically; that there are certain mysterious influences in what we call a holy place which may act on us without our own agency. It is not so. The church and the minister can do little for us in comparison with what we must do for ourselves, and nothing for us without ourselves. They become to us blessings through our own activity. Every man must be his own priest. It is his own action, not the minister's, it is the prayer issuing from his own heart, not from another's lips, which aids him in the church. The church does him good only as by its rites, prayers, hymns, and sermons it wakes up his spirit to think, feel, pray, praise, and resolve. The church is a help, not a force. It acts on us by rational and moral means, and not by mystical operations. Its influence resembles precisely that which is exerted out of church. Its efficiency depends chiefly on the clearness, simplicity, sincerity, love, and zeal with which the minister speaks to our understandings, consciences, and hearts; just as in common life we are benefited by the clearness and energy with which our friends set before us what is good and pure. The church is adapted to our free, moral nature. It acts on us as rational and responsible beings, and serves us through our own efficiency. From these views we learn that the glory of the church does not lie in any particular government or form, but in the wisdom with which it combines such influences as are fitted to awaken and purify the soul.

Am I asked to state more particularly what these influences are to which the church owes its efficacy? I reply, that they are such as may be found in all churches, in all denominations. The first is the character of the minister. This has an obvious, immediate, and powerful bearing on the great spiritual purpose of the church. I say his character, not his ordination. Ordination has no end but to introduce into the sacred office men qualified for its duties, and to give an impression of its importance. It is by his personal endowments, by his intellectual, moral, and religious worth, by his faithfulness and zeal, and not through any mysterious ceremony or power, that the minister enlightens and edifies the church. What matters it how he is ordained or set apart, if he give himself to his work in the fear of God? What matters it who has laid hands on him, or whether he stand up in surplice or drab coat? I go to church to be benefited, not by hands or coats, but by the action of an enlightened and holy teacher on my mind and heart; not an overpowering, irresistible action, but such as becomes effectual through my own free thought and will. I go to be convinced of what is true, and to be warmed with love of what is good; and he who thus helps me is a true minister, no matter from what school, consistory, or ecclesiastical body he comes. He carries his commission in his soul. Do not say that his ministry has no "validity," because Rome, or Geneva, or Lambeth, or Andover, or Princeton has not laid hands on him. What! Has he not opened my eyes to see, and roused my conscience to reprove? As I have heard him, has not my heart burned within me, and have I not silently given myself to God with new humility and love? Have I not been pierced by his warnings, and softened by his looks and tones of love? Has he not taught and helped me to deny myself, to conquer the world, to do good to a foe? Has he done this; and yet has his ministry no "validity"? What other validity can there be than this? If a generous friend gives me water to drink when I am parched with thirst, and I drink and am refreshed, will it do to tell me that because he did not buy the cup at a certain licensed shop, or draw the water at a certain antiquated cistern, therefore his act of kindness is "invalid," and I am as thirsty and weak as

I was before? What more can a minister with mitre or tiara do than help me, by wise and touching manifestations of God's truth, to become a holier, nobler man? If my soul be made alive, no matter who ministers to me; and if not, the ordinances of the church, whether high or low, orthodox or heretical, are of no validity so far as I am concerned. The diseased man who is restored to health cares little whether his physician wear wig or cowl, or receive his diploma from Paris or London; and so to the regenerate man it is of little moment where or by what processes he became a temple of the Holy Spirit.

According to these views, a minister deriving power from his intellectual, moral, and religious worth is one of the chief elements of a true and quickening church. Such a man will gather a true church round him; and we here learn that a Christian community is bound to do what may aid, and to abstain from what may impair, the virtue, nobleness, spiritual energy of its minister. It should especially leave him free, should wish him to wear no restraints but those of a sense of duty. His office is, to utter God's truth according to his apprehension of it, and he should be encouraged to utter it honestly, simply. He must follow his own conscience, and no other. How can he rebuke prevalent error without an unawed spirit? Better that he should hold his peace than not speak from his own soul. Better that the pulpit be prostrated than its freedom be taken away. The doctrine of "instructions" in politics is of very doubtful expediency; but that instructions should issue from the congregation to the minister we all with one voice pronounce wrong. The religious teacher compelled to stifle his convictions grows useless to his people, is shorn of his strength, loses self-respect, shrinks before his own conscience, and owes it to himself to refrain from teaching. If he be honest, upright, and pure, worthy of trust, worthy of being a minister, he has a right to freedom; and when he uses it conscientiously, though he may err in judgment, and may give pain to judicious hearers, he has still a right to respect. There are, indeed, few religious societies which would knowingly make the minister a slave. Many err on the side of submission, and receive his doctrines with blind, unquestioning faith. Still, the members of a congregation, conscious of holding the support of their teacher in their hands, are apt to expect a cautious tenderness towards their known prejudices or judgments, which, though not regarded as servility, is very hostile to that firm, bold utterance of truth on which the success of his ministry chiefly depends.

I have mentioned the first condition of the most useful church; it is the high character of its minister. The second is to be found in the spiritual character of its members. This, like the former, is, from the very principles of human nature, fitted to purify and save. It was the intention of Christ that a quickening power should be exerted in a church, not by the minister alone, but also by the members on one another. Accordingly we read of the "working of every part, every joint," in his spiritual body. We come together in our places of worship that heart may act on heart; that in the midst of the devout a more fervent flame of piety may be kindled in our own breasts; that we may hear God's word more eagerly by knowing that it is drunk in by thirsty spirits around us; that our own purpose of obedience may be confirmed by the consciousness that a holy energy of will is unfolding itself in our neighbors. To this sympathy the church is dedicated; and in this its highest influence is sometimes found. To myself, the most effectual church is that in which I see the signs of Christian affection in those around me, in which warm hearts are beating on every side, in which a deep stillness speaks of the absorbed soul, in which I recognize fellow-beings who in common life have impressed me with their piety. One look from a beaming countenance, one tone in singing from a deeply moved heart, perhaps aids me more than the sermon. When nothing is said, I feel it good to be among the devout; and I wonder not that the Quakers in some of their still meetings profess to hold the most intimate union, not only with God, but with each other. It is not with the voice only that man communicates with man. Nothing is so eloquent as the deep silence of a crowd. A sigh, a low

breathing, sometimes pours into us our neighbor's soul more than a volume of words. There is a communication more subtile than freemasonry between those who feel alike. How contagious is holy feeling! On the other hand, how freezing, how palsying, is the gathering of a multitude who feel nothing, who come to God's house without reverence, without love, who gaze around on each other as if they were assembled at a show, whose restlessness keeps up a slightly disturbing sound, whose countenances reveal no collectedness, no earnestness, but a frivolous or absent mind! The very sanctity of the place makes this indifference more chilling. One of the coldest spots on earth is a church without devotion. What is it to me, that a costly temple is set apart, by ever so many rites, for God's service, that priests who trace their lineage to apostles have consecrated it, if I find it thronged by the worldly and undevout? This is no church to me. I go to meet, not human bodies, but souls; and if I find them in an upper room like that where the first disciples met, or in a shed, or in a street, there I find a church. There is the true altar, the sweet incense, the accepted priest. These all I find in sanctified souls.

True Christians give a sanctifying power, a glory, to the place of worship where they come together. In them Christ is present and manifested in a far higher sense than if he were revealed to the bodily eye. We are apt, indeed, to think differently. Were there a place of worship in which a glory like that which clothed Jesus on the Mount of Transfiguration were to shine forth, how should we throng to it as the chosen spot on earth! how should we honor this as eminently his church! But there is a more glorious presence of Christ than this. It is Christ formed in the souls of his disciples. Christ's bodily presence does not make a church. He was thus present in the thronged streets of Jerusalem, present in the synagogues and temples; but these were not churches. It is the presence of his spirit, truth, likeness, divine love in the souls of men, which attracts and unites them into one living body. Suppose that we meet together in a place consecrated by all manner of forms, but that nothing of Christ's spirit dwells in us. With all its forms, it is a synagogue of Satan, not a church of Jesus. Christ in the hearts of men, I repeat it, is the only church bond. The Catholics, to give them a feeling of the present Saviour, adorn their temples with paintings representing him in the most affecting scenes of his life and death; and had worship never been directed to these, I should not object to them. But there is a far higher likeness to Christ than the artist ever drew or chiselled. It exists in the heart of his true disciple. The true disciple surpasses Raphael and Michael Angelo. The latter have given us Christ's countenance from fancy, and, at best, having little likeness to the mild beauty and majestic form which moved through Judea. But the disciple who sincerely conforms himself to the disinterestedness, and purity, and filial worship, and all-sacrificing love of Christ gives us no fancied representation, but the true, divine lineaments of his soul, the very spirit which beamed in his face, which spoke in his voice, which attested his glory as the Son of God. The truest church is that which has in the highest degree this spiritual presence of our Lord, this revelation of Jesus in his followers. This is the church in which we shall find the greatest aid to our virtue which outward institution can afford us.

I have thus spoken of the two chief elements of a living and effectual church, — a pure, noble-minded minister, and faithful followers of Christ. In the preceding remarks I have had chiefly in view particular churches, organized according to some particular forms; and I have maintained that these are important only as ministering to Christian holiness or virtue. There is, however, a grander church, to which I now ask your attention; and the consideration of this will peculiarly confirm the lesson on which I am insisting, namely, that there is but one essential thing, true holiness, or disinterested love to God and man. There is a grander church than all particular ones, however extensive, — the church catholic or universal, spread over all lands, and one with the church in heaven. That all Christ's followers form one body, one fold, is taught in various passages in the New Testament. You remember the earnestness of his last prayer, "that they might all be one, as he and his Father

are one." Into this church all who partake the spirit of Christ are admitted. It asks not who has baptized us; whose passport we carry; what badge we wear. If "baptized by the Holy Ghost," its wide gates are opened to us. Within this church are joined those whom different names have severed or still sever. We hear nothing of Greek, Roman, English churches, but of Christ's church only. My friends, this is not an imaginary union. The Scriptures, in speaking of it, do not talk rhetorically, but utter the soberest truth. All sincere partakers of Christian virtue are essentially one. In the spirit which pervades them dwells a uniting power found in no other tie. Though separated by oceans, they have sympathies strong and indissoluble. Accordingly, the clear, strong utterance of one gifted, inspired Christian flies through the earth. It touches kindred chords in another hemisphere. The word of such a man as Fénélon, for instance, finds its way into the souls of scattered millions. Are not he and they of one church? I thrill with joy at the name of holy men who lived ages ago. Ages do not divide us. I venerate them more for their antiquity. Are we not one body? Is not this union something real? It is not men's coming together into one building which makes a church. Suppose that in a place of worship I sit so near a fellow-creature as to touch him, but that there is no common feeling between us, that the truth which moves me he inwardly smiles at as a dream of fancy, that the disinterestedness which I honor he calls weakness or wild enthusiasm. How far apart are we, though visibly so near! We belong to different worlds. How much nearer am I to some pure, generous spirit in another continent whose word has penetrated my heart, whose virtues have kindled me to emulation, whose pure thoughts are passing through my mind whilst I sit in the house of prayer! With which of these two have I church union?

Do not tell me that I surrender myself to a fiction of imagination, when I say that distant Christians, that all Christians and myself, form one body, one church, just as far as a common love and piety possess our hearts. Nothing is more real than this spiritual union. There *is* one grand, all-comprehending church; and if I am a Christian I belong to it, and no man can shut me out of it. You may exclude me from your Roman church, your Episcopal church, and your Calvinistic church, on account of supposed defects in my creed or my sect, and I am content to be excluded. But I will not be severed from the great body of Christ. Who shall sunder me from such men as Fénélon, and Pascal, and Borromeo, from Archbishop Leighton, Jeremy Taylor, and John Howard? Who can rupture the spiritual bond between these men and myself? Do I not hold them dear? Does not their spirit, flowing out through their writings and lives, penetrate my soul? Are they not a portion of my being? Am I not a different man from what I should have been, had not these and other like spirits acted on mine? And is it in the power of synod, or conclave, or of all the ecclesiastical combinations on earth, to part me from them? I am bound to them by thought and affection; and can these be suppressed by the bull of a pope or the excommunication of a council? The soul breaks scornfully these barriers; these webs of spiders, and joins itself to the great and good; and if it possess their spirit, will the great and good, living or dead, cast it off because it has not enrolled itself in this or another sect? A pure mind is free of the universe. It belongs to the church, the family of the pure, in all worlds. Virtue is no local thing. It is not honorable because born in this community or that, but for its own independent, everlasting beauty. This is the bond of the universal church. No man can be excommunicated from it but by himself, by the death of goodness in his own breast. All sentences of exclusion are vain, if he do not dissolve the tie of purity which binds him to all holy souls.

I honor the Roman Catholic church on one account; it clings to the idea of a universal church, though it has mutilated and degraded it. The word catholic means universal. Would to God that the church which has usurped the name had understood the reality! Still, Romanism has done something to give to its members the idea of their connection with that vast spiritual community, or church, which has existed in all times and spread over all lands. It guards the memory of great and holy men who

in all ages have toiled and suffered for religion, asserts the honors of the heroes of the faith, enshrines them in heaven as beatified saints, converts their legends into popular literature, appoints days for the celebration of their virtues, and reveals them almost as living to the eye by the pictures in which genius has immortalized their deeds. In doing this Rome has fallen, indeed, into error. She has fabricated exploits for these spiritual persons, and exalted them into objects of worship. But she has also done good. She has given to her members the feeling of intimate relation to the holiest and noblest men in all preceding ages. An interesting and often a sanctifying tie connects the present Roman Catholic with martyrs, and confessors, and a host of men whose eminent piety and genius and learning have won for them an immortality of fame. It is no mean service thus to enlarge men's ideas and affections, to awaken their veneration for departed greatness, to teach them their connection with the grandest spirits of all times. It was this feature of Catholicism which most interested me in visiting Catholic countries. The services at the altar did not move, but rather pained me. But when I cast my eyes on the pictures on the walls, which placed before me the holy men of departed ages, now absorbed in devotion and lost in rapture, now enduring with meek courage and celestial hope the agonies of a painful death in defence of the truth, I was touched, and I hope made better. The voice of the officiating priest I did not hear; but these sainted dead spoke to my heart, and I was sometimes led to feel as if an hour on Sunday spent in this communion were as useful to me as if it had been spent in a Protestant church. These saints never rose to my thoughts as Roman Catholics. I never connected them with any particular church. They were to me living, venerable witnesses to Christ, to the power of religion, to the grandeur of the human soul. I saw what men might suffer for the truth, how they could rise above themselves, how real might become the ideas of God and a higher life. This inward reverence for the departed good helped me to feel myself a member of the church universal. I wanted no pope or priest to establish my unity with them. My own heart was witness enough to a spiritual fellowship. Is it not to be desired that all our churches should have services to teach us our union with Christ's whole body? Would not this break our sectarian chains, and awaken reverence for Christ's spirit, for true goodness, under every name and form? It is not enough to feel that we are members of this or that narrow communion. Christianity is universal sympathy and love. I do not recommend that our churches should be lined with pictures of saints. This usage must come in, if it come at all, not by recommendation, but by gradual change of tastes and feelings. But why may not the pulpit be used occasionally to give us the lives and virtues of eminent disciples in former ages? It is customary to deliver sermons on the history of Peter, John, Paul, and of Abraham, and Elijah, and other worthies of the Old Testament; and this we do because their names are written in the Bible. But goodness owes nothing to the circumstance of its being recorded in a sacred book, nor loses its claim to grateful, reverent commemoration because not blazoned there. Moral greatness did not die out with the Apostles. Their lives were reported for this, among other ends, that their virtues might be propagated to future times, and that men might spring up as worthy a place among the canonized as themselves. What I wish is, that we should learn to regard ourselves as members of a vast spiritual community, as joint-heirs and fellow-worshippers with the goodly company of Christian heroes who have gone before us, instead of immuring ourselves in particular churches. Our nature delights in this consciousness of vast connection. This tendency manifests itself in the patriotic sentiment, and in the passionate clinging of men to a great religious denomination. Its true and noblest gratification is found in the deep feeling of a vital, everlasting connection with the universal church, with the innumerable multitude of the holy on earth and in heaven. This church we shall never make a substitute for virtue.

I have spoken of the Roman Catholic church. My great objection to this communion is, that it has fallen peculiarly into the error which I am laboring to expose in this discourse, that it has

attached idolatrous importance to the institution of the church, that it virtually exalts this above Christ's spirit, above inward sanctity. Its other errors are of inferior importance. It does not offend me that the Romanist maintains that a piece of bread, a wafer, over which a priest has pronounced some magical words, is the flesh and blood of Jesus Christ. I learn, indeed, in this error, an humbling lesson of human credulity, of the weakness of human reason; but I see nothing in it which strikes at the essential principles of religion. When, however, the Roman Catholic goes farther, and tells me that God looks with abhorrence on all who will not see in the consecrated wafer Christ's flesh and blood; and when he makes the reception of this from the hands of a consecrated priest the door into Christ's fold, then I am shocked by the dishonor he casts on God and virtue, by his debasing conceptions of our moral nature and of the Divine, and by his cruel disruption of the ties of human and Christian brotherhood. How sad and strange that a man educated under Christianity should place religion in a church connection, in church rites, should shut from God's family the wisest and the best because they conscientiously abstain from certain outward ordinances! Is not holiness of heart and life dear to God for its own sake, dear to him without the manipulations of a priest, without the agency of a consecrated wafer? The grand error of Roman Catholicism is its narrow church spirit, its blind sectarianism, its exclusion of virtuous, pious men from God's favor because they cannot eat, drink, or pray according to certain prescribed rites. Romanism has to learn that nothing but the inward life is great and good in the sight of the Omniscient, and that all who cherish this are members of Christ's body. Romanism is any thing but what it boasts to be, the universal church. I am too much a Catholic to enlist under its banner.

I belong to the universal church; nothing shall separate me from it. In saying this, however, I am no enemy to particular churches. In the present age of the world, it is perhaps best that those who agree in theological opinions should worship together; and I do not object to the union of several such churches in one denomination, provided that *all* sectarian and narrow feeling be conscientiously and scrupulously resisted. I look on the various churches of Christendom with no feelings of enmity. I have expressed my abhorrence of the sectarian spirit of Rome; but in that, as in all other churches, individuals are better than their creed; and, amidst gross error and the inculcation of a narrow spirit, noble virtues spring up, and eminent Christians are formed. It is one sign of the tendency of human nature to goodness, that it grows good under a thousand bad influences. The Romish church is illustrated by great names. Her gloomy convents have often been brightened by fervent love to God and man. Her St. Louis, and Fénélon, and Massillon, and Cheverus; her missionaries, who have carried Christianity to the ends of the earth; her sisters of charity, who have carried relief and solace to the most hopeless want and pain, — do not these teach us that in the Romish church the Spirit of God has found a home? How much, too, have other churches to boast! In the English church we meet the names of Latimer, Hooker, Barrow, Leighton, Berkeley and Heber; in the Dissenting Calvinistic church, Baxter, Howe, Watts, Doddridge, and Robert Hall; among the Quakers, George Fox, William Penn, Robert Barclay, and our own Anthony Benezet, and John Woolman; in the Anti-trinitarian church, John Milton, John Locke, Samuel Clarke, Price, and Priestley. To repeat these names does the heart good. They breathe a fragrance through the common air. They lift up the whole race to which they belonged. With the churches of which they were pillars or chief ornaments I have many sympathies; nor do I condemn the union of ourselves to these or any other churches whose doctrines we approve, provided that we do it without severing ourselves in the least from the universal church. On this point we cannot be too earnest. We must shun the spirit of sectarianism as from hell. We must shudder at the thought of shutting up God in any denomination. We must think no man the better for belonging to our communion; no man the worse for belonging to another. We must look with undiminished joy on goodness, though it shine forth from

the most adverse sect. Christ's spirit must be equally dear and honored, no matter where manifested. To confine God's love or his good Spirit to any party, sect, or name, is to sin against the fundamental law of the kingdom of God, to break that living bond with Christ's universal church which is one of our chief helps to perfection.

I have now given what seems to me the most important views in relation to the church; and in doing this I have not quoted much from Scripture, because quotations cannot be given fully on this or on any controverted point in the compass of a discourse. I have relied on what is vastly more important, — on the general strain and tone of Scripture, on the spirit of the Christian religion, on the sum and substance of Christ's teachings, which is plainly this, that inward holiness, or goodness, or disinterested love, is all in all. I also want time to consider at large the arguments or modes of reasoning by which this or that church sets itself forth as the only true church, and by which the necessity of entering it is thought to be proved. I cannot, however, abstain from offering a few remarks on these.

The principal arguments on which exclusive churches rest their claims are drawn from Christian history and literature; in other words, from the records of the primitive ages of our faith, and from the writings of the early Fathers. These arguments, I think, may be disposed of by a single remark, that they cannot be comprehended or weighed by the mass of Christians. How very, very few in our congregations can enter into the critical study of ecclesiastical history, or wade through the folios of the Greek and Latin Fathers! Now, if it were necessary to join a particular church in order to receive the blessings of Christianity, is it to be conceived that the discovery of this church should require a learning plainly denied to the mass of human beings? Would not this church shine out with the brightness of the sun? Would it be hidden in the imperfect records of distant ages, or in the voluminous writings of a body of ancient authors more remarkable for rhetoric than for soundness of judgment? The learned cannot agree about these authorities. How can the great multitudes of believers interpret them? Would not the Scriptures guide us by simple, sure rules to the only true church, if to miss it were death? To my own mind this argument has a force akin to demonstration.

I pass to another method of defending the claims which one or another church sets up to exclusive acceptance with God. It is an unwarrantable straining of the figurative language of Scripture. Because the church is spoken of as one body, vine, or temple, theologians have argued that it is one outward organization, to which all men must be joined. But a doctrine built on metaphor is worth little. Every kind of absurdity may find a sanction in figures of speech, explained by tame, prosaic, cold-hearted commentators. The beautiful forms of speech to which I have referred were intended to express the peculiarly close and tender unions which necessarily subsist among all the enlightened and sincere disciples of such a religion as Christ's, — a religion whose soul, essence, and breath of life is love, which reveals to us in Jesus the perfection of philanthropy, and which calls to us to drink spiritually of that blood of self-sacrifice which was shed for the whole human race. How infinitely exalted is the union of minds and hearts formed by such a religion above any outward connection established by rites and forms! Yet the latter has been seized on by the earthly understanding as the chief meaning of Scripture, and magnified into supreme importance. Has not Paul taught us that there is but one perfect bond, — love? * Has not Christ taught us that the seal set on his disciples, by which all men are to know them, is love? † Is not this the badge of the true church, the life of the true body of Christ? And is not every disciple, of every name and form, who is inspired with this, embraced indissolubly in the Christian union?

It is sometimes urged by those who maintain the necessity of connection with what they call "the true church," that God has a right to dispense his blessings through what channels or on what terms He pleases; that, if He sees fit to communicate his Holy Spirit through a certain priesthood or certain ordinances, we are bound to seek the gift in his ap-

* Colossians, iii. 14. † John xiii. 35.

pointed way; and that, having actually chosen this method of imparting it, He may justly withhold it from those who refuse to comply with his appointment. I reply, that the right of the Infinite Father to bestow his blessings in such ways as to his infinite wisdom and love may seem best, no man can be so irreverent as to deny. But is it not reasonable to expect that He will adopt such methods or conditions as will seem to accord with his perfection? And ought we not to distrust such as seem to dishonor him? Suppose, for example, that I were told that the Infinite Father had decreed to give his Holy Spirit to such as should bathe freely in the sea. Ought I not to require the most plain, undeniable proofs of a purpose apparently so unworthy of his majesty and goodness, before yielding obedience to it? The presumption against it is exceedingly strong. That the Infinite Father, who is ever present to the human soul, to whom it is unspeakably dear, who has created it for communion with himself, who desires and delights to impart to it his grace, that He should ordain sea-bathing as a condition or means of spiritual communication is so improbable that I must insist on the strongest testimony to its truth. Now I meet precisely this difficulty in the doctrine, that God bestows his Holy Spirit on those who receive bread and wine, or flesh and blood, or a form of benediction or baptism, or any other outward ministration, from the hands or lips of certain privileged ministers or priests. It is the most glorious act and manifestation of God's power and love to impart enlightening, quickening, purifying influences to the immortal soul. To imagine that these descend in connection with certain words, signs, or outward rites, administered by a frail fellow-creature, and are withheld or abridged in the absence of such rites, seems, at first, an insult to his wisdom and goodness; seems to bring down his pure, infinite throne to set arbitrary limits to his highest agency, and to assimilate his worship to that of false gods. The Scriptures teach us that "God giveth grace to the humble;" that "he giveth his Holy Spirit to them that ask him." This is the great law of divine communications; and we can see its wisdom, because the mind which hungers for divine assistances is most prepared to use them aright. And can we really believe that the prayers and aspirations of a penitent, thirsting soul need to be seconded by the outward offices of a minister or priest? or that for want of these they find less easy entrance into the ear of the ever-present, all-loving Father? My mind recoils from this doctrine as dishonorable to God, and I ought not to receive it without clear proofs. I want something more than metaphors, or analogies, or logical inferences. I want some express divine testimony. And where is it given? Do we not know that thousands and millions of Christians, whose lives and deaths have borne witness to their faith, have been unable to find it in the Scriptures or anywhere else? And can we believe that the spiritual communication of such men with the Divinity has been forfeited or impaired, because they have abstained from rites which in their consciences they could not recognize as of divine appointment? That so irrational and extravagant a doctrine should enter the mind of a man who has the capacity of reading the New Testament would seem an impossibility, did not history show us that it has been not only believed, but made the foundation of the bitterest intolerance and the bloodiest persecutions.

The notion that, by a decree of God's sovereign will, his grace or Spirit flows through certain rites to those who are in union with a certain church, and that it is promised to none besides, has no foundation in Scripture or reason. The church, as I have previously suggested, is not an arbitrary appointment; it does not rest on will, but is ordained on account of its obvious fitness to accomplish the spiritual improvement which is the end of Christianity. It corresponds to our nature. It is a union of means, and influences, and offices which rational and moral creatures need. It has no affinity with the magical operations so common in false religions; its agency is intelligible and level to the common mind. Its two great rites, baptism and the Lord's supper, are not meant to act as charms. When freed from the errors and superstitions which have clung to them for ages, and when administered, as they should be, with tenderness and solemnity, they are powerful means of

bringing great truths to the mind and of touching the heart, and for these ends they are ordained. The adaptation of the church to the promotion of holiness among men is its grand excellence; and where it accomplishes this end its work is done, and no greater can be conceived on earth or in heaven. The moment we shut our eyes on this truth, and conceive of the church as serving us by forms and ordinances which are effectual only in the hands of privileged officials or priests, we plunge into the region of shadows and superstitions; we have no ground to tread on, no light to guide us. This mysterious power, lodged in the hands of a few fellow-creatures, tends to give a servile spirit to the mass of Christians, to impair manliness and self-respect, to subdue the intellect to the reception of the absurdest dogmas. Religion loses its simple grandeur, and degenerates into mechanism and form. The conscience is quieted by something short of true repentance; something besides purity of heart and life is made the qualification for heaven. The surest device for making the mind a coward and a slave is a wide-spread and closely cemented church, the powers of which are concentrated in the hands of a "sacred order," and which has succeeded in arrogating to its rites or ministers a sway over the future world, over the soul's everlasting weal or woe. The inevitably degrading influence of such a church is demonstrative proof against its divine original.

There is no end to the volumes written in defence of this or that church which sets itself forth as the only true church, and claims exclusive acceptance with God. But the unlettered Christian has an answer to them all. He cannot and need not seek it in libraries. He finds it, almost without seeking, in plain passages of the New Testament, and in his own heart. He reads and he feels that religion is an inward life. This he knows, not by report, but by consciousness, by the prostration of his soul in penitence, by the surrender of his will to the divine, by overflowing gratitude, by calm trust, and by a new love to his fellow-creatures. Will it do to tell such a man that the promises of Christianity do not belong to him, that access to God is denied him, because he is not joined with this or that exclusive church? Has not this access been granted to him already? Has he not prayed in his griefs, and been consoled? in his temptations, and been strengthened? Has he not found God near in his solitudes and in the great congregation? Does he thirst for any thing so fervently as for perfect assimilation to the divine purity? And can he question God's readiness to help him, because he is unable to find in Scripture a command to bind himself to this or another self-magnifying church? How easily does the experience of the true Christian brush away the cobwebs of theologians! He loves and reveres God, and in this spirit has a foretaste of heaven: and can heaven be barred against him by ecclesiastical censures? He has felt the power of the cross and resurrection and promises of Jesus Christ; and is there any "height or depth" of human exclusiveness and bigotry which can separate him from his Lord? He can die for truth and humanity; and is there any man so swelled by the conceit of his union with the true church as to stand apart and say, "I am holier than thou"? When, by means of the writings or conversations of Christians of various denominations, you look into their hearts, and discern the deep workings, and conflicts, and aspirations of piety, can you help seeing in them tokens of the presence and operations of God's Spirit more authentic and touching than in all the harmonies and beneficent influences of the outward universe? Who can shut up this spirit in any place or any sect? Who will not rejoice to witness it in its fruits of justice, goodness, purity, and piety, wherever they meet the eye? Who will not hail it as the infallible sign of the accepted worshipper of God?

One word more respecting the arguments adduced in support of one or another exclusive church. They are continually, and of necessity, losing their force. Arguments owe their influence very much to the mental condition of those to whom they are addressed. What is proof to one man is no proof to another. The evidence which is triumphant in one age is sometimes thought below notice in the next. Men's reasonings on practical subjects are not cold, logical processes, standing separate in the mind, but are carried on in

intimate connection with their prevalent feelings and modes of thought. Generally speaking, that, and that only, is truth to a man which accords with the common tone of his mind, with the mass of his impressions, with the results of his experience, with his measure of intellectual development, and especially with those deep convictions and biases which constitute what we call character. Now, it is the tendency of increasing civilization, refinement, and expansion of mind, to produce a tone of thought and feeling unfriendly to the church spirit, to reliance on church forms as essential to salvation. As the world advances it leaves matters of form behind. In proportion as men get into the heart of things they are less anxious about exteriors. In proportion as religion becomes a clear reality we grow tired of shows. In the progress of ages there spring up in greater numbers men of mature thought and spiritual freedom, who unite self-reverence with reverence of God, and who cannot, without a feeling approaching shame and conscious degradation, submit to a church which accumulates outward, rigid, mechanical observances towards the Infinite Father. A voice within them, which they cannot silence, protests against the perpetual repetition of the same signs, motions, words, as unworthy of their own spiritual powers, and of him who deserves the highest homage of the reason and the heart. Their filial spirit protests against it. In common life, a refined, lofty mind expresses itself in simple, natural, unconstrained manners; and the same tendency, though often obstructed, is manifested in religion. The progress of Christianity, which must go on, is but another name for the growing knowledge and experience of that spiritual worship of the Father which Christ proclaimed as the end of his mission; and before this the old idolatrous reliance on ecclesiastical forms and organizations cannot stand. There is thus a perpetually swelling current which exclusive churches have to stem, and which must sooner or later sweep away their proud pretensions. What avails it that this or another church summons to its aid fathers, traditions, venerated usages? The spirit, the genius of Christianity is stronger than all these. The great ideas of the religion must prevail over narrow, perverse interpretations of it. On this ground I have no alarm at reports of the triumphs of the Catholic church. The spirit of Christianity is stronger than popes and councils. Its venerableness and divine beauty put to shame the dignities and pomps of a hierarchy; and men must more and more recognize it as alone essential to salvation.

From the whole discussion through which I have now led you, you will easily gather how I regard the church, and what importance I attach to it. In its true idea, or regarded as the union of those who partake in the spirit of Jesus Christ, I revere it as the noblest of all associations. Our common social unions are poor by its side. In the world we form ties of interest, pleasure, and ambition. We come together as creatures of time and sense for transient amusement or display. In the church we meet as God's children; we recognize in ourselves something higher than this animal and worldly life. We come that holy feelings may spread from heart to heart. The church, in its true idea, is a retreat from the world. We meet in it, that, by union with the holy, we may get strength to withstand our common intercourse with the impure. We meet to adore God, to open our souls to his Spirit, and, by recognition of the common Father, to forget all distinction among ourselves, to embrace all men as brothers. This spiritual union with the holy who are departed and who yet live, is the beginning of that perfect fellowship which constitutes heaven. It is to survive all ties. The bonds of husband and wife, parent and child, are severed at death; the union of the virtuous friends of God and man is as eternal as virtue, and this union is the essence of the true church.

To the church relation, in this broad, spiritual view of it, I ascribe the highest dignity and importance. But as to union with a particular denomination or with a society of Christians for public worship and instruction, this, however important, is not to be regarded as the highest means of grace. We ought, indeed, to seek help for ourselves, and to give help to others, by upholding religious institutions, by meeting together in the name of Christ. The influence of Christianity

is perpetuated and extended, in no small degree, by the public offices of piety, by the visible "communion of saints." But it is still true that the public means of religion are not its chief means. Private helps to piety are the most efficacious. The great work of religion is to be done, not in society, but in secret, in the retired soul, in the silent closet. Communion with God is eminently the means of religion, the nutriment and life of the soul, and we can commune with God in solitude as nowhere else. Here his presence may be most felt. It is by the breathing of the unrestrained soul, by the opening of the whole heart to "Him who seeth in secret:" it is by reviewing our own spiritual history, by searching deeply into ourselves, by solitary thought, and solitary, solemn consecration of ourselves to a new virtue; it is by these acts, and not by public gatherings, that we chiefly make progress in the religious life. It is common to speak of the house of public worship as a holy place: but it has no exclusive sanctity. The holiest spot on earth is that where the soul breathes its purest vows, and forms or executes its noblest purposes; and on this ground, were I to seek the holiest spot in your city, I should not go to your splendid sanctuaries, but to closets of private prayer. Perhaps the "Holy of Holies" among you is some dark, narrow room from which most of us would shrink as unfit for human habitation; but God dwells there. He hears there music more grateful than the swell of all your organs, sees there a beauty such as nature, in these her robes of spring, does not unfold: for there He meets, and sees, and hears the humblest, most thankful, most trustful worshipper: sees the sorest trials serenely borne, the deepest injuries forgiven; sees toils and sacrifices cheerfully sustained, and death approached through poverty and lonely illness with a triumphant faith. The consecration which such virtues shed over the obscurest spot is not and cannot be communicated by any of those outward rites by which our splendid structures are dedicated to God.

You see the rank which belongs to the church, whether gathered in one place or spread over the whole earth. It is a sacred and blessed union, but must not be magnified above other means and helps of religion. The great aids of piety are secret, not public. The Christian cannot live without private prayer; he may live and make progress without a particular church. Providence may place us far from the resorts of our fellow-disciples, beyond the sound of the Sabbath-bell, beyond all ordinances; and we may find Sabbaths and ordinances in our own spirits. Illness may separate us from the outward church as well as from the living world, and the soul may yet be in health and prosper. There have been men of eminent piety who, from conscience, have separated themselves from all denominations of Christians and all outward worship. Milton, that great soul, in the latter years of his life, forsook all temples made with hands, and worshipped wholly in the inward sanctuary. So did William Law, the author of that remarkable book, "The Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life." His excess of devotion (for in him devotion ran into excess) led him to disparage all occasional acts of piety. He lived in solitude, that he might make life a perpetual prayer. These men are not named as models in this particular. They mistook the wants of the soul, and misinterpreted the Scriptures. Even they, with all their spirituality, would have found moral strength and holy impulse in religious association. But, with such examples before us, we learn not to exclude men from God's favor because severed from the outward church.

The doctrine of this discourse is plain. Inward sanctity, pure love, disinterested attachment to God and man, obedience of heart and life, sincere excellence of character, this is the one thing needful, this the essential thing in religion; and all things else, ministers, churches, ordinances, places of worship, all are but means, helps, secondary influences, and utterly worthless when separated from this. To imagine that God regards any thing but this, that He looks at any thing but the heart, is to dishonor him, to express a mournful insensibility to his pure character. Goodness, purity, virtue, this is the only distinction in God's sight. This is intrinsically, essentially, everlastingly, and by its own nature lovely beautiful, glorious, divine. It owes nothing to time, to circumstance, to outward connections. It shines by its own light.

It is the sun of the spiritual universe. It is God himself dwelling in the human soul. Can any man think lightly of it because it has not grown up in a certain church, or exalt any church above it? My friends, one of the grandest truths of religion is the supreme importance of character, of virtue, of that divine spirit which shone out in Christ. The grand heresy is to substitute any thing for this, whether creed, or form, or church. One of the greatest wrongs to Christ is to despise his character, his virtue, in a disciple who happens to wear a different name from our own.

When I represent to myself true virtue or goodness, — not that which is made up of outward proprieties and prudent calculations, but that which chooses duty for its own sake and as the first concern; which respects impartially the rights of every human being; which labors and suffers with patient resolution for truth and others' welfare; which blends energy and sweetness, deep humility and self-reverence; which places joyful faith in the perfection of God, communes with him intimately, and strives to subject to his pure will all thought, imagination, and desire; which lays hold on the promise of everlasting life, and in the strength of this hope endures calmly and firmly the sorest evils of the present state, — when I set before me this virtue, all the distinctions on which men value themselves fade away. Wealth is poor; worldly honor is mean; outward forms are beggarly elements. Condition, country, church, all sink into unimportance. Before this simple greatness I bow, I revere. The robed priest, the gorgeous altar, the great assembly, the pealing organ, all the exteriors of religion, vanish from my sight as I look at the good and great man, the holy, disinterested soul. Even I, with vision so dim, with heart so cold, can see and feel the divinity, the grandeur of true goodness. How, then, must God regard it? To his pure eye how lovely must it be! And can any of us turn from it because some water has not been dropped on its forehead, or some bread put into its lips by a minister or priest: or because it has not learned to repeat some mysterious creed which a church or human council has ordained?

My friends, reverence virtue, holiness, the upright will which inflexibly cleaves to duty and the pure law of God. Reverence nothing in comparison with it. Regard this as the end, and all outward services as the means. Judge of men by this. Think no man the better, no man the worse, for the church he belongs to. Try him by his fruits. Expel from your breasts the demon of sectarianism, narrowness, bigotry, intolerance. This is not, as we are apt to think, a slight sin. It is a denial of the supremacy of goodness. It sets up something, whether a form or dogma, above the virtue of the heart and the life. Sectarianism immures itself in its particular church as in a dungeon, and is there cut off from the free air, the cheerful light, the goodly prospects, the celestial beauty of the church universal.

My friends, I know that I am addressing those who hold various opinions as to the controverted points of theology. We have grown up under different influences. We bear different names. But if we purpose solemnly to do God's will, and are following the precepts and example of Christ, we are one church, and let nothing divide us. Diversities of opinion may incline us to worship under different roofs; or diversities of tastes or habit, to worship with different forms. But these varieties are not schisms; they do not break the unity of Christ's church. We may still honor and love and rejoice in one another's spiritual life and progress as truly as if we were cast into one and the same unyielding form. God loves variety in nature and in the human soul, nor does He reject it in Christian worship. In many great truths, in those which are most quickening, purifying, and consoling, we all, I hope, agree. There is, too, a common ground of practice, aloof from all controversy, on which we may all meet. We may all unite hearts and hands in doing good, in fulfilling God's purposes of love towards our race, in toiling and suffering for the cause of humanity, in spreading intelligence, freedom, and virtue, in making God known for the reverence, love, and imitation of his creatures, in resisting the abuses and corruptions of past ages, in exploring and drying up the sources of poverty, in rescuing the fallen from intemperance, in succoring the orphan and widow, in enlightening and elevating the

depressed portions of the community, in breaking the yoke of the oppressed and enslaved, in exposing and withstanding the spirit and horrors of war, in sending God's word to the ends of the earth, in redeeming the world from sin and woe. The angels and pure spirits who visit our earth come not to join a sect, but to do good to all. May this universal charity descend on us, and possess our hearts! may our narrowness, exclusiveness, and bigotry melt away under this mild, celestial fire! Thus we shall not only join ourselves to Christ's universal church on earth, but to the invisible church, to the innumerable company of the just made perfect, in the mansions of everlasting purity and peace.

NOTES.

I have spoken in this discourse of the Romish church as excluding from salvation those who do not submit to it. I know, and rejoice to know, that many Catholics are too wise and good to hold this doctrine; but the church, interpreted by its past words and acts, is not so liberal.

I have also expressed my reverence for the illustrious names which have adorned the English church. This church sets up higher claims than any other in the Protestant world; but by a man acquainted with its early history it will be seen to be clothed with no peculiar authority. If any Protestant church deserves to be called a creature of the state, it is this. It was shaped by the sovereign very much after his own will. It is a problem in history how the English people, so sturdy and stout-hearted in the main, could be so tame and flexible in matters of religion under Henry the Eighth, Edward the Sixth, Mary, and Elizabeth. They seem to have received, almost as unresistingly as the coin, the image and superscription of the king. The causes of this yieldingness are to be found in the averseness to civil broils to which the nation had been brought by the recent bloody and exhausting wars of the Roses: in the formidable power of the Tudor sovereigns; in the insular position of England, and her distance from Rome, which checked the domination of the papacy; in the ignorance of the people; in the ravenousness of the nobles for the property of the church in the first instance, and afterwards in their greediness for court favor. This strange pliancy is a stain on the annals of the country. It was in the Puritans that the old national sturdiness revived, that England became herself again. These men were rude in aspect, and forbidding in manners; but, with all their sternness, narrowness, frowning theology, and high religious pretensions, they were the master-spirits of their times. To their descendants it is delightful to think of the service they rendered to the civil and religious liberties of England and the world, and to recall their deep, vital piety, a gem most rudely set, but too precious to be overvalued.

Since the preceding discourse has been printed, the following extract from an article in the "Edinburgh Review" for July, 1841, entitled "The Port-Royalists," has been deemed so strikingly coincident that it is herewith appended: —

"But for every labor under the sun, says the Wise Man, there is a time. There is a time for bearing testimony against the errors of Rome; why not also a time for testifying to the sublime virtues with which those errors have been so often associated? Are we for ever to admit and never to practise the duties of kindness and mutual forbearance? Does Christianity consist in a vivid perception of the faults, and an obtuse blindness to the merits, of those who differ from us? Is charity a virtue only when we ourselves are the objects of it? Is there not a church as pure and more catholic than that of Oxford or Rome, — a church comprehending within its limits every human being who, according to the measure of the knowledge placed within his reach, strives habitually to be conformed to the will of the common Father of us all? To indulge hope beyond the pale of some narrow communion has, by each Christian society in its turn, been denounced as a daring presumption. Yet hope has come to all; and with her, faith and charity, her inseparable companions. Amidst the shock of contending creeds and the uproar of anathemas, they who have ears to hear and hearts to understand have listened to gentler and more kindly sounds. Good men may debate as polemics, but they will feel as Christians. On the universal mind of Christendom is indelibly engraven one image, towards which the eyes of all are more or less earnestly directed. Whoever has himself caught any resemblance, however faint and imperfect, to that divine and benignant Original, has, in his measure,

learned to recognize a brother wherever he can discern the same resemblance.

"There is an essential unity in that kingdom which is not of this world. But within the provinces of that mighty state there is room for endless varieties of administration, and for local laws and customs widely differing from each other. The unity consists in the one object of worship, the one object of affiance, the one source of virtue, the one cementing principle of mutual love which pervades and animates the whole. The diversities are, and must be, as numerous and intractable as are the essential distinctions which nature, habit, and circumstances have created amongst men. Uniformity of creeds, of discipline, of ritual, and of ceremonies, in such a world as ours! a world where no two men are not as distinguishable in their mental as in their physical aspect; where every petty community has its separate system of civil government; where all that meets the eye, and all that arrests the ear, has the stamp of boundless and infinite variety! What are the harmonies of tone, of color, and of form, but the result of contrasts, — of contrasts held in subordination to one pervading principle, which reconciles without confounding the component elements of the music, the painting, or the structure? In the physical works of God, beauty could have no existence without endless diversities. Why assume that in religious society — a work not less surely to be ascribed to the supreme Author of all things — this law is absolutely reversed? Were it possible to subdue that innate tendency of the human mind which compels men to differ in religious opinions and observances, at least as widely as on all other subjects, what would be the results of such a triumph? Where would then be the free comparison and the continual enlargement of thought; where the self-distrusts which are the springs of humility, or the mutual dependencies which are the bonds of love? He who made us with this infinite variety in our intellectual and physical constitution must have foreseen, and, foreseeing, must have intended, a corresponding dissimilarity in the opinions of his creatures on all questions submitted to their judgment and proposed for their acceptance. For truth is his law; and if all will profess to think alike, all must live in the habitual violation of it.

"Zeal for uniformity attests the latent distrusts, not the firm convictions of the zealot. In proportion to the strength of our self-reliance is our indifference to the multiplication of suffrages in favor of our own judgment. Our minds are steeped in imagery; and where the visible form is not, the impalpable spirit escapes the notice of the unreflecting multitude. In common hands analysis stops at the species or the genus, and cannot rise to the order or the class. To distinguish birds from fishes, beasts from insects, limits the efforts of the vulgar observer of the face of nature. But Cuvier could trace the sublime unity, the universal type, the fontal idea existing in the creative intelligence, which connects as one the mammoth and the snail. So, common observers can distinguish from each other the different varieties of religious society, and can rise no higher. Where one assembly worships with harmonies of music, fumes of incense, ancient liturgies, and a gorgeous ceremonial, and another listens to the unaided voice of a single pastor, they can perceive and record the differences; but the hidden ties which unite them both escape such observation. All appears as contrast, and all ministers to antipathy and discord. It is our belief that these things may be rightly viewed in a different aspect, and yet with the most severe conformity to the divine will, whether as intimated by natural religion, or as revealed in Holy Scripture. We believe that, in the judgment of an enlightened charity, many Christian societies who are accustomed to denounce each other's errors will at length come to be regarded as members in common of the one great and comprehensive church, in which diversities of forms are harmonized by an all-pervading unity of spirit. For ourselves, at least, we should deeply regret to conclude that we are aliens from that great Christian commonwealth of which the nuns and recluses of the valley of Port-Royal were members, and members assuredly of no common excellence."

THE SUNDAY-SCHOOL:

Discourse pronounced before the Sunday-School Society.

MATTHEW xix. 13, 14: "Then were there brought unto him little children, that he should put his hands on them, and pray: and the disciples rebuked them. But Jesus said, Suffer little children, and forbid them not, to come unto me; for of such is the kingdom of heaven."

THE subject of this discourse is indicated by the name of the society at whose request I appear in this place. The Sunday-school, this is now to engage our attention. I believe I can best aid it by expounding the principles on which it should rest, and by which it should be guided. I am not anxious to pronounce an eulogy on this and similar institutions. They do much good, but they are destined to do greater. They are in their infancy, and only giving promise of the benefits they are to confer. They already enjoy patronage, and this will increase certainly, necessarily, in proportion as they shall grow in efficiency and usefulness. I wish to say something of the great principles which should preside over them, and of the modes of operation by which they can best accomplish their end. This discourse, though especially designed for Sunday-schools, is, in truth, equally applicable to domestic instruction. Parents who are anxious to train up their children in the paths of Christian virtue will find in every principle and rule, now to be laid down, a guide for their own steps. How to reach, influence, enlighten, elevate the youthful mind, this is the grand topic; and who ought not to be interested in it? for who has not an interest in the young?

I propose to set before you my views under the following heads. I shall consider, first, the principle on which such schools should be founded; next, their end or great object; in the third place, what they should teach; and, lastly, how they should teach. These divisions, if there were time to fill them up, would exhaust the subject. I shall satisfy myself with offering you what seem to me the most important views under each.

I. I am, first, to consider the principle on which the Sunday-school should be founded. It must be founded and carried on in faith. You must not establish it from imitation, nor set it in motion because other sects have adopted a like machinery. The Sunday-school must be founded on and sustained by a strong faith in its usefulness, its worth, its importance. Faith is the spring of all energetic action. Men throw their souls into objects only because they believe them to be attainable and worth pursuit. You must have faith in your school; and for this end you must have faith in God; in the child whom you teach; and in the Scriptures which are to be taught.

You must have faith in God; and by this I do not mean a general belief of his existence and perfection, but a faith in him as the father and friend of the children whom you instruct, as desiring their progress more than all human friends, and as most ready to aid you in your efforts for their good. You must not feel yourselves alone. You must not think when you enter the place of teaching that only you and your pupils are present, and that you have nothing but your power and wisdom to rely on for success. You must feel a higher presence. You must feel that the Father of these children is near you, and that He loves them with a boundless love. Do not think of God as interested only in higher orders of beings, or only in great and distinguished men. The little child is as dear to him as the hero, as the philosopher, as the angel; for in that child are the germs of an angel's powers, and God has called him into being that he may become an angel. On this faith every Sunday-school should be built, and on such a foundation it will stand firm and gather strength.

Again, you must have faith in the child whom you instruct. Believe in the greatness of its nature and in its capacity of improvement. Do not measure its mind by its frail, slender form. In a

very few years, in ten years perhaps, that child is to come forward into life, to take on him the duties of an arduous vocation, to assume serious responsibilities, and soon after he may be the head of a family and have a voice in the government of his country. All the powers which he is to put forth in life, all the powers which are to be unfolded in his endless being, are now wrapped up within him. That mind, not you, nor I, nor an angel, can comprehend. Feel that your scholar, young as he is, is worthy of your intensest interest. Have faith in his nature, especially as fitted for religion. Do not, as some do, look on the child as born under the curse of God, as naturally hostile to all goodness and truth. What! the child totally depraved! Can it be that such a thought ever entered the mind of a human being? especially of a parent! What! in the beauty of childhood and youth, in that open brow, that cheerful smile, do you see the brand of total corruption? Is it a little fiend who sleeps so sweetly on his mother's breast? Was it an infant demon which Jesus took in his arms and said, "Of such is the kingdom of heaven"? Is the child, who, as you relate to him a story of suffering or generosity, listens with a tearful or kindling eye and a throbbing heart, is *he* a child of hell? As soon could I look on the sun, and think it the source of darkness, as on the countenance of childhood or of youth, and see total depravity written there. My friends, we should believe any doctrine sooner than this, for it tempts us to curse the day of our birth; to loathe our existence; and, by making our Creator our worst foe, and our fellow-creatures hateful, it tends to rupture all the ties which bind us to God and our race. My friends, have faith in the child; not that it is virtuous and holy at birth; for virtue or holiness is not, cannot be born with us, but is a free, voluntary effort of a being who knows the distinction of right and wrong, and who, if tempted, adheres to the right; but have faith in the child as capable of knowing and loving the good and the true, as having a conscience to take the side of duty, as open to ingenuous motives for well-doing, as created for knowledge, wisdom, piety, and disinterested love.

Once more, you must have faith in Christianity, as adapted to the mind of the child, as the very truth fitted to enlighten, interest, and improve the human being in the first years of his life. It is the property of our religion, that, whilst it stretches beyond the grasp of the mightiest intellect, it contracts itself, so to speak, within the limits of the narrowest; that, whilst it furnishes matter of inexhaustible speculation to such men as Locke and Newton, it condescends to the ignorant and becomes the teacher of babes. Christianity at once speaks with authority in the schools of the learned, and enters the nursery to instil with gentle voice celestial wisdom into the ears of infancy. And this wonderful property of our religion is to be explained by its being founded on, and answering to, the primitive and most universal principles of human nature. It reveals God as a parent; and the first sentiment which dawns on the child is love to its parents. It enjoins not arbitrary commands, but teaches the everlasting principles of duty; and the sense of duty begins to unfold itself in the earliest stages of our being. It speaks of a future world and its inhabitants; and childhood welcomes the idea of angels, of spirits, of the vast, the wonderful, the unseen. Above all, Christianity is set forth in the life, the history, the character of Jesus; and his character, though so sublime, is still so real, so genuine, so remarkable for simplicity, and so naturally unfolded amidst the common scenes of life, that it is seized in its principal features by the child as no other greatness can be. One of the excellencies of Christianity is, that it is not an abstruse theory, not wrapt up in abstract phrases; but taught us in facts, in narratives. It lives, moves, speaks, and acts before our eyes. Christian love is not taught us in cold precepts. It speaks from the cross. So, immortality is not a vague promise. It breaks forth like the morning from the tomb near Calvary. It becomes a glorious reality in the person of the rising Saviour; and his ascension opens to our view the heaven into which he enters. It is this historical form of our religion which peculiarly adapts it to childhood, to the imagination and heart, which open first in childhood. In this sense, the kingdom of heaven, the religion of Christ, belongs to children. This you

must feel. Believe in the fitness of our religion for those you teach. Feel that you have the very instrument for acting on the young mind, that you have the life-giving word.

II. Having considered the faith in which the Sunday-school should be founded, I proceed now to consider the end, the great object, which should be proposed and kept steadily in view by its friends. To work efficiently and usefully, we must understand what we are to work for. In proportion as an end is seen dimly and unsteadily, our action will be vague, uncertain, and our energy wasted. What, then, is the end of the Sunday-school? The great end is, to awaken the soul of the pupil, to bring his understanding, conscience, and heart into earnest, vigorous action on religious and moral truth, to excite and cherish in him spiritual life. Inward life, force, activity, this it must be our aim to call forth and build up in all our teachings of the young, especially in religious teaching. You must never forget, my friends, whether parents or Sunday-school instructors, what kind of a being you are acting upon. Never forget that the child is a rational, moral, free being, and that the great end of education is to awaken rational and moral energy within him, and to lead him to the free choice of the right, to the free determination of himself to truth and duty. The child is not a piece of wax to be moulded at another's pleasure, not a stone to be hewn passively into any shape which the caprice and interest of others may dictate; but a living, thinking being, made to act from principles in his own heart, to distinguish for himself between good and evil, between truth and falsehood, to form himself, to be in an important sense the author of his own character, the determiner of his own future being. This most important view of the child should never forsake the teacher. He is a free moral agent, and our end should be to develop such a being. He must not be treated as if he were unthinking matter. You can make a house, a ship, a statue, without its own consent. You determine the machines which you form wholly by your own will. The child has a will as well as yourselves. The great design of his being is, that he should act *from* himself and *on* himself. He can understand the perfection of his nature, and is created that he may accomplish it from free choice, from a sense of duty, from his own deliberate purpose.

The great end in religious instruction, whether in the Sunday-school or family, is, not to stamp *our* minds irresistibly on the young, but to stir up their own; not to make them see with our eyes, but to look inquiringly and steadily with their own; not to give them a definite amount of knowledge, but to inspire a fervent love of truth; not to form an outward regularity, but to touch inward springs; not to burden the memory, but to quicken and strengthen the power of thought; not to bind them by ineradicable prejudices to our particular sect or peculiar notions, but to prepare them for impartial, conscientious judging of whatever subjects may, in the course of Providence, be offered to their decision; not to impose religion upon them in the form of arbitrary rules, which rest on no foundation but our own word and will, but to awaken the conscience, the moral discernment, so that they may discern and approve for themselves what is everlastingly right and good; not to *tell* them that God is good, but to help them to see and feel his love in all that He does within and around them; not to tell them of the dignity of Christ, but to open their inward eye to the beauty and greatness of his character, and to enkindle aspirations after a kindred virtue. In a word, the great object of all schools is to awaken intellectual and moral life in the child. Life is the great thing to be sought in a human being. Hitherto, most religions and governments have been very much contrivances for extinguishing life in the human soul. Thanks to God, we live to see the dawning of a better day.

By these remarks, I do not mean that we are never to give our children a command without assigning our reasons, or an opinion without stating our proofs. They must rely on us in the first instance for much that they cannot comprehend; but I mean that our great aim in controlling them must be to train them to control themselves, and our great aim in giving them instruction must be to aid them in the acquisition of truth for themselves. As far as possible, religion should be adapted to their minds and hearts. We should teach religion as we do nature. We do not shut up our children from

outward nature, and require them to believe in the great laws of the Creator, in the powers of light, heat, steam, gravity, on our word alone. We put them in the presence of nature. We delight to verify what we teach them of the mineral, animal, and vegetable worlds, by facts placed under their own eyes. We encourage them to observe for themselves, and to submit to experiment what they hear. Now, all the great principles of morals and religion may be illustrated and confirmed, like the great laws of nature, by what falls under the child's own consciousness and experience. Indeed, great moral and religious truths are nearer to him than the principles of natural science. The germs of them are in the soul. All the elementary ideas of God and duty and love and happiness come to him from his own spiritual powers and affections. Moral good and evil, virtue and vice, are revealed to him in his own motives of action and in the motives of those around him. Faith in God and virtue does not depend on assertion alone. Religion carries its own evidence with it more than history or science. It should rest more on the soul's own consciousness, experience, and observation. To wake up the soul to a clear, affectionate perception of the reality and truth and greatness of religion, is the great end of teaching.

The great danger of Sunday-schools is, that they will fall into a course of mechanical teaching, that they will give religion as a lifeless tradition, and not as a quickening reality. It is not enough to use words conveying truth. Truth must be so given that the mind will lay hold on, will recognize it as truth, and will incorporate it with itself. The most important truth may lie like a dead weight on the mind, just as the most wholesome food, for want of action in the digestive organs, becomes an oppressive load. I do not think that so much harm is done by giving error to a child as by giving truth in a lifeless form. What is the misery of the multitudes in Christian countries? Not that they disbelieve Christianity; not they hold great errors; but that truth lies dead within them. They use the most sacred words without meaning. They hear of spiritual realities, awful enough to raise the dead, with utter unconcern; and one reason of this insensibility is, that teaching in early life was so mechanical, that religion was lodged in the memory and the unthinking belief, whilst the reason was not awakened, nor the conscience nor the heart moved. According to the common modes of instruction, the minds of the young become worn to great truths. By reading the Scriptures without thought or feeling, their minds are dulled to its most touching and sublime passages; and, when once a passage lies dead in the mind, its resurrection to life and power is a most difficult work. Here lies the great danger of Sunday-schools. Let us never forget that their end is to awaken life in the minds and hearts of the young.

III. I now proceed to consider what is to be taught in the Sunday-schools, to accomplish the great end of which I have spoken;* and this may seem soon settled. Should I ask you what is to be taught in the Sunday-school, the answer would be, "The Christian religion. The institution is a Christian one, and has for its end the communication of Christian truth." I acquiesce in the answer; but the question then comes, "In what forms shall the religion be taught, so as to wake up the life of the child? Shall a catechism be taught?" I say, No. A catechism is a skeleton, a dead letter, a petrifaction. Wanting life, it can give none. A cold abstraction, it cannot but make religion repulsive to pupils whose age demands that truth should be embodied, set before their eyes, bound up with real life. A catechism, by being systematical, may give a certain order and method to teaching; but systems of theology are out of place in Sunday-schools. They belong to the end, not the beginning of religious teaching. Besides, they are so generally the constructions of human ingenuity rather than the living forms of divine wisdom; they give such undue prominence to doctrines which have been lifted into importance only by the accident of having been made matters of controversy; they so often sacrifice common-sense, the plain dictates of reason and conscience, to the preservation of what is called

* In the remarks which I am to make on what is to be taught in the Sunday-school, I take it for granted that this school is the first stage of a course of religious instruction, not the whole course; that it prepares for, but does not include, Bible classes, and other classes in which the most difficult books of Scripture, the evidences of natural and revealed religion, and a system of moral philosophy, should be taught.

consistency; they lay such fetters on teacher and learner, and prevent so much the free action of the mind and heart, that they seldom enter the Sunday-school but to darken and mislead it.

The Christian religion should be learned not from catechisms and systems, but from the Scriptures, and especially from that part of the Scriptures in which it especially resides, — in the histories, actions, words, sufferings, triumphs of Jesus Christ. The Gospels, the Gospels, these should be the textbook of Sunday-schools. They are more adapted to the child than any other part of Scripture. They are full of life, reality, beauty, power, and in skilful hands are fitted above all writing to awaken spiritual life in old and young.

The Gospels are to be the study of the Sunday-school teacher, and of all who teach the young; and the great object of study must be to penetrate to the spirit of these divine writings, and, above all things, to comprehend the spirit, character, purpose, motives, love of Jesus Christ. He is to be the great study. In him, his religion is revealed as nowhere else. Much attention is now given, and properly given, by teachers to what may be called the letter of the Gospels, to the geography of the country where Christ lived, to the customs to which he refers, to the state of society which surrounded him. This knowledge is of great utility. We should strive to learn the circumstances in which Jesus was placed and lived, as thoroughly as those of our own times. We should study the men among whom he lived, their opinions and passions, their hopes and expectations, the sects who hated and opposed him, the superstitions which prevailed among the learned and the multitude, and strive to see all these things as vividly as if we had lived at the very moment of Christ's ministry. But all this knowledge is to be gained not for its own sake, but as a means of bringing us near to Jesus, of letting us into the secrets of his mind, of revealing to us his spirit and character, and of bringing out the full purpose and import of all that he did and said. It is only by knowing the people among whom he was born, and brought up, and lived, and died, that we can fully comprehend the originality, strength, and dignity of his character, his unborrowed, self-subsisting excellence, his miraculous love. We have very few of us a conception how Jesus stood alone in the age in which he lived, how unsustained he was in his great work, how he found not one mind to comprehend his own, not one friend to sympathize with his great purpose, how every outward influence withstood him; and, for want of this conception, we do not regard Jesus with the interest which his character should inspire.

The teachers of the young should strive to be at home with Jesus, to know him familiarly, to form a clear, vivid, bright idea of him, to see him just as he appeared on earth, to see him in the very dress in which he manifested himself to the men of his age. They should follow him to the temple, to the mountain top, to the shores of the sea of Galilee, and should understand the mixed feelings of the crowd around him, should see the scowl of the Pharisee who listened to catch his words for some matter of accusation, the imploring look of the diseased seeking healing from his words, the gaze of wonder among the ignorant, and the delighted, affectionate, reverential eagerness with which the single-hearted and humble hung on his lips. Just in proportion as we can place ourselves near to Christ, his wisdom, love, greatness will break forth, and we shall be able to bring him near to the mind of the child.

The truth is, that few of us apprehend vividly the circumstances under which Jesus lived and taught, and therefore much of the propriety, beauty, and authority of his character is lost. For example, his outward condition is not made real to us. The pictures which the great artists have left us of Jesus have helped to lead us astray. He is there seen with a glory around his head, and arrayed in a robe of grace and majesty. Now, Jesus was a poor man; he had lived and wrought as a carpenter, and he came in the dress common to those with whom he had grown up. His chosen companions were natives of an obscure province, despised for its ignorance and rude manners, and they followed him in the garb of men who were accustomed to live by daily toil. Such was the outward condition of Jesus. Such was his manifestation to a people burning with expectation of

a splendid, conquering deliverer; and in such circumstances he spoke with an authority which awed both high and low. In learning the outward circumstances of Jesus, we not merely satisfy a natural curiosity, but obtain a help towards understanding his character and the spirit of his religion. His condition reveals to us the force and dignity of his mind, which could dispense with the ordinary means of inspiring respect. It shows the deep sympathy of Christ with the poor of our race, for among these he chose to live. It speaks condemnation to those who, professing to believe in Christ, separate themselves from the multitude of men because of the accident of wealth, and attach ideas of superiority to dress and show. From this illustration you may learn the importance of being acquainted with every part of Christ's history, with his common life, as well as his more solemn actions and teachings. Every thing relating to him breathes instruction, and gives the teacher a power over the mind of the child.

The Gospels must be the great study to the Sunday-school teacher. Many, when they hear of studying the New Testament, imagine that they must examine commentators to understand better the difficult texts, the dark passages in that book. I mean something very different. Strive, indeed, to clear up as far as you can the obscure portions of Christ's teaching. There are texts which, in consequence of their connection with forgotten circumstances of the time, are now of uncertain meaning. But do not think that the most important truths of Christianity are locked up in these dark passages of the New Testament. There is nothing in the dark, which is not to be found in the plain, portions of Scripture. Perhaps the highest use of examining difficult texts is to discover their harmony with those that are clear. The parts of the gospel which the Sunday-school teacher should most study are those which need no great elucidation from criticism, — the parables, the miracles, the actions, the suffering, the prayers, the tears of Jesus; and these are to be studied, that the teacher may learn the spirit, the soul of Christ, may come near to that wonderful being, may learn the great purpose to which he was devoted, the affections which overflowed his heart, the depth and expansiveness of his love, the profoundness of his wisdom, the unconquerable strength of his trust in God.* The character of Christ is the sum of his religion. It is the clearest, the most beautiful manifestation of the character of God, far more clear and touching than all the teachings of nature. It is also the brightest revelation to us of the moral perfection which his precepts enjoin, of disinterested love to God and man, of faithfulness to principle, of fearlessness in duty, of superiority to the world, of delight in the good and the true. The expositions of the Christian virtues in all the volumes of all ages, are cold and dark compared with the genial light and the warm coloring in which Christ's character sets before us the spirit of his religion, the perfection of our nature.

The great work, then, of the Sunday-school teacher is to teach Christ, and to teach him not as set forth in creeds and human systems, but as living and moving in the simple histories of the Evangelists. Christ is to be taught; and by this I mean, not any mystical doctrine about his nature, not the doctrine of the Trinity, but the spirit of Christ, breathing forth in all that he said and all that he did. We should seek that the child should know his heavenly friend and Saviour with the distinctness with which he knows an earthly friend; and this knowledge is not to be given by teaching him dark notions about Christ, which have perplexed and convulsed the church for ages. The doctrine of the Trinity seems to me only fitted to throw a mistiness over Christ, to place him beyond

* Commentaries have their use, but not the highest use. They explain the letter of Christianity, give the meaning of words, remove obscurities from the sense, and so far they do great good; but the life, the power, the spirit of Christianity, they do not unfold. They do not lay open to us the heart of Christ. I remember that a short time ago I was reading a book, not intended to be a religious one, in which some remarks were offered on the conduct of Jesus, as, just before his death, he descended from the Mount of Olives, and amidst a crowd of shouting disciples looked on Jerusalem, the city of his murderers, which in a few hours was to be stained with his innocent blood. The conscious greatness with which he announced the ruin of that proud metropolis and its venerated temple, and his deep sympathy with its approaching woes, bursting forth in tears, and making him forget for a moment his own near agonies and the shouts of the surrounding multitude, were brought to my mind more distinctly than ever before; and I felt that this more vivid apprehension of Jesus was worth more than much of the learning in which commentators abound.

the reach of our understanding and hearts. When I am told that Jesus Christ is the second person in the Trinity, one of three persons, who constitute one God, one infinite mind, I am plunged into an abyss of darkness. Jesus becomes to me the most unintelligible being in the universe. God I can know. Man I can understand. But Christ, as described in human creeds, a compound being, at once man and God, at once infinite in wisdom and ignorant of innumerable truths, and who is so united with two other persons as to make with them one mind, — Christ so represented baffles all my faculties. I cannot lay hold on him. My weak intellect is wholly at fault; and I cannot believe that the child's intellect can better apprehend him. This is a grave objection to the doctrine of the Trinity. It destroys the reality, the distinctness, the touching nearness of Jesus Christ. It gives him an air of fiction, and has done more than all things to prevent a true, deep acquaintance with him, with his spirit, with the workings of his mind, with the sublimity of his virtue. It has thrown a glare over him, under which the bright and beautiful features of his character have been very much concealed.

From what I have said, you see what I suppose the Sunday-school teacher is to learn and teach. It is the Christian religion as unfolded in the plainest portions of the gospel. Before leaving this topic, I wish to offer some remarks, which may prevent all misapprehension of what I have said. I have spoken against teaching Christianity to children as a system. I have spoken of the inadequacy of catechisms. In thus speaking, I do not mean that the teacher shall have nothing systematic in his knowledge. Far from it. He must not satisfy himself with studying separate actions, words, and miracles of Jesus. He must look at Christ's history and teaching as a whole, and observe the great features of his truth and goodness, the grand characteristics of his system, and in this way learn what great impressions he must strive to make on the child, by the particular facts and precepts which each lesson presents. There ought to be a unity in the mind of the teacher. His instructions must not be loose fragments, but be bound together by great views. Perhaps you may ask, what are these great views of Christianity which pervade it throughout, and to which the mind of the learner must be continually turned? There are three, which seem to me especially prominent, — the spirituality of the religion, its disinterestedness, and, lastly, the vastness, the infinity of its prospects.

The first great feature of Christianity which should be brought out continually to the child, is its spirituality. Christ is a spiritual deliverer. His salvation is inward. This great truth cannot be too much insisted on. Christ's salvation is within. The evils from which he comes to release us are inward. The felicity which he came to give is inward, and therefore everlasting. Carry, then, your pupils into themselves. Awake in them, as far as possible, a consciousness of their spiritual nature, of the infinite riches which are locked up in reason, in conscience, in the power of knowing God, loving goodness, and practising duty; and use all the history and teachings of Christ, to set him before them as the fountain of life and light to their souls. For example, when his reign, kingdom, power, authority, throne, are spoken of, guard them against attaching an outward import to these words; teach them that they mean not an outward empire, but the purifying, elevating influence of his character, truth, spirit, on the human mind. Use all his miracles as types, emblems, of a spiritual salvation. When your pupils read of his giving sight to the blind, let them see in this a manifestation of his character as the Light of the world; and, in the joy of the individual whose eyes were opened from perpetual night on the beauty of nature, let them see a figure of the happiness of the true disciple, who, by following Christ, is brought to the vision of a more glorious luminary than the sun, and of a more majestic and enduring universe than material worlds. When the precepts of Christ are the subjects of conversation, turn the mind of the child to their spiritual import. Let him see that the worth of the action lies in the principle, motive, purpose, from which it springs; that love to God, not outward worship, and love to man, not outward deeds, are the very essence, soul, centre, of the Christian law. Turn his attention to the singular

force and boldness of language in which Jesus calls to rise above the body and the world, above the pleasures and pains of the senses, above wealth and show, above every outward good. In speaking of the promises and threatenings of Christianity, do not speak as if goodness were to be sought and sin shunned for their outward consequences; but express your deep conviction that goodness is its own reward, worth infinitely more than all outward recompense, and that sin is its own curse, and more to be dreaded on its own account than a burning hell. When God is the subject of conversation, do not spend all your strength in talking of what He has made around you; do not point the young to his outward works as his chief manifestations. Lead them to think of him as revealed in their own minds, as the Father of their spirits, as more intimately present with their souls than with the sun, and teach them to account as his best gifts, not outward possessions, but the silent influences of his Spirit, his communications of light to their minds, of warmth and elevation to their feelings, and of force to their resolution of well-doing. Let the spirituality of Christianity shine forth in all your teachings. Let the young see how superior Jesus was to outward things, how he looked down on wealth and show as below his notice, how he cared nothing for outward distinctions, how the beggar by the road side received from him marks of deeper interest than Pilate on his judgment-seat or Herod on his throne, how he looked only at the human spirit and sought nothing but its recovery and life.

I have spoken of the spirituality of Christianity. The next great feature of the religion to be constantly set before the child, is its disinterestedness. The essence of Christianity is generous affection. Nothing so distinguishes it as generosity. Disinterested love not only breaks out in separate teachings of Christ; it spreads like the broad light of heaven over the whole religion. Every precept is but an aspect, — an expression of generous love. This prompted every word, guided every step, of Jesus. It was the life of his ministry; it warmed his heart in death; it flowed out with his heart's blood. The pupil should be constantly led to see and feel this divine spirit pervading the religion. The Gospels should be used to inspire him with reverence for generous self-sacrifice and with aversion to every thing narrow and mean. Let him learn that he is not to live for himself; that he has a heart to be given to God and to his fellow-creatures; that he is to do the will of God, not in a mercenary spirit, but from gratitude, filial love, and from sincere delight in goodness; that he is to prepare himself to toil and suffer for his race. The cross — that emblem of self-sacrifice, that highest form of an all-surrendering love — is to be set before him as the standard of his religion, the banner under which he is to live, and, if God so require, to die.

There is one other great feature of Christianity, and that is the vastness, the infinity of its prospects. This was revealed in the whole life of Jesus. In all that he said we see his mind possessed with the thought of being ordained to confer an infinite good. That teacher knows little of Christ who does not see him filled with the consciousness of being the author of an everlasting salvation and happiness to the human race. "I am the resurrection and the life. He that believeth on me shall never see death." Such was his language, and such never fell before from human lips. When I endeavor to bring to my mind the vast hopes which inspired him as he pronounced these words, and his joy at the anticipation of the immortal fruits which his life and death were to yield to our race, I feel how little his character is yet understood by those who think of Jesus as a man of sorrow, borne down habitually by a load of grief. Constantly lead your pupils to observe how real, deep, and vivid was the impression on the mind of Jesus of that future, everlasting life which he came to bestow. Speak to them of the happiness with which he looked on all human virtue, as being a germ which was to unfold for ever, a fountain of living water which was to spring up into immortality, a love which was to expand through all ages and to embrace the universe. It is through the mind of Christ, living, as it did, in a higher world, that they can best comprehend the reality and vastness of the prospects of the human soul.

Such are the three great features of the religion which the teacher should bring most frequently to the mind of the child. In these, as in all my preceding remarks, you perceive the importance which I attach to the character of Christ, as the great means of giving spiritual light and life to the mind. The Gospels, in which he is placed before us so vividly, are in truth the chief repositories of divine wisdom. The greatest productions of human genius have little quickening power in comparison with these simple narratives. In reading the Gospels, I feel myself in presence of one who speaks as man never spake; whose voice is not of the earth; who speaks with a tone of reality and authority altogether his own; who speaks of God as conscious of his immediate presence, as enjoying with him the intimacy of an only Son; and who speaks of heaven as most familiar with the higher states of being. Great truths come from Jesus with a simplicity, an ease, showing how deeply they pervaded and possessed his mind. No books astonish me like the Gospels. Jesus, the hero of the story, is a more extraordinary being than imagination has feigned, and yet his character has an impress of nature, consistency, truth, never surpassed. You have all seen portraits which, as soon as seen, you felt to be likenesses, so living were they, so natural, so true. Such is the impression made on my mind by the Gospels. I believe that you or I could lift mountains or create a world as easily as fanaticism or imposture could have created such a character and history as that of Jesus Christ. I have read the Gospels for years, and seldom read them now without gaining some new or more striking view of the great teacher and deliverer whom they portray. Of all books, they deserve most the study of youth and age. Happy the Sunday-school in which their spirit is revealed!

But I have not yet said every thing in favor of them as the great sources of instruction. I have said that the Christian religion is to be taught from the Gospels. This is their great, but not their only use. Much incidental instruction is to be drawn from them. There are two great subjects on which it is very desirable to give to the young the light they can receive, human nature and human life; and on these points the Gospels furnish occasions of much useful teaching. They give us not only the life and character of Christ, but place him before us in the midst of human beings and of human affairs. Peter, the ardent, the confident, the false, the penitent Peter; the affectionate John; the treacherous Judas, selling his Master for gold; Mary, the mother, at the cross; Mary Magdalen at the tomb; the woman, who had been a sinner, bathing his feet with tears, and wiping them with the hair of her head; — what revelations of the human soul are these! What depths of our nature do they lay open! It is a remarkable fact that the great masters of painting have drawn their chief subjects from the New Testament; so full is this volume of the most powerful and touching exhibitions of human character. And how much instruction does this book convey in regard to life as well as in regard to the soul! I do not know a more affecting picture of human experience than the simple narrative of Luke: — "When Jesus came nigh to the city, behold, there was a dead man carried out, the only son of his mother, and she was a widow; and much people of the city was with her." The Gospels show us fellow-beings in all varieties of condition, the blind man, the leper, the rich young ruler, the furious multitude. They give practical views of life, which cannot be too early impressed. They show us, in the history of Jesus and his Apostles, that true greatness may be found in the humblest ranks, and that goodness, in proportion as it becomes eminent, exposes itself to hatred and reproach, so that we must make up our minds, if we would be faithful, to encounter shame and loss for God and duty. In truth, all the variety of wisdom which youth needs may be extracted from these writings. The Gospels, then, are to be the great study of the Sunday-school.

I cannot close these remarks on what is to be taught in the Sunday-school, without repeating what I have said of the chief danger of this institution. I refer to the danger of mechanical teaching, by which the young mind becomes worn, deadened to the greatest truths. The Gospels, life-giving as they are, may be rendered wholly inoperative by the want of life in the instructor. So great is my dread of tame, mechanical teaching, that I am sometimes almost

tempted to question the utility of Sunday-schools. We Protestants, in our zeal for the Bible, are apt to forget that the very commonness of the book tends to impair its power, that familiarity breeds indifference, and that no book, therefore, requires such a living power in the teacher. He must beware lest he make the Gospels trite by too frequent repetition. It will often be best for him to assist his pupils in extracting the great principle of truth involved in a precept, parable, or action of Jesus, and to make this the subject of conversation, without farther reference to the text by which it was suggested. If he can lead them, by fit questions, to find this principle in their own consciousness and experience, in their own moral judgments and feelings, and to discover how it should be applied to their characters and brought out in their common lives, he will not only convey the most important instruction, but will give new vividness and interest to the Scriptures, and a deeper conviction of their truth, by showing how congenial they are with human nature, and how intimately connected with human affairs and with real life. Let me also mention, as another means of preserving the Scriptures from degradation by too frequent handling, that extracts from biography, history, natural science, fitted to make religious impressions, should be occasionally introduced into the Sunday-school. Such seems to me the instruction which the ends of this institution require.

IV. We have now seen what is to be taught in the Sunday-school, and the question now comes, How shall it be taught? This is my last head, and not the least important. On the manner of teaching, how much depends! I fear it is not sufficiently studied by Sunday-school instructors. They meet generally, and ought regularly to meet, to prepare themselves for their tasks. But their object commonly is to learn *what* they are to teach, rather than *how* to teach it; but the last requires equal attention with the first, — I had almost said more. From deficiency in this, we sometimes see that an instructor, profoundly acquainted with his subject, is less successful in teaching than another of comparatively superficial acquisitions; he knows much, but does not know the way to the child's mind and heart. The same truth, which attracts and impresses from one man's lips repels from another. At the meeting of the Sunday-school teachers, it is not enough to learn the meaning of the portion of Scripture which is to be the subject of the next lesson; it is more important to select from it the particular topics which are adapted to the pupil's comprehension, and still more necessary to inquire under what lights or aspects they may be brought to his view, so as to arrest attention and reach the heart. A principal end in the meeting of teachers should be to learn the art of teaching, the way of approach to the youthful mind.

The first aim of the teacher will of course be to fix the attention of the pupil. It is in vain that you have his body in the school-room if his mind is wandering beyond it, or refuses to fasten itself on the topic of discourse. In common schools attention is fixed by a severe discipline, incompatible with the spirit of Sunday-schools. Of course the teacher must aim to secure it by a moral influence over the youthful mind.

As the first means of establishing an influence over the young, I would say, you must love them. Nothing attracts like love. Children are said to be shrewd physiognomists, and read as by instinct our feelings in our countenances; they know and are drawn to their friends. I recently asked how a singularly successful teacher in religion obtained his remarkable ascendency over the young. The reply was, that his whole intercourse expressed affection. His secret was a sincere love.

The next remark is, that to awaken in the young an interest in what you teach, you must take an interest in it yourselves. You must not only understand, but feel the truth. Your manner must have the natural animation which always accompanies a work into which our hearts enter. Accordingly, one of the chief qualifications of a Sunday-school teacher is religious sensibility. Old and young are drawn by a natural earnestness of manner. Almost any subject may be made interesting, if the teacher will but throw into it his soul.

Another important rule is, Let your teaching be intelligible. Children will not listen to words which excite no ideas, or only vague and misty concep

tions. Speak to them in the familiar, simple language of common life, and if the lesson have difficult terms, define them. Children love light, not darkness. Choose topics of conversation to which their minds are equal, and pass from one to another by steps which the young can follow. Be clear, and you will do much towards being interesting teachers.

Another suggestion is, Teach much by questions. These stimulate, stir up the young mind, and make it its own teacher. They encourage the spirit of inquiry, the habit of thought. Questions, skilfully proposed, turn the child to his own consciousness and experience, and will often draw out from his own soul the truth which you wish to impart; and no lesson is so well learned as that which a man or a child teaches himself.

Again. Teach graphically where you can. That is, when you are discoursing of any narrative of Scripture, or relating an incident from other sources, try to seize its great points and to place it before the eyes of your pupils. Cultivate the power of description. A story well told, and in which the most important particulars are brought out in a strong light, not only fixes attention, but often carries a truth farthest into the soul.

Another rule is, Lay the chief stress on what is most important in religion. Do not conduct the child over the Gospels as over a dead level. Seize on the great points, the great ideas. Do not confound the essential and the unessential, or insist with the same earnestness on grand, comprehensive, life-giving truths, and on disputable articles of faith. Immense injury is done by teaching doubtful or secondary doctrines as if they were the weightiest matters of Christianity; for, as time rolls over the child, and his mind unfolds, he discovers that one and another dogma, which he was taught to regard as fundamental, is uncertain if not false, and his scepticism is apt to spread from this weak point over the whole Christian system. Make it your aim to fix in your pupils the grand principles in which the essence of Christianity consists, and which all time and experience serve to confirm; and, in doing this, you will open the mind to all truth as fast as it is presented in the course of Providence.

Another rule is, Carry a cheerful spirit into religious teaching. Do not merely speak of Christianity as the only fountain of happiness. Let your tones and words bear witness to its benignant, cheering influence. Youth is the age of joy and hope, and nothing repels it more than gloom. Do not array religion in terror. Do not make God a painful thought by speaking of him as present only to see and punish sin. Speak of his fatherly interest in the young with a warm heart and a beaming eye, and encourage their filial approach and prayers. On this part, however, you must beware of sacrificing truth to the desire of winning your pupil. Truth, truth in her severest as well as mildest forms, must be placed before the young. Do not, to attract them to duty, represent it as a smooth and flowery path. Do not tell them that they can become good, excellent, generous, holy, without effort and pain. Teach them that the sacrifice of self-will, of private interest, and pleasure, to others' rights and happiness, to the dictates of conscience, to the will of God, is the very essence of piety and goodness. But at the same time teach them that there is a pure, calm joy, an inward peace, in surrendering every thing to duty, which can be found in no selfish success. Help them to sympathize with the toils, pains, sacrifices of the philanthropist, the martyr, the patriot, and inspire contempt of fear and peril in adhering to truth and God.

I will add one more rule. Speak of duty, of religion, as something real, just as you speak of the interests of this life. Do not speak as if you were repeating words received from tradition, but as if you were talking of things which you have seen and known. Nothing attracts old and young more than a tone of reality, the natural tone of strong conviction. Speak to them of God as a real being, of heaven as a real state, of duty as a real obligation. Let them see that you regard Christianity as intended to bear on real and common life, that you expect every principle which you teach to be acted out, to be made a rule in the concerns of every day. Show the application of Christianity to the familiar scenes and pursuits of life. Bring it out to them as the great reality. So teach, and you will not teach in vain.

I have thus set before you the principles on which Sunday-schools should rest, and by which they should be guided. If they shall, in any degree, conform to these principles, — and I trust they will, — you cannot, my friends, cherish them with too much care. Their purpose cannot be spoken of too strongly. Their end is the moral and religious education of the young, and this is the most pressing concern of our times. In all times, indeed, it has strong claims; but it was never, perhaps, so important as now, and never could its neglect induce such fearful consequences. The present is a season of great peril to the rising generation. It is distinguished by a remarkable development of human power, activity, and freedom. The progress of science has given men a new control of nature, and in this way has opened new sources of wealth and multiplied the means of indulgence, and in an equal degree multiplied temptations to worldliness, cupidity, and crime. Our times are still more distinguished by the spirit of liberty and innovation. Old institutions and usages, the old restraints on the young, have been broken down. Men of all conditions and ages think, speak, write, act, with a freedom unknown before. Our times have their advantages. But we must not hide from ourselves our true position. This increase of power and freedom, of which I have spoken, tends, in the first instance, to unsettle moral principles, to give to men's minds a restlessness, a want of stability, a wildness of opinion, an extravagance of desire, a bold, rash, reckless spirit. These are times of great moral danger. Outward restraints are removed to an unprecedented degree, and consequently there is a need of inward restraint, of the controlling power of a pure religion, beyond what was ever known before. The principles of the young are exposed to fearful assaults, and they need to be fortified with peculiar care. Temptations throng on the rising generation with new violence, and the power to withstand them must be proportionably increased. Society never needed such zealous efforts, such unslumbering watchfulness for its safety, as at this moment; and without faithfulness on the part of parents and good men, its bright prospects may be turned into gloom.

Sunday-schools belong to this period of society. They grow naturally from the extension of knowledge, in consequence of which more are qualified to teach than in former times, and they are suited to prepare the young for the severe trials which await them in life. As such, let them be cherished. The great question for parents to ask is, how they may strengthen their children against temptation, how they can implant in them principles of duty, purposes of virtue, which will withstand all storms, and which will grow up into all that is generous, just, beautiful, and holy in feeling and action. The question, how your children may prosper most in life should be secondary. Give them force of character, and you give them more than a fortune. Give them pure and lofty principles, and you give them more than thrones. Instil into them Christian benevolence and the love of God, and you enrich them more than by laying worlds at their feet. Sunday-schools are meant to aid you in the great work of forming your children to true excellence. I say they are meant to aid you, not to relieve you from the work, not to be your substitutes, not to diminish domestic watchfulness and teaching, but to concur with you, to give you fellow-laborers, to strengthen your influence over your children. Then give these schools your hearty support, without which they cannot prosper. Your children should be your first care. You indeed sustain interesting relations to society, but your great relation is to your children; and in truth you cannot discharge your obligations to society by any service so effectual as by training up for it enlightened and worthy members in the bosom of the family and the church.

Like all schools, the Sunday-school must owe its influence to its teachers. I would, therefore, close this discourse with saying that the most gifted in our congregation cannot find a worthier field of labor than the Sunday-school. The noblest work on earth is to act with an elevating power on a human spirit. The greatest men of past times have not been politicians or warriors, who have influenced the outward policy or grandeur of kingdoms; but men who, by their deep wisdom and generous sentiments, have given light and life to the

minds and hearts of their own age, and left a legacy of truth and virtue to posterity. Whoever, in the humblest sphere, imparts God's truth to one human spirit, partakes their glory. He labors on an immortal nature. He is laying the foundation of imperishable excellence and happiness. His work, if he succeed, will outlive empires and the stars.

THE MORAL ARGUMENT AGAINST CALVINISM,

Illustrated in a Review of a Work entitled "A General View of the Doctrines of Christianity, designed more especially for the Edification and Instruction of Families. Boston, 1809."

THE work of which we have prefixed the title to this article was published several years ago, and has been read by many among us with pleasure and profit. But it is not known as widely as it should be, and we wish to call to it the notice which it merits. It is not an original work, but was compiled chiefly from the writings of the Rev. Robert Fellowes, whose name is probably known to most of our readers. The title we think not altogether happy, because it raises an expectation which the book does not answer. We should expect from it a regular statement of the great truths of our religion; but we find, what at present is perhaps as useful, a vindication of Christianity from the gross errors which Calvinism has labored to identify with this divine system. This may easily be supposed from the table of contents. The book professes to treat of the following subjects: — The nature of religion, and the mistakes that occur on that subject; the free agency and accountableness of man; the fall of Adam, and original sin; the doctrine of faith in general, and of religious faith in particular; the doctrine of works; the doctrine of regeneration; the doctrine of repentance; the doctrine of grace; the doctrine of election and reprobation; the doctrine of perseverance; the visiting of the iniquities of the fathers upon the children; and the sin against the Holy Ghost. By those who are acquainted with the five thorny points of Calvinism, the design of this compilation will be sufficiently understood from the enumeration of topics now given; and few designs are more praiseworthy than to free Christianity from the reproach brought upon it by that system.

The work under review is professedly popular in its style and mode of discussion. It has little refined and elaborate reasoning, but appeals to the great moral principles of human nature, and to the general strain of the Scriptures. It expresses strongly and without circumlocution the abhorrence with which every mind, uncorrupted by false theology, must look on Calvinism; and although some of its delineations may be overcharged, yet they are substantially correct, and their strength is their excellence. The truth is, that nothing is so necessary on this subject as to awaken moral feeling in men's breasts. Calvinism owes its perpetuity to the influence of fear in palsying the moral nature. Men's minds and consciences are subdued by terror, so that they dare not confess, even to themselves, the shrinking which they feel from the unworthy views which this system gives of God; and, by thus smothering their just abhorrence, they gradually extinguish it, and even come to vindicate in God what would disgrace his creatures. A voice of power and solemn warning is needed to rouse them from this lethargy, to give them a new and a juster dread, the dread of incurring God's displeasure, by making him odious, and exposing religion to insult and aversion. In the present article we intend to treat this subject with great freedom. But we beg that it may be un-

derstood that by Calvinism we intend only the peculiarities or distinguishing features of that system. We would also have it remembered that these peculiarities form a small part of the religious faith of a Calvinist. He joins with them the general, fundamental, and most important truths of Christianity, by which they are always neutralized in a greater or less degree, and in some cases nullified. Accordingly, it has been our happiness to see in the numerous body by which they are professed some of the brightest examples of Christian virtue. Our hostility to the doctrine does not extend to its advocates. In bearing our strongest testimony against error, we do not the less honor the moral and religious worth with which it is often connected.

The book under review will probably be objected to by theologians, because it takes no notice of a distinction, invented by Calvinistic metaphysicians, for rescuing their doctrines from the charge of aspersing God's equity and goodness. We refer to the distinction between *natural* and *moral inability*, — a subtilty which may be thought to deserve some attention, because it makes such a show in some of the principal books of this sect. But, with due deference to its defenders, it seems to us groundless and idle, — a distinction without a difference. An inability to do our duty, which is *born* with us, is to all intents, and according to the established meaning of the word, *natural*. Call it moral, or what you please, it is still a part of the nature which our Creator gave us, and to suppose that He punishes us for it, because it is an inability seated in the will, is just as absurd as to suppose him to punish us for a weakness of sight or of a limb. Common people cannot understand this distinction, cannot split this hair, and it is no small objection to Calvinism that, according to its ablest defenders, it can only be reconciled to God's perfections by a metaphysical subtilty which the mass of people cannot comprehend.

If we were to speak as critics of the style of this book, we should say that, whilst generally clear, and sometimes striking, it has the faults of the style which was very current not many years ago in this country, and which, we rejoice to say, is giving place to a better. The style to which we refer, and which threatened to supplant good writing in this country, intended to be elegant, but fell into jejuneness and insipidity. It delighted in words and arrangements of words which were little soiled by common use, and mistook a spruce neatness for grace. We had a Procrustes' bed for sentences, and there seemed to be a settled war between the style of writing and the free style of conversation. Times, we think, have changed. Men have learned more to write as they speak, and are ashamed to dress up familiar thoughts as if they were just arrived from a far country, and could not appear in public without a foreign and studied attire. They have learned that common words are common, precisely because most fitted to express real feeling and strong conception, and that the circuitous, measured phraseology, which was called elegance, was but the parade of weakness. They have learned that words are the signs of thought, and worthless counterfeits without it, and that style is good when, instead of being anxiously cast into a mould, it seems a free and natural expression of thought, and gives to us with power the workings of the author's mind.

We have been led to make these remarks on the style which in a degree marks the book before us, from a persuasion that this mode of writing has been particularly injurious to religion and to rational religion. It has crept into sermons perhaps more than into any other compositions, and has imbued them with that soporific quality which they have sometimes been found to possess in an eminent degree. How many hearers have been soothed by a smooth, watery flow of words, a regular chime of sentences, and elegantly rocked into repose! We are aware that preachers, above all writers, are excusable for this style, because it is the easiest; and, having too much work to do, they must do it, of course, in the readiest way. But we mourn the necessity, and mourn still more the effect. It gives us great pleasure to say that in this particular we think we perceive an improvement taking place in this region. Preaching is becoming more direct, aims more at impression, and seeks the nearest way to men's hearts and consciences. We often hear from the pul-

pit strong thought in plain and strong language. It is hoped, from the state of society, that we shall not fly from one extreme to another, and degenerate into coarseness: but perhaps even this is a less evil than tameness and insipidity.

To return; the principal argument against Calvinism, in the General View of Christian Doctrines, is the *moral argument*, or that which is drawn from the inconsistency of the system with the divine perfections. It is plain that a doctrine which contradicts our best ideas of goodness and justice cannot come from the just and good God, or be a true representation of his character. This moral argument has always been powerful to the pulling down of the strongholds of Calvinism. Even in the dark period, when this system was shaped and finished at Geneva, its advocates often writhed under the weight of it; and we cannot but deem it a mark of the progress of society that Calvinists are more and more troubled with the palpable repugnance of their doctrines to God's nature, and accordingly labor to soften and explain them, until in many cases the name only is retained. If the stern reformer of Geneva could lift up his head and hear the mitigated tone in which some of his professed followers dispense his fearful doctrines, we fear that he could not lie down in peace until he had poured out his displeasure on their cowardice and degeneracy. He would tell them, with a frown, that *moderate Calvinism* was a solecism, a contradiction in terms, and would bid them in scorn to join their real friend, Arminius. Such is the power of public opinion and of an improved state of society on creeds, that naked, undisguised Calvinism is not very fond of showing itself, and many of consequence know imperfectly what it means. What, then, is the system against which the View of Christian Doctrines is directed?

Calvinism teaches that, in consequence of Adam's sin in eating the forbidden fruit, God brings into life all his posterity with a nature wholly corrupt, so that they are utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all that is spiritually good, and wholly inclined to all evil, and that continually. It teaches that all mankind, having fallen in Adam, are under God's wrath and curse, and so made liable to all miseries in this life, to death itself, and to the pains of hell for ever. It teaches that from this ruined race God, out of his mere good pleasure, has elected a certain number to be saved by Christ, not induced to this choice by any foresight of their faith or good works, but wholly by his free grace and love; and that, having thus predestinated them to eternal life, He renews and sanctifies them by his almighty and special agency, and brings them into a state of grace from which they cannot fall and perish. It teaches that the rest of mankind He is pleased to pass over, and to ordain them to dishonor and wrath for their sins, to the honor of his justice and power; in other words, He leaves the rest to the corruption in which they were born, withholds the grace which is necessary to their recovery, and condemns them to "most grievous torments in soul and body without intermission in hell-fire for ever." Such is Calvinism, as gathered from the most authentic records of the doctrine. Whoever will consult the famous Assembly's Catechisms and Confession, will see the peculiarities of the system in all their length and breadth of deformity. A man of plain sense, whose spirit has not been broken to this creed by education or terror, will think that it is not necessary for us to travel to heathen countries to learn how mournfully the human mind may misrepresent the Deity.

The moral argument against Calvinism, of which we have spoken, must seem irresistible to common and unperverted minds, after attending to the brief statement now given. It will be asked with astonishment, How is it possible that men can hold these doctrines and yet maintain God's goodness and equity? What principles can be more contradictory? To remove the objection to Calvinism, which is drawn from its repugnance to the divine perfections, recourse has been had, as before observed, to the distinction between natural and moral inability, and to other like subtilties. But a more common reply, we conceive, has been drawn from the weakness and imperfection of the human mind, and from its incapacity of comprehending God. Calvinists will tell us that because a doctrine opposes our

convictions of rectitude it is not necessarily false; that apparent are not always real inconsistencies; that God is an infinite and incomprehensible Being, and not to be tried by *our* ideas of fitness and morality; that we bring their system to an incompetent tribunal when we submit it to the decision of human reason and conscience; that we are weak judges of what is right and wrong, good and evil, in the Deity; that the happiness of the universe may require an administration of human affairs which is very offensive to limited understandings; that we must follow revelation, not reason or moral feeling, and must consider doctrines which shock us in revelation as awful mysteries, which are dark through our ignorance, and which time will enlighten. How little, it is added, can man explain or understand God's ways! How inconsistent the miseries of life appear with goodness in the Creator! How prone, too, have men always been to confound good and evil, to call the just unjust! How presumptuous is it in such a being to sit in judgment upon God, and to question the rectitude of the divine administration, because it shocks *his* sense of rectitude! Such we conceive to be a fair statement of the manner in which the Calvinist frequently meets the objection that his system is at war with God's attributes; such the reasoning by which the voice of conscience and nature is stifled, and men are reconciled to doctrines which, if tried by the established principles of morality, would be rejected with horror. On this reasoning we purpose to offer some remarks; and we shall avail ourselves of the opportunity to give our views of *the confidence which is due to our rational and moral faculties in religion.*

That God is infinite, and that man often errs, we affirm as strongly as our Calvinistic brethren. We desire to think humbly of ourselves, and reverently of our Creator. In the strong language of Scripture, "We now see through a glass darkly." "We cannot by searching find out God unto perfection. Clouds and darkness are round about him. His judgments are a great deep." God is great and good beyond utterance or thought. We have no disposition to idolize our own powers, or to penetrate the secret counsels of the Deity. But, on the other hand, we think it ungrateful to disparage the powers which our Creator has given us, or to question the certainty or importance of the knowledge which He has seen fit to place within our reach. There is an affected humility, we think, as dangerous as pride. We may rate our faculties too meanly, as well as too boastingly. The worst error in religion, after all, is that of the sceptic, who records triumphantly the weaknesses and wanderings of the human intellect, and maintains that no trust is due to the decisions of this erring reason. We by no means conceive that man's greatest danger springs from pride of understanding, though we think as badly of this vice as other Christians. The history of the church proves that men may trust their faculties too little as well as too much, and that the timidity which shrinks from investigation has injured the mind, and betrayed the interests of Christianity, as much as an irreverent boldness of thought.

It is an important truth, which we apprehend has not been sufficiently developed, that the ultimate reliance of a human being is and must be on his own mind. To confide in God, we must first confide in the faculties by which He is apprehended, and by which the proofs of his existence are weighed. A trust in our ability to distinguish between truth and falsehood is implied in every act of belief; for to question this ability would of necessity unsettle all belief. We cannot take a step in reasoning or action without a secret reliance on our own minds. Religion in particular implies that we have understandings endowed and qualified for the highest employments of intellect. In affirming the existence and perfections of God, we suppose and affirm the existence in ourselves of faculties which correspond to these sublime objects, and which are fitted to discern them. Religion is a conviction and an act of the human soul, so that in denying confidence to the one, we subvert the truth and claims of the other. Nothing is gained to piety by degrading human nature, for in the competency of this nature to know and judge of God all piety has its foundation. Our proneness to err instructs us, indeed, to use our powers with great caution, but not to contemn and neglect them. The occasional abuse of our faculties, like it

ever so enormous, does not prove them unfit for their highest end, which is to form clear and consistent views of God. Because our eyes sometimes fail or deceive us, would a wise man pluck them out, or cover them with a bandage, and choose to walk and work in the dark? or, because they cannot distinguish distant objects, can they discern nothing clearly in their proper sphere, and is sight to be pronounced a fallacious guide? Men who, to support a creed, would shake our trust in the calm, deliberate, and distinct decisions of our rational and moral powers, endanger religion more than its open foes, and forge the deadliest weapon for the infidel.

It is true that God is an infinite Being, and also true that his powers and perfections, his purposes and operations, his ends and means, being unlimited, are *incomprehensible*. In other words, they cannot be *wholly taken in* or *embraced* by the human mind. In the strong and figurative language of Scripture, we "know nothing" of God's ways; that is, we know *very few* of them. But this is just as true of the most advanced archangel as of man. In comparison with the vastness of God's system, the range of the highest created intellect is narrow; and in this particular man's lot does not differ from that of his elder brethren in heaven. We are both confined in our observation and experience to a little spot in the creation. But are an angel's faculties worthy of no trust, or is his knowledge uncertain, because he learns and reasons from a small part of God's works? or are his judgments respecting the Creator to be charged with presumption, because his views do not spread through the whole extent of the universe? We grant that our understandings cannot stretch beyond a very narrow sphere. But still the lessons which we learn within this sphere are just as sure as if it were indefinitely enlarged. Because much is unexplored, we are not to suspect what we have actually discovered. Knowledge is not the less real because confined. The man who has never set foot beyond his native village, knows its scenery and inhabitants as undoubtingly as if he had travelled to the poles. We indeed see very little; but that little is as true as if every thing else were seen; and our future discoveries must agree with and support it. Should the whole order and purposes of the universe be opened to us, it is certain that nothing would be disclosed which would in any degree shake our persuasion that the earth is inhabited by rational and moral beings, who are authorized to expect from their Creator the most benevolent and equitable government. No extent of observation can unsettle those primary and fundamental principles of moral truth which we derive from our highest faculties operating in the relations in which God has fixed us. In every region and period of the universe, it will be as true as it is now on the earth that knowledge and power are the measures of responsibility, and that natural incapacity absolves from guilt. These and other moral verities, which are among our clearest perceptions, would, if possible, be strengthened, in proportion as our powers should be enlarged; because harmony and consistency are the characters of God's administration, and all our researches into the universe only serve to manifest its unity, and to show a wider operation of the laws which we witness and experience on earth.

We grant that God is *incomprehensible*, in the sense already given. But He is not therefore *unintelligible;* and this distinction we conceive to be important. We do not pretend to know the *whole* nature and properties of God, but still we can form some *clear ideas* of him, and can reason from these ideas as justly as from any other. The truth is, that we cannot be said to comprehend any being whatever, not the simplest plant or animal. All have hidden properties. Our knowledge of all is limited. But have we therefore no distinct ideas of the objects around us, and is all our reasoning about them unworthy of trust? Because God is infinite, his name is not therefore a mere sound. It is a representative of some distinct conceptions of our Creator; and these conceptions are as sure, and important, and as proper materials for the reasoning faculty, as they would be if our views were indefinitely enlarged. We cannot indeed trace God's goodness and rectitude through the whole field of his operations; but we know the essential nature of these attributes, and therefore can often judge what accords with and op-

poses them. God's goodness, because infinite, does not cease to be goodness, or essentially differ from the same attribute in man; nor does justice change its nature, so that it cannot be understood, because it is seated in an unbounded mind. There have, indeed, been philosophers, "falsely so called," who have argued, from the unlimited nature of God, that we cannot ascribe to him justice and other moral attributes in any proper or definite sense of those words; and the inference is plain, that all religion or worship, wanting an intelligible object, must be a misplaced, wasted offering. This doctrine from the infidel we reject with abhorrence; but something, not very different, too often reaches us from the mistaken Christian, who, to save his creed, shrouds the Creator in utter darkness. In opposition to both, we maintain that God's attributes are intelligible, and that we can conceive as truly of his goodness and justice as of these qualities in men. In fact, these qualities are essentially the same in God and man, though differing in degree, in purity, and in extent of operation. We know not and we cannot conceive of any other justice or goodness than we learn from our own nature; and if God have not these, He is altogether unknown to us as a moral being; He offers nothing for esteem and love to rest upon; the objection of the infidel is just, that worship is wasted: "We worship we know not what."

It is asked, On what authority do we ascribe to God goodness and rectitude in the sense in which these attributes belong to men, or how can we judge of the nature of attributes in the mind of the Creator? We answer by asking, How is it that we become acquainted with the mind of a fellow-creature? The last is as invisible, as removed from *immediate* inspection, as the first. Still we do not hesitate to speak of the justice and goodness of a neighbor; and how do we gain our knowledge? We answer, by witnessing the effects, operations, and expressions of these attributes. It is a law of our nature to argue from the effect to the cause, from the action to the agent, from the ends proposed and from the means of pursuing them, to the character and disposition of the being in whom we observe them. By these processes we learn the invisible mind and character of man; and by the same we ascend to the mind of God, whose works, effects, operations, and ends are as expressive and significant of justice and goodness as the best and most decisive actions of men. If this reasoning be sound (and all religion rests upon it), then God's justice and goodness are intelligible attributes, agreeing essentially with the same qualities in ourselves. Their operation, indeed, is infinitely wider, and they are employed in accomplishing not only immediate but remote and unknown ends. Of consequence, we must expect that many parts of the divine administration will be *obscure*, that is, will not produce *immediate* good, and an *immediate* distinction between virtue and vice. But still the unbounded operation of these attributes does not change their nature. They are still the same as if they acted in the narrowest sphere. We can still determine in many cases what does not accord with them. We are particularly sure that those essential principles of justice which enter into and even form our conception of this attribute must pervade every province and every period of the administration of a just being, and that to suppose the Creator in any instance to forsake them is to charge him directly with unrighteousness, however loudly the lips may compliment his equity.

"But is it not presumptuous in man," it is continually said, "to sit in judgment on God?" We answer, that to "sit in judgment on God" is an ambiguous and offensive phrase, conveying to common minds the ideas of irreverence, boldness, familiarity. The question would be better stated thus: Is it not presumptuous in man to judge concerning God, and concerning what agrees or disagrees with his attributes? We answer confidently, No; for in many cases we are competent and even bound to judge. And we plead first in our defence the Scriptures. How continually does God in his word appeal to the understanding and moral judgment of man! "O inhabitants of Jerusalem and men of Judah, judge, I pray you, between me and my vineyard. What could have been done more to my vineyard, that I have not done in it?" We observe, in the next place, that all religion supposes and is built on judgments passed by us on God

and on his operations. Is it not, for example, our duty and a leading part of piety to *praise* God? And what is praising a being, but to adjudge and ascribe to him just and generous deeds and motives? And of what value is praise, except from those who are capable of distinguishing between actions which exalt and actions which degrade the character? Is it presumptuous to call God *excellent?* And what is this, but to refer his character to a standard of excellence, to try it by the established principles of rectitude, and to pronounce its conformity to them; that is, to judge of God and his operations?

We are presumptuous, we are told, in judging of our Creator. But He himself has made this our duty, in giving us a moral faculty; and to decline it, is to violate the primary law of our nature. Conscience, the sense of right, the power of perceiving moral distinctions, the power of discerning between justice and injustice, excellence and baseness, is the highest faculty given us by God, the whole foundation of our responsibility, and our sole capacity for religion. Now, we are forbidden by this faculty to love a being who wants, or who fails to discover, moral excellence. God, in giving us conscience, has implanted a principle within us which forbids us to prostrate ourselves before mere power, or to offer praise where we do not discover worth, — a principle which challenges our supreme homage for supreme goodness, and which absolves us from guilt, when we abhor a severe and unjust administration. Our Creator has consequently waived his own claims on our veneration and obedience, any farther than He discovers himself to us in characters of benevolence, equity, and righteousness. He rests his authority on the perfect coincidence of his will and government with those great and fundamental principles of morality written on our souls. He desires no worship but that which springs from the exercise of our moral faculties upon his character, from our discernment and persuasion of his rectitude and goodness. He asks, he accepts, no love or admiration but from those who can understand the nature and the proofs of moral excellence.

There are two or three striking facts which show that there is no presumption in judging of God, and of what agrees or disagrees with his attributes. The first fact is, that the most intelligent and devout men have often employed themselves in proving the existence and perfections of God, and have been honored for this service to the cause of religion. Now we ask, what is meant by the *proofs* of a divine perfection? They are certain acts, operations, and methods of government, which are proper and natural effects, signs, and expressions of this perfection, and from which, according to the established principles of reasoning, it may be inferred. To prove the divine attributes is to collect and arrange those works and ways of the Creator which accord with these attributes, correspond to them, flow from them, and express them. Of consequence, to prove them requires and implies *the power of judging of what agrees with them*, of discerning their proper marks and expressions. All our treatises on natural theology rest on this power. Every argument in support of a divine perfection is an exercise of it. To deny it is to overthrow all religion.

Now, if such are the proofs of God's goodness and justice, and if we are capable of discerning them, then we are not necessarily presumptuous when we say of particular measures ascribed to him, that they are inconsistent with his attributes, and cannot belong to him. There is plainly no more presumption in affirming of certain principles of administration, that they oppose God's equity and would prove him unrighteous, than to affirm of others that they prove him upright and good. There are signs and evidences of injustice as unequivocal as those of justice; and our faculties are as adequate to the perception of the last as of the first. If they must not be trusted in deciding what would prove God unjust, they are unworthy of confidence when they gather evidences of his rectitude; and, of course, the whole structure of religion must fall.

It is no slight objection to the mode of reasoning adopted by the Calvinist that it renders the proof of the divine attributes impossible. When we object to his representations of the divine government, that they shock our clearest ideas of goodness and justice, he replies that still they may be true, because we

know very little of God, and what seems unjust to man may be in the Creator the perfection of rectitude. Now, this weapon has a double edge. If the strongest marks and expressions of injustice do not prove God unjust, then the strongest marks of the opposite character do not prove him righteous. If the first do not deserve confidence, because of our narrow views of God, neither do the last. If, when more shall be known, the first may be found consistent with perfect rectitude, so, when more shall be known, the last may be found consistent with infinite malignity and oppression. This reasoning of our opponents casts us on an ocean of awful uncertainty. Admit it, and we have no proofs of God's goodness and equity to rely upon. What we call proofs may be mere appearances, which a wider knowledge of God may reverse. The future may show us that the very laws and works of the Creator, from which we now infer his kindness, are consistent with the most determined purpose to spread infinite misery and guilt, and were intended, by raising hope, to add the agony of disappointment to our other woes. Why may not these anticipations, horrible as they are, be verified by the unfolding of God's system, if our reasonings about his attributes are rendered so very uncertain, as Calvinism teaches, by the infinity of his nature?

We have mentioned one fact to show that it is not presumptuous to judge of God, and of what accords with and opposes his attributes; namely, the fact that his attributes are thought susceptible of proof. Another fact, very decisive on this point, is, that Christians of all classes have concurred in resting the truth of Christianity in a great degree on its *internal* evidence, that is, on its accordance with the perfections of God. How common is it to hear from religious teachers that Christianity is worthy of a good and righteous being, that it bears the marks of a divine original! Volumes have been written on its internal proofs, on the coincidence of its purposes and spirit with our highest conceptions of God. How common, too, is it to say of other religions that they are at war with the divine nature, with God's rectitude and goodness, and that we want no other proofs of their falsehood! And what does all this reasoning imply? Clearly this, that we are capable of determining, in many cases, what is worthy and what is unworthy of God, what accords with and what opposes his moral attributes. Deny us this capacity, and it would be no presumption against a professed revelation, that it ascribed to the Supreme Being the most detestable practices. It might still be said in support of such a system, that it is arrogant in man to determine what kind of revelation suits the character of the Creator. Christianity then leans, at least in part, and some think chiefly, on internal evidence, or on its agreeableness to God's moral attributes: and is it probable that this religion, having this foundation, contains representations of God's government which shock our ideas of rectitude, and that it silences our objections by telling us that we are no judges of what suits or opposes his infinite nature?

We will name one more fact to show that it is not presumptuous to form these judgments of the Creator. All Christians are accustomed to reason from God's attributes, and to use them as tests of doctrines. In their controversies with one another, they spare no pains to show that their particular views accord best with the divine perfections, and every sect labors to throw on its adversaries the odium of maintaining what is unworthy of God. Theological writings are filled with such arguments; and yet *we*, it seems, are guilty of awful presumption when we deny of God principles of administration against which every pure and good sentiment in our breasts rises in abhorrence.

We shall conclude this discussion with an important inquiry. If God's justice and goodness are consistent with those operations and modes of government, which Calvinism ascribes to him, of what use is our belief in these perfections? What expectations can we found upon them? If it consist with divine rectitude to consign to everlasting misery beings who have come guilty and impotent from his hand, we beg to know what interest we have in this rectitude, what pledge of good it contains, or what evil can be imagined which may not be its natural result? If justice and goodness, when stretched to infinity, take such strange forms and appear in such unexpected and apparently inconsistent operations,

how are we sure that they will not give up the best men to ruin, and leave the universe to the powers of darkness? Such results, indeed, seem incompatible with these attributes, but not more so than the acts attributed to God by Calvinism. Is it said that the divine faithfulness is pledged in the Scriptures to a happier issue of things? But why should not divine faithfulness transcend our poor understandings as much as divine goodness and justice, and why may not God, consistently with this attribute, crush every hope which his word has raised? Thus all the divine perfections are lost to us as grounds of encouragement and consolation, if we maintain that their infinity places them beyond our judgment, and that we must expect from them measures and operations entirely opposed to what seems to us most accordant with their nature.

We have thus endeavored to show that the testimony of our rational and moral faculties against Calvinism is worthy of trust. We know that this reasoning will be met by the question, What, then, becomes of Christianity? for this religion plainly teaches the doctrines you have condemned. Our answer is ready. Christianity contains no such doctrines. Christianity, reason, and conscience are perfectly harmonious on the subject under discussion. Our religion, fairly construed, gives no countenance to that system which has arrogated to itself the distinction of Evangelical. We cannot, however, enter this field at present. We will only say that the general spirit of Christianity affords a very strong presumption, that its records teach no such doctrines as we have opposed. This spirit is love, charity, benevolence. Christianity, we all agree, is designed to manifest God as perfect benevolence, and to bring men to love and imitate him. Now, is it probable that a religion, having this object, gives views of the Supreme Being from which our moral convictions and benevolent sentiments shrink with horror, and which, if made our pattern, would convert us into monsters? It is plain that, were a human parent to form himself on the Universal Father, as described by Calvinism, that is, were he to bring his children into life totally depraved, and then to pursue them with endless punishment, we should charge him with a cruelty not surpassed in the annals of the world; or, were a sovereign to incapacitate his subjects in any way whatever for obeying his laws, and then to torture them in dungeons of perpetual woe, we should say that history records no darker crime. And is it probable that a religion which aims to attract and assimilate us to God, considered as love, should hold him up to us in these heart-withering characters? We may confidently expect to find in such a system the brightest views of the divine nature; and the same objections lie against interpretations of its records, which savor of cruelty and injustice, as lie against the literal sense of passages which ascribe to God bodily wants and organs. Let the Scriptures be read with a recollection of the spirit of Christianity, and with that modification of particular texts by this general spirit, which a just criticism requires, and Calvinism would no more enter the mind of the reader than Popery, — we had almost said, than Heathenism.

In the remarks now made, it will be seen, we hope, that we have aimed to expose doctrines, not to condemn their professors. It is true that men are apt to think themselves assailed when their system only is called to account. But we have no foe but error. We are less and less disposed to measure the piety of others by peculiarities of faith. Men's characters are determined, not by the opinions which they profess, but by those on which their thoughts habitually fasten, which recur to them most forcibly, and which color their ordinary views of God and duty. The creed of habit, imitation, or fear may be defended stoutly, and yet have little practical influence. The mind, when compelled by education or other circumstances to receive irrational doctrines, has yet a power of keeping them, as it were, on its surface, of excluding them from its depths, of refusing to incorporate them with its own being; and, when burdened with a mixed, incongruous system, it often discovers a sagacity which reminds us of the instinct of inferior animals, in selecting the healthful and nutritious portions, and in making them its daily food. Accordingly, the real faith often corresponds little with that which is professed. It often happens that, through the progress of the mind in light and virtue, opinions, once central, are grad-

ually thrown outward, lose their vitality, and cease to be principles of action, whilst through habit they are defended as articles of faith. The words of the creed survive, but its advocates sympathize with it little more than its foes. These remarks are particularly applicable to the present subject. A large number, perhaps a majority, of those who surname themselves with the name of Calvin, have little more title to it than ourselves. They keep the name, and drop the principles which it signifies. They adhere to the system as a whole, but shrink from all its parts and distinguishing points. This silent but real defection from Calvinism is spreading more and more widely. The grim features of this system are softening, and its stern spirit yielding to conciliation and charity. We beg our readers to consult for themselves the two Catechisms and the Confession of the Westminster Assembly, and to compare these standards of Calvinism with what now bears its name. They will rejoice, we doubt not, in the triumphs of truth. With these views, we have no disposition to disparage the professors of the system which we condemn, although we believe that its influence is yet so extensive and pernicious as to bind us to oppose it.

Calvinism, we are persuaded, is giving place to better views. It has passed its meridian, and is sinking to rise no more. It has to contend with foes more formidable than theologians; with foes from whom it cannot shield itself in mystery and metaphysical subtilties, — we mean with the progress of the human mind, and with the progress of the spirit of the gospel. Society is going forward in intelligence and charity, and of course is leaving the theology of the sixteenth century behind it. We hail this revolution of opinion as a most auspicious event to the Christian cause. We hear much at present of efforts to spread the gospel. But Christianity is gaining more by the removal of degrading errors than it would by armies of missionaries who should carry with them a corrupted form of the religion. We think the decline of Calvinism one of the most encouraging facts in our passing history; for this system, by outraging conscience and reason, tends to array these high faculties against revelation. Its errors are peculiarly mournful, because they relate to the character of God. It darkens and stains his pure nature, spoils his character of its sacredness, loveliness, glory, and thus quenches the central light of the universe, makes existence a curse, and the extinction of it a consummation devoutly to be wished. We now speak of the *peculiarities* of this system, and of their natural influence, when not counteracted, as they always are in a greater or less degree, by better views, derived from the spirit and plain lessons of Christianity.

We have had so much to do with our subject, that we have neglected to make the usual extracts from the book which we proposed to review. We earnestly wish that a work, answering to the title of this, which should give us "a general view of Christian doctrines," might be undertaken by a powerful hand. Next to a good commentary on the Scriptures, it would be the best service which could be rendered to Christian truth.

LETTER ON CATHOLICISM.

To the Editor of the "Western Messenger," Louisville, Kentucky.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have received your letter, expressing a very earnest desire that I would make some contribution to the pages of the "Western Messenger." Your appeal is too strong to be resisted. I feel that I must send you something, though circumstances, which I cannot control, do not allow me to engage in any elaborate discussion. I have therefore resolved to write you a letter, with the same freedom which I should use if writing not for the public but to a friend. Perhaps it may meet the wants and suit the frank spirit of the West more than a

regular essay. But judge for yourself, and do what you will with my hasty thoughts.

I begin with expressing my satisfaction in your having planted yourself in the West. I am glad for your own sake, as well as for the sake of the cause you have adopted. I say, your own sake. You have chosen the good part. The first question to be asked by a young man entering into active life is, in what situation he can find the greatest scope and excitement to his powers and good affections? That sphere is the best for a man in which he can best unfold the faculties of a man, in which he can do justice to his whole nature; in which his intellect, heart, conscience, will be called into the most powerful life. I am always discouraged when I hear a young man asking for the easiest condition, when I see him looking out for some beaten path, in which he may move on mechanically, and with the least expense of thought or feeling. The young minister sometimes desires to become a fixture in an established congregation, which is bound to its place of worship by obstinate ties of habit, and which can therefore be kept together with little effort of his own. If the congregation happens to be what is called a respectable one, that is, if it happens so far to regard the rules of worldly decorum as never to shock him by immoralities, and never to force him into any new or strenuous exertion for its recovery, so much the better. Such a minister is among the most pitiable members of the community. Happily this extreme case is rare. But the case is not rare of those who, wishing to do good, still desire to reconcile usefulness with all the comforts of life, who shrink from the hazards which men take in other pursuits, who want the spirit of enterprise, who prefer to reap where others have sowed, and to linger round the places of their nativity. At a time when men of other professions pour themselves into the new parts of the country, and are seeking their fortunes with buoyant spirits and overflowing hopes, the minister seems little inclined to seek what is better than fortune in untried fields of labor. Of all men, the minister should be first to inquire, where shall I find the circumstances most fitted to wake up my whole soul, to task all my faculties, to inspire a profound interest, to carry me out of myself? I believe *you* have asked yourself this question, and I think you have answered it wisely. You have thrown yourself into a new country, where there are admirable materials, but where a congregation is to be created by your own faithfulness and zeal. Not even a foundation is laid on which you can build. There are no mechanical habits among the people, which the minister can use as labor-saving machines, which will do much of his work for him, which will draw people to church whether he meets their wants or not. Still more, there are no rigid rules, binding you down to specific modes of action, cramping your energies, warring with your individuality. You may preach in your own way, preach from your observation of the effects produced on a free-speaking people. Tradition does not take the place of your own reason. In addition to this, you see and feel the pressing need of religious instruction, in a region where religious institutions are in their infancy. That, under such circumstances, a man who starts with the true spirit will make progress, can hardly be doubted. You have peculiar trials, but in these you find impulses which, I trust, are to carry you forward to greater usefulness, and to a higher action of the whole soul.

Boston has sometimes been called the Paradise of ministers; and undoubtedly the respect in which the profession is held, and the intellectual helps afforded here, give some reason for the appellation. But there are disadvantages also, and one in particular, to which you are not exposed. Shall I say a word of evil of this good city of Boston? Among all its virtues it does not abound in a tolerant spirit. The yoke of opinion is a heavy one, often crushing individuality of judgment and action. A censorship, unfriendly to free exertion, is exercised over the pulpit as well as over other concerns. No city in the world is governed so little by a police, and so much by mutual inspection, and what is called public sentiment. We stand more in awe of one another than most people. Opinion is less individual, or runs more into masses, and often rules with a rod of iron. Undoubtedly opinion, when enlightened, lofty, pure, is a useful sov-

ereign; but, in the present imperfect state of society, it has its evils as well as benefits. It suppresses the grosser vices rather than favors the higher virtues. It favors public order rather than originality of thought, moral energy, and spiritual life. To prescribe its due bounds is a very difficult problem. Were its restraints wholly removed, the decorum of the pulpit would be endangered; but that these restraints are excessive in this city, and especially in our denomination, that they often weigh oppressively on the young minister, and that they often take from ministers of all ages the courage, confidence, and authority which their high mission should inspire, cannot, I fear, be denied. The minister here, on entering the pulpit, too often feels that he is to be judged rather than to judge; that instead of meeting sinful men, who are to be warned or saved, he is to meet critics to be propitiated or disarmed. He feels, that should he trust himself to his heart, speak without book, and consequently break some law of speech, or be hurried into some daring hyperbole, he should find little mercy. Formerly Felix trembled before Paul; now the successor of Paul more frequently trembles. Foreigners generally set down, as one of our distinctions, the awe in which we stand of opinion, the want of freedom of speech, the predominance of caution and calculation over impulse. This feature of our society exempts it from some dangers; and those persons who see only ruin in the reforming spirit of the times will prize it as our best characteristic. Be this as it may, one thing is sure, that it does not give energy to the ministry, or favor the nobler action or higher products of the mind. Your situation gives you greater freedom. You preach, I understand, wholly without notes. In this you may carry your liberty too far. Writing is one of the great means of giving precision, clearness, consistency, and energy to thought. Every other sermon, I think, should be written, if circumstances allow it. But he who only preaches from notes will never do justice to his own powers and feelings. The deepest fountains of eloquence within him will not be unsealed. He will never know the full power given him over his fellow-creatures.

The great danger to a minister at this time is the want of life, the danger of being dead while he lives. Brought up where Christianity is established, he is in danger of receiving it as a tradition. Brought up where a routine of duty is marked out for him, and a certain style of preaching imposed, he is in danger of preaching from tradition. Ministers are strongly tempted to say what they are expected to say. Accordingly, their tones and looks too often show that they understand but superficially what is meant by their words. You see that they are talking of that which is not *real* to them. This danger of lifelessness is great in old congregations, made up of people of steady habits and respectable characters. The minister in such a case is apt to feel as if his hearers needed no mighty change, and as if his work were accomplished when his truisms, expressed with more or less propriety, are received with due respect. He ought to feel that the people may be spiritually dead with their regular habits, as he may be with his regular preaching; that both may need to be made alive. It is the advantage of such a situation as you are called to fill that you can do nothing without life. A machine in a western pulpit cannot produce even the show of an effect. The people may be less enlightened than we are, more irregular in habits, more defective in character; but they must have living men to speak to them, and must hear a voice which, whether true or erring, still comes from the soul, or they cannot be brought to hear. This is no small compensation for many disadvantages.

This life of which I speak, though easily recognized by a congregation, cannot be easily described by them, just as the most ignorant man can distinguish a living from a dead body, but knows very little in what vitality consists. A common mistake is, that life in the minister is strong emotion. But it consists much more in the clear perception, the deep conviction of the reality of religion, the *reality* of virtue, of man's spiritual nature, of God, of immortality, of heaven. The tone which most proves a minister to be alive is that of calm, entire confidence in the *truth* of what he says, the tone of a man who speaks of what he has seen and handled, the peculiar tone which belongs to one who has come fresh from what he describes, to whom

the future world is as substantial as the present, who does not echo what others say of the human soul, but feels his own spiritual nature as others feel their bodies, and to whom God is as truly present as the nearest fellow-creature. Strong emotion in the pulpit is too often a fever caught by sympathy, or a fervor worked up for the occasion, or a sensibility belonging more to the nerves than the mind, and excited by vague views which fade away before the calm reason. Hence enthusiasts often become sceptics. The great sign of life is to see and feel that there is something real, substantial, immortal, in Christian virtue; to be conscious of the reality and nearness of your relations to God and the invisible world. This is the life which the minister needs, and which it is his great work to communicate. My hope is that, by sending ministers into new situations, where new wants cry to them for supply, a living power may be awakened, to which a long-established routine of labors is not favorable, and which may spread beyond them to their brethren.

I pass now to another subject. We hear much of the Catholic religion in the West, and of its threatening progress. There are not a few here who look upon this alarm as a pious fraud, who consider the cry of "No Popery" as set up by a particular sect to attract to itself distinction and funds; but fear is so natural, and a panic spreads so easily, that I see no necessity of resorting to so unkind an explanation. It must be confessed that Protestantism enters on the warfare with Popery under some disadvantages, and may be expected to betray some consciousness of weakness. Most Protestant sects are built on the papal foundation. Their creeds and excommunications embody the grand idea of infallibility as truly as the decrees of Trent and the Vatican; and if the people must choose between different infallibilities, there is much to incline them to that of Rome. This has age, the majority of votes, more daring assumption, and bolder denunciation on its side. The popes of our different sects are certainly less imposing to the imagination than the Pope at Rome.

I trust, however, that, with these advantages, Catholicism is still not very formidable. It has something more to do than to fight with sects; its great foe is the progress of society. The creation of dark times, it cannot stand before the light. In this country in particular, it finds no coadjutors in any circumstances, passions, or institutions. Catholicism is immovable, and movement and innovation are the order of the day. It rejects the idea of melioration, and the passion for improvement is inflaming all minds. It takes its stand in the past, and this generation are living in the future. It clings to forms, which the mind has outgrown. It will not modify doctrines in which the intelligence of the age cannot but recognize the stamp of former ignorance. It forbids free inquiry, and inquiry is the spirit of the age, — the boldest inquiry, stopping nowhere, invading every region of thought. Catholicism wrests from the people the right to choose their own ministers, and the right of election is the very essence of our institutions. It establishes an aristocratical priesthood, and the whole people are steeped in republicanism. It withholds the Scriptures, and the age is a reading one, and reads the more what is forbidden. Catholicism cannot comprehend that the past is not the present, — cannot comprehend the revolution which the art of printing and the revival of learning have effected. Its memory seems not to come down lower than the middle ages. It aims to impose restraints on thought, which were comparatively easy before the press was set in motion, and labors to shore up institutions, in utter unconsciousness that the state of society, and the modes of thinking on which they rested, have passed away.

The political revolutions of the times are enough to seal the death-warrant of Catholicism, but it has to encounter a far more important spiritual revolution. Catholicism belongs to what may be called the dogmatical age of Christianity, — the age when it was thought our religion might be distilled into a creed, which would prove an elixir of life to whoever would swallow it. We have now come to learn that Christianity is not a dogma, but a spirit, that its essence is the spirit of its divine Founder, that it is of little importance what church a man belongs to, or what formula of doctrines he subscribes, that nothing is important but the supreme love, choice,

pursuit of moral perfection, shining forth in the life and teachings of Christ. This is the true Catholic doctrine, the creed of the true church, gathering into one spiritual communion all good and holy men of all ages and regions, and destined to break down all the earthly clay-built, gloomy barriers which now separate the good from one another. To this great idea of reason and revelation, of the understanding and heart, of experience and philosophy, to this great truth of an advanced civilization, Catholicism stands in direct hostility. How sure, then, is its fall!

The great foe of the Romish church is not the theologian. *He* might be imprisoned, chained, burned. It is human nature waking up to a consciousness of its powers, catching a glimpse of the perfection for which it was made, beginning to respect itself, thirsting for free action and development, learning through a deep consciousness that there is something diviner than forms, or churches, or creeds, recognizing in Jesus Christ its own celestial model, and claiming kindred with all who have caught any portion of his spiritual life and disinterested love; here, here is the great enemy of Catholicism. I look confidently to the ineradicable, ever-unfolding principles of human nature for the victory over all superstitions. Reason and conscience, the powers by which we discern the true and the right, are immortal as their Author. Oppressed for ages, they yet live. Like the central fires of the earth, they can heave up mountains. It is encouraging to see under what burdens and clouds they have made their way: and we must remember that by every new development they are brought more into contact with the life-giving, omnipotent truth and character of Jesus Christ. It makes me smile to hear immortality claimed for Catholicism or Protestantism, or for any past interpretations of Christianity; as if the human soul had exhausted itself in its infant efforts, or as if the men of one or a few generations could bind the energy of human thought and affection for ever. A theology at war with the laws of physical nature would be a battle of no doubtful issue. The laws of our spiritual nature give still less chance of success to the system which would thwart or stay them. The progress of the individual and of society, which has shaken the throne of Rome, is not an accident, not an irregular spasmodic effort, but the natural movement of the soul. Catholicism must fall before it. In truth, it is very much fallen already. It exists, and will long exist, as an outward institution. But compare the Catholicism of an intelligent man of the nineteenth century with what it was in the tenth. The name, the letter remain, — how changed the spirit! The silent reform spreading in the very bosom of Catholicism is as important as the reformation of the sixteenth century, and in truth more effectual.

Catholicism has always hoped for victory over Protestantism, on the ground of the dissensions of Protestants. But its anticipations have not approached fulfilment, and they show us how the most sagacious err when they attempt to read futurity. I have long since learned to hear with composure the auguries of the worldly wise. The truth is, that the dissensions of Protestantism go far to constitute its strength. Through them its spirit, which is freedom, — the only spirit which Rome cannot conquer, — is kept alive. Had its members been organized and bound into a single church, it would have become a despotism as unrelenting, and corrupt, and hopeless as Rome. But this is not all. Protestantism, by being broken into a great variety of sects, has adapted itself to the various modifications of human nature. Every sect has embodied religion in a form suited to some large class of minds. It has met some want, answered to some great principle of the soul, and thus every new denomination has been a new standard under which to gather and hold fast a host against Rome. One of the great arts by which Catholicism spread and secured its dominion was its wonderful flexibleness, its most skilful adaptation of itself to the different tastes, passions, wants of men; and to this means of influence and dominion Protestantism could oppose nothing but variety of sects. I do not recollect that I ever saw this feature of Catholicism brought out distinctly, and yet nothing in the system has impressed me more strongly. The Romish religion calls itself one, but it has a singular variety of forms and aspects. For the lover of forms and outward religion, it has a gorgeous ritual. To the mere man of the

world, it shows a pope on the throne, bishops in palaces, and all the splendor of earthly dominion. At the same time, for the self-denying, ascetic, mystical, and fanatical, it has all the forms of monastic life. To him who would scourge himself into godliness, it offers a whip. For him who would starve himself into spirituality, it provides the mendicant convents of St. Francis. For the anchorite, it prepares the death-like silence of La Trappe. To the passionate young woman, it presents the raptures of St. Theresa, and the marriage of St. Catharine with her Saviour. For the restless pilgrim, whose piety needs greater variety than the cell of the monk, it offers shrines, tombs, relics, and other holy places in Christian lands, and, above all, the holy sepulchre near Calvary. To the generous, sympathizing enthusiast, it opens some fraternity or sisterhood of charity. To him who inclines to take heaven by violence, it gives as much penance as he can ask; and to the mass of men, who wish to reconcile the two worlds, it promises a purgatory, so far softened down by the masses of the priest and the prayers of the faithful, that its fires can be anticipated without overwhelming dread. This composition of forces in the Romish church seems to me a wonderful monument of skill. When, in Rome, the traveller sees by the side of the purple, lackeyed cardinal the begging friar; when, under the arches of St. Peter, he sees a coarsely dressed monk holding forth to a ragged crowd; or when, beneath a Franciscan church, adorned with the most precious works of art, he meets a charnel-house, where the bones of the dead brethren are built into walls, between which the living walk to read their mortality, — he is amazed, if he gives himself time for reflection, at the infinite variety of machinery which Catholicism has brought to bear on the human mind; at the sagacity with which it has adapted itself to the various tastes and propensities of human nature. Protestantism attains this end by more simple, natural, and, in the main, more effectual ways. All the great principles of our nature are represented in different sects, which have, on the whole, a keener passion for self-aggrandizement than the various orders in the Romish church, and thus men of all varieties of mind find something congenial, — find a class to sympathize with.

And here I cannot but observe that Episcopacy renders good service to the Protestant cause. Without being thoroughly Protestant, it is especially efficient against Catholicism; and this good work it does by its very proximity to Rome. From the wide diffusion and long continuance of Catholicism, we may be sure that it embodies some great idea, and answers some want which is early and powerfully developed in the progress of civilization. There is, of consequence, a tendency to Catholicism in society, though more and more restrained by higher tendencies. Happily, Episcopacy is built on the same great idea, but expresses it in a more limited and rational form. It is Catholicism improved, or mother church with a lower mitre and a less royal air; and by meeting the want which carries men to the Romish church, stops numbers on their way to it. Hence, Catholicism hates Episcopacy more than any other form of dissent. Sects are apt to hate each other in proportion to their proximity. The old proverb, that two of a trade cannot agree, applies to religion as strongly as to common life. The amount is, that Catholicism derives little aid from Protestant divisions. In an age as unimproved in Christianity as the present, these divisions are promising symptoms. They prevent men from settling down in a rude Christianity. They keep alive inquiry and zeal. They are essential to freedom and progress. Without these, Protestantism would be only a new edition of Catholicism; and the old pope would certainly beat any new one who could be arrayed against him.

Do you ask me, how I think Catholicism may be most successfully opposed? I know but one way. Spread just, natural, ennobling views of religion. Lift men above Catholicism, by showing them the great spiritual purpose of Christianity. Violence will avail nothing. Romanism cannot be burned down, like the convent at Charlestown. That outrage bound every Catholic faster to his church, and attracted to it the sympathies of the good. Neither is Popery to be subdued by virulence and abuse. The priest can call as hard names as the Protestant pastor. Neither do I

think that any thing is to be gained by borrowing from the Catholic church her forms, and similar means of influence. Borrowed forms are peculiarly formal. No sect will be benefited by forms which do not grow from its own spirit. A sect which has true life will seize by instinct the emblems and rites which are in accordance with itself; and, without life, it will only find in borrowed rites its winding-sheet. It is not uncommon to hear persons who visit Catholic countries recommending the introduction of this or that usage of Romanism among ourselves. For example, they enter Catholic churches and see at all hours worshippers before one or another altar, and contrasting with this the desertion of our houses of worship during the week, doubt whether we are as pious, and wish to open the doors of our sanctuaries, that Protestants may at all hours approve themselves as devoted as the Papists. Now, such recommendations show a misconception of the true foundation and spirit of Roman usages. In the case before us, nothing is more natural than that Catholics should go to churches or public places to pray. In the first place, in the southern countries of Europe, where Catholicism first took its form, the people live in public. They are an outdoor people. Their domestic occupations go on in the outward air. That they should perform their private devotions in public, is in harmony with all their habits. What a violence it would be to ours! In the next place, the Catholic believes that the church has a peculiar sanctity. A prayer offered from its floor finds its way to heaven more easily than from any other spot. The pernicious superstition of his religion carries him to do the work of his religion in one consecrated place, and therefore he does it the less elsewhere. Again: Catholic churches are attractive from the miraculous virtue ascribed to the images which are worshipped there. Strange, monstrous as the superstition is, yet nothing is more common in Catholic countries than the ascription of this or that supernatural agency to one or another shrine or statue. A saint, worshipped at one place. or under one image, will do more than if worshipped elsewhere. I recollect asking an Italian why a certain church of rather humble appearance, in a large city, was so much frequented. He smiled, and told me that the Virgin, who was adored there, was thought particularly propitious to those who had bought tickets in the lottery. Once more, we can easily conceive why visiting the churches for daily prayer has been encouraged by the priesthood. The usage brought the multitude still more under priestly power, and taught them to associate their most secret aspirations of piety with the church. Who, that takes all these circumstances into consideration, can expect Protestants to imitate the Catholics in frequenting the church for secret devotion, or can wish it? Has not Jesus said, "When thou prayest, go into thy closet, and shut thy door, and pray to thy Father, who seeth in secret"? Catholicism says, "When thou prayest, go into the public church, and pray before the multitude." Of the little efficacy of this worship we have too painful proofs. The worship of the churches of Italy is directed chiefly to the Virgin. She is worshipped as *the Virgin*. The great idea of this Catholic deity is purity, chastity; and yet, unless all travellers deceive us, the country where she is worshipped is disfigured by licentiousness beyond all countries of the civilized world. I return to my position. We need borrow nothing from Catholicism. Episcopacy retained (did not borrow) as much of the ritual of that church as is wanted in the present age, for those among us who have Catholic propensities. Other sects, if they need forms, must originate them, and this they must do not mechanically, but from the promptings of the spiritual life, from a thirst for new modes of manifesting their religious hopes and aspirations. Woe to that church which looks round for forms to wake it up to spiritual life! The dying man is not to be revived by a new dress, however graceful. The disease of a languid sect is too deep to be healed by ceremonies. It needs deeper modes of cure. Let it get life, and it will naturally create the emblems or rites which it needs to express and maintain its spiritual force.

The great instrument of influence and dominion in the Catholic church is one which we should shudder to borrow, but which may still give important hints as

to the means of promoting religion. I refer to confession. Nothing too bad can be said of this. By laying open the secrets of all hearts to the priest, it makes the priest the master of all. Still, to a good man, it gives the power of doing good, — a power which, I doubt not, is often conscientiously used. It gives to the religious teacher an access to men's minds and conscience, such as the pulpit does not furnish. Instead of scattering generalities among the crowd, he can administer to each soul the very instruction, warning, encouragement it needs. In Catholic countries there is little preaching, nor is it necessary. The confessional is far more powerful than the pulpit. And what do we learn from this? That Protestants should adopt confession? No. But the question arises, whether the great principle of confession, that on which its power rests, viz., access to the individual mind, may not be used more than it is by Protestant teachers; whether such access may not be gained by honorable and generous means, and so used as to be guarded against abuse. Preaching is now our chief reliance; but preaching is an arrow which shoots over many heads, and flies wide of the hearts of more. Its aim is too vague to do much execution. It is melancholy to think how little clear knowledge on the subject of duty and religion is communicated by the pulpit, and how often the emotion which it excites, for want of clear views, for want of wisdom, runs into morbidness or excess. No art, no science is taught so vaguely as religion from the pulpit. No book is so read or expounded as the Bible is, that is, in minute fragments, and without those helps of method by which all other branches are taught. Is not a freer, easier, opener communication with his pupils needed than the minister does or can hold from the pulpit? Should not modes of teaching and intercourse be adopted, by which he can administer truth to different minds, according to their various capacities and wants? Must not he rely less on preaching, and more on more familiar communication?

This question becomes of more importance, because it is very plain that preaching is becoming less and less efficacious. Preaching is not what it was in the first age of Christianity. Then, when there was no printing, comparatively no reading, Christianity could only be spread by the living voice. Hence to preach became synonymous with teaching. It was the great means of access to the multitude. Now the press preaches incomparably more than the pulpit. Through this all are permitted to preach. Woman, if she may not speak in the church, may speak from the printing-room, and her touching expositions of religion, not learned in theological institutions, but in the schools of affection, of sorrow, of experience, of domestic change, sometimes make their way to the heart more surely than the minister's homilies. The result is, that preaching does not hold the place now which it had in dark and unrefined ages. The minister addresses from his pulpit many as well educated as himself, and almost every parishioner has at home better sermons than he hears in public. The minister, too, has competitors in the laity, as they are called, who very wisely refuse to leave to him the monopoly of public speaking, and who are encroaching on his province more and more. In this altered condition of the world, the ministry is to undergo important changes. What they must be, I have not time now to inquire. I will only say that the vagueness which belongs to so much religious instruction from the pulpit must give place to a teaching which shall meet more the wants of the individual, and the wants of the present state of society. Great principles must be expounded in accommodation to different ages, capacities, stages of improvement, and an intercourse be established by which all classes may be helped to apply them to their own particular conditions. How shall Christianity be brought to bear on the individual, and on society at the present moment, in its present struggles? This is the great question to be solved, and the reply to it will determine the form which the Christian ministry is to take. I imagine that, in seeking the solution of this problem, it will be discovered that the ministry must have greater freedom than in past times. It will be discovered that the individual minister must not be rigidly tied down to certain established modes of operation, that he must not be required to cast his preaching into the old mould,

to circumscribe himself to the old topics, to keep in motion a machinery which others have invented, but that he will do most good if left to work according to his own nature, according to the promptings of the Holy Spirit within his own breast. I imagine it will be discovered that, as justice may be administered without a wig, and the executive function without a crown or sceptre, so Christianity may be administered in more natural and less formal ways than have prevailed, and that the minister, in growing less technical, will find religion becoming to himself and others a more living reality. I imagine that our present religious organizations will silently melt away, and that hierarchies will be found no more necessary for religion than for literature, science, medicine, law, or the elegant and useful arts. But I will check these imaginings. The point from which I started was, that Catholicism might teach us one element of an effectual ministry, that the Protestant teacher needs and should seek access to the individual mind, beyond what he now possesses; and the point at which I stop is, that this access is to be so sought and so used as not to infringe religious liberty, the rights of private judgment, the free action of the individual mind. Nothing but this liberty can secure it from the terrible abuse to which it has been exposed in the Catholic church.

In the free remarks which I have now made on certain denominations of Christians, I have been influenced by no unkindness or disrespect towards the individuals who compose them. In all sects I recognize joyfully true disciples of the common Master. Catholicism boasts of some of the best and greatest names in history, so does Episcopacy, so Presbyterianism, &c. I exclude none. I know that Christianity is mighty enough to accomplish its end in all. I cannot, however, speak of religious any more than of political parties, without betraying the little respect I have for them as parties. There is no portion of human history more humbling than that of sects. When I meditate on the grand moral, spiritual purpose of Christianity, in which all its glory consists; when I consider how plainly Christianity attaches importance to nothing but to the moral excellence, the disinterested, divine virtue, which was embodied in the teaching and life of its Founder; and when from this position I look down on the sects which have figured and now figure in the church; when I see them making such a stir about matters generally so unessential; when I see them seizing on a disputed and disputable doctrine, making it a watchword, a test of God's favor, a bond of communion, a ground of self-complacency, a badge of peculiar holiness, a warrant for condemning its rejectors, however imbued with the spirit of Christ; when I see them overlooking the weightier matters of the law, and laying infinite stress here on a bishop and prayer-book, there on the quantity of water applied in baptism, and there on some dark solution of an incomprehensible article of faith; when I see the mock dignity of their exclusive claims to truth, to churchship, to the promises of God's word; when I hear the mimic thunderbolts of denunciation and excommunication which they delight to hurl; when I consider how their deep theology, in proportion as it is examined, evaporates into words, how many opposite and extravagant notions are covered by the same broad shield of mystery and tradition, and how commonly the persuasion of infallibility is proportioned to the absurdity of the creed; — when I consider these things, and other matters of like import, I am lost in amazement at the amount of arrogant folly, of self-complacent intolerance, of almost incredible blindness to the end and essence of Christianity, which the history of sects reveals. I have, indeed, profound respect for individuals in all communions of Christians. But on sects, and on the spirit of sects, I *must* be allowed to look with grief, shame, pity, — I had almost said contempt. In passing these censures I claim no superiority. I am sure there are thousands of all sects who think and feel as I do in this particular, and who, far from claiming superior intelligence, are distinguished by following out the plain dictates, the natural impulses, and spontaneous judgments of conscience and common-sense.

It is time for me to finish this letter, which indeed has grown under my hands beyond all reasonable bounds. But I must add a line or two in reply to your invitation to visit you. You say that Kentucky will not exclude me for my

opinions on slavery. I rejoice to hear it, not for my own sake, but for the sake of the country. I rejoice in a tolerant spirit, wherever manifested. What you say accords with what I have heard of the frank, liberal character of Kentucky. All our accounts of the West make me desire to visit it. I desire to see nature under new aspects; but still more to see a new form of society. I hear of the defects of the West, but I learn that a man there feels himself to be a man, that he has a self-respect which is not always to be found in older communities, that he speaks his mind freely, that he acts more from generous impulses, and less from selfish calculations. These are good tidings. I rejoice that the intercourse between the East and West is increasing. Both will profit. The West may learn from us the love of order, the arts which adorn and cheer life, the institutions of education and religion, which lie at the foundation of our greatness, and may give us in return the energies and virtues which belong to and distinguish a fresher state of society. Such exchanges I regard as the most precious fruits of the Union, worth more than exchanges of products of industry, and they will do more to bind us together as one people.

You press me to come and preach in your part of the country. I should do it cheerfully if I could. It would rejoice me to bear a testimony, however feeble, to great truths in your new settlements. I confess, however, that I fear that my education would unfit me for great usefulness among you. I fear that the habits, rules, and criticisms under which I have grown up, and almost grown old, have not left me the freedom and courage which are needed in the style of address best suited to the Western people. I have fought against these chains. I have labored to be a free man, but in the state of the ministry and of society here, freedom is a hard acquisition. I hope the rising generation will gain it more easily and abundantly than their fathers.

I have only to add, my young brother, my best wishes for your usefulness. I do not ask for you enjoyment. I ask for you something better and greater, something which includes it, — even a spirit to live and die for a cause which is dearer than your own enjoyment. If I were called to give you one rule, which your situation demands above all others, it would be this. Live a life of faith and hope. Believe in God's great purposes towards the human race. Believe in the mighty power of truth and love. Believe in the omnipotence of Christianity. Believe that Christ lived and died to breathe into his church and into society a diviner spirit than now exists. Believe in the capacities and greatness of human nature. Believe that the celestial virtue, revealed in the life and teaching of Jesus Christ is not a bright vision for barren admiration, but is to become a reality in your own and others' souls. Carry to your work a trustful spirit. Do not waste your breath in wailing over the times. Strive to make them better. Do not be disheartened by evils. Feel through your whole soul that evil is not the mightiest power in the universe, — that it is permitted only to call forth the energy of love, wisdom, persuasion, and prayer for its removal. Settle it in your mind that a minister can never speak an effectual word without faith. Be strong in the Lord and the power of his might. Allow me to say, that I have a good hope of you. I learned some time ago, from one of your dear friends, that you comprehended the grandeur of your work as a Christian minister. I learned that the pulpit, from which a divinely moved teacher communicates everlasting truths, seemed to you more glorious than a throne. I learned that you had come to understand what is the greatest power which God gives to man, — the power of acting generously on the soul of his brother; of communicating to others a divine spirit, of awakening in others a heavenly life, which is to outlive the stars. I then felt that you would not labor in vain. You have, indeed, peculiar trials. You are dwelling far from your brethren, but there is a sense of God's presence more cheering than the dearest human society. There is a consciousness of working with God more strengthening than all human co-operation. There is a sight, granted to the pure mind, of the cross of Christ, which makes privations and sufferings in the cause of his truth seem light, which makes us sometimes to rejoice in tribulation, like the primitive heroes of our faith. My young brother, I wish you

these blessings. What else ought I to wish for you?

This letter, you will perceive, is written in great haste. The opinions, indeed, have been deliberately formed; but they probably might have been expressed with greater caution. If it will serve, in your judgment, the cause of truth, freedom, and religion, you are at liberty to insert it in your work.

Your sincere friend,

WILLIAM E. CHANNING.

BOSTON, *June*, 1836.

THE SYSTEM OF EXCLUSION AND DENUNCIATION IN RELIGION CONSIDERED.

1815.

NOTHING is plainer than that the leaders of the party called "Orthodox" have adopted and mean to enforce a system of exclusion in regard to Liberal Christians. They spare no pains to infect the minds of their too easy followers with the persuasion that they ought to refuse communion with their Unitarian brethren, and to deny them the name, character, and privileges of Christians. On this system I shall now offer several observations.

I begin with an important suggestion. I beg that it may be distinctly understood that the zeal of Liberal Christians on this point has no other object than the peace and prosperity of the church of Christ. We are pleading, not our own cause, but the cause of our Master. The denial of our Christian character by fallible and imperfect men gives us no anxiety. Our relation to Jesus Christ is not to be dissolved by the breath of man. Our Christian rights do not depend on human passions. We have precisely the same power over our brethren which they have over us, and are equally authorized to sever them from the body of Christ. Still more; if the possession of truth gives superior weight to denunciation, we are persuaded that our opposers will be the severest sufferers, should we think fit to hurl back the sentence of exclusion and condemnation. But we have no disposition to usurp power over our brethren. We believe that the spirit which is so studiously excited against ourselves has done incalculable injury to the cause of Christ, and we pray God to deliver us from its power.

Why are the name, character, and rights of Christians to be denied to Unitarians? Do they deny that Jesus is the Christ? Do they reject his word as the rule of their faith and practice? Do their lives discover indifference to his authority and example? No, these are not their offences. They are deficient in none of the qualifications of disciples which were required in the primitive age. Their offence is, that they read the Scriptures for themselves, and derive from them different opinions on certain points from those which others have adopted. Mistake of judgment is their pretended crime, and this crime is laid to their charge by men who are as liable to mistake as themselves, and who seem to them to have fallen into some of the grossest errors. A condemning sentence from such judges carries with it no terror. Sorrow for its uncharitableness, and strong disapprobation of its arrogance, are the principal feelings which it inspires.

It is truly astonishing that Christians are not more impressed with the unbecoming spirit, the arrogant style, of those who deny the Christian character to professed and exemplary followers of Jesus Christ because they differ in opinion on some of the most subtile and difficult subjects of theology. A stranger, at hearing the language of these denouncers, would conclude, without a doubt, that they were clothed with infallibility, and were appointed to sit in judgment on their brethren. But, for myself, I know not a shadow of a pretence for the language of superiority

assumed by our adversaries. Are they exempted from the common frailty of our nature? Has God given them superior intelligence? Were they educated under circumstances more favorable to improvement than those whom they condemn? Have they brought to the Scriptures more serious, anxious, and unwearied attention? Or do their lives express a deeper reverence for God and for his Son? No. They are fallible, imperfect men, possessing no higher means, and no stronger motives for studying the word of God than their Unitarian brethren. And yet their language to them is virtually this: "We pronounce you to be in error, and in most dangerous error. We know that we are right, and that you are wrong, in regard to the fundamental doctrines of the gospel. You are unworthy the Christian name, and unfit to sit with us at the table of Christ. We offer you the truth, and you reject it at the peril of your souls." Such is the language of humble Christians to men who, in capacity and apparent piety, are not inferior to themselves. This language has spread from the leaders through a considerable part of the community. Men in those walks of life which leave them without leisure or opportunities for improvement, are heard to decide on the most intricate points, and to pass sentence on men whose lives have been devoted to the study of the Scriptures! The female, forgetting the tenderness of her sex, and the limited advantages which her education affords for a critical study of the Scriptures, inveighs with bitterness against the damnable errors of such men as Newton, Locke, Clarke, and Price! The young, too, forget the modesty which belongs to their age, and hurl condemnation on the head which has grown gray in the service of God and mankind. Need I ask whether this spirit of denunciation for supposed error becomes the humble and fallible disciples of Jesus Christ?

In vindication of this system of exclusion and denunciation, it is often urged that the "honor of religion," the "purity of the church," and the "cause of truth," forbid those who hold the true gospel to maintain fellowship with those who support corrupt and injurious opinions. Without stopping to notice the modesty of those who claim an exclusive knowledge of the true gospel, I would answer, that the "honor of religion" can never suffer by admitting to Christian fellowship men of irreproachable lives, whilst it has suffered most severely from that narrow and uncharitable spirit which has excluded such men for imagined errors. I answer again, that the "cause of truth" can never suffer by admitting to Christian fellowship men who honestly profess to make the Scriptures their rule of faith and practice, whilst it has suffered most severely by substituting for this standard conformity to human creeds and formularies. It is truly wonderful, if excommunication for supposed error be the method of purifying the church, that the church has been so long and so wofully corrupted. Whatever may have been the deficiencies of Christians in other respects, they have certainly discovered no criminal reluctance in applying this instrument of purification. Could the thunders and lightnings of excommunication have corrected the atmosphere of the church, not one pestilential vapor would have loaded it for ages. The air of Paradise would not have been more pure, more refreshing. But what does history tell us? It tells us that the spirit of exclusion and denunciation has contributed more than all other causes to the corruption of the church, to the diffusion of error; and has rendered the records of the Christian community as black, as bloody, as revolting to humanity, as the records of empires founded on conquest and guilt.

But it is said, Did not the Apostle denounce the erroneous, and pronounce a curse on the "abettors of another gospel"? This is the stronghold of the friends of denunciation. But let us never forget that the Apostles were inspired men, capable of marking out with unerring certainty those who substituted "another gospel" for the true. Show us their successors, and we will cheerfully obey them.

It is also important to recollect the character of those men against whom the apostolic anathema was directed. They were men who knew distinctly what the Apostles taught, and yet opposed it; and who endeavored to sow division, and to gain followers, in the churches which the Apostles had planted. These men, resisting the known instruc-

tions of the authorized and inspired teachers of the gospel, and discovering a factious, selfish, mercenary spirit, were justly excluded as unworthy the Christian name. But what in common with these men have the Christians whom it is the custom of the "Orthodox" to denounce? Do these oppose what they know to be the doctrine of Christ and his Apostles? Do they not revere Jesus and his inspired messengers? Do they not dissent from their brethren simply because they believe that their brethren dissent from their Lord? Let us not forget that the contest at the present day is not between the Apostles themselves and men who oppose their known instructions, but uninspired Christians who equally receive the Apostles as authorized teachers of the gospel, and who only differ in judgment as to the interpretation of their writings. How unjust, then, is it for any class of Christians to confound their opponents with the factious and unprincipled sectarians of the primitive age! Mistake in judgment is the heaviest charge which one denomination has now a right to urge against another; and do we find that the Apostles ever denounced mistake as "awful and fatal hostility" to the gospel; that they pronounced anathemas on men who wished to obey, but who misapprehended their doctrines? The Apostles well remembered that none ever mistook more widely than themselves. They remembered, too, the lenity of their Lord towards their errors, and this lenity they cherished and labored to diffuse.

But it is asked, Have not Christians a right to bear "solemn testimony" against opinions which are "utterly subversive of the gospel, and most dangerous to men's eternal interests"? To this I answer, that the opinions of men who discover equal intelligence and piety with ourselves, are entitled to respectful consideration. If, after inquiry, they seem erroneous and injurious, we are authorized and bound, according to our ability, to expose, by fair and serious argument, their nature and tendency. But I maintain that we have no right as individuals, or in an associated capacity, to bear our "solemn testimony" against these opinions, by menacing with ruin the Christian who listens to them, or by branding them with the most terrifying epithets, for the purpose of preventing candid inquiry into their truth. This is the fashionable mode of "bearing testimony," and it is a weapon which will always be most successful in the hands of the proud, the positive, and overbearing, who are most impatient of contradiction, and have least regard to the rights of their brethren.

But whatever may be the right of Christians, as to bearing testimony against opinions which they deem injurious, I deny that they have any right to pass a condemning sentence, on account of these opinions, on the characters of men whose general deportment is conformed to the gospel of Christ. Both Scripture and reason unite in teaching that the best and only standard of character is the life; and he who overlooks the testimony of a Christian life, and grounds a sentence of condemnation on opinions about which he, as well as his brother, may err, violates most flagrantly the duty of just and candid judgment, and opposes the peaceful and charitable spirit of the gospel. Jesus Christ says, "By their fruits shall ye know them." "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he who doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven." "Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you." "He that heareth and doeth these my sayings," *i.e.*, the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount, "I will liken him to a man who built his house upon a rock." It would be easy to multiply similar passages. The whole Scriptures teach us that he and he only is a Christian whose life is governed by the precepts of the gospel, and that by this standard alone the profession of this religion should be tried. We do not deny that our brethren have a right to form a judgment as to our Christian character. But we insist that we have a right to be judged by the fairest, the most approved, and the most settled rules by which character can be tried; and when these are overlooked, and the most uncertain standard is applied, we are injured; and an assault on character, which rests on this ground, deserves no better name than defamation and persecution.

I know that this suggestion of persecution will be indignantly repelled by

those who deal most largely in denunciation. But persecution is a wrong or injury inflicted for opinions; and surely assaults on character fall under this definition. Some persons seem to think that persecution consists in pursuing error with fire and sword; and that therefore it has ceased to exist, except in distempered imaginations, because no class of Christians among us is armed with these terrible weapons. But no. The form is changed, but the spirit lives. Persecution has given up its halter and fagot, but it breathes venom from its lips, and secretly blasts what it cannot openly destroy. For example, a Liberal minister, however circumspect in his walk, irreproachable in all his relations, no sooner avows his honest convictions on some of the most difficult subjects, than his name begins to be a by-word. A thousand suspicions are infused into his hearers; and it is insinuated that he is a minister of Satan, in "the guise of an angel of light." At a little distance from his home, calumny assumes a bolder tone. He is pronounced an infidel, and it is gravely asked whether he believes in a God. At a greater distance, his morals are assailed. He is a man of the world, "leading souls to hell," to gratify the most selfish passions. But, notwithstanding all this, he must not say a word about persecution, for reports like these rack no limbs; they do not even injure a hair of his head; and how, then, is he persecuted? Now, for myself, I am as willing that my adversary should take my purse or my life as that he should rob me of my reputation, rob me of the affection of my friends and of my means of doing good. "He who takes from me my good name," takes the best possession of which human power can deprive me. It is true that a Christian's reputation is comparatively a light object; and so is his property, so is his life; all are light things to him whose hope is full of immortality. But, of all worldly blessings, an honest reputation is to many of us the most precious; and he who robs us of it is the most injurious of mankind, and among the worst of persecutors. Let not the friends of denunciation attempt to escape this charge by pleading their sense of duty, and their sincere desire to promote the cause of truth. St. Dominic was equally sincere when he built the Inquisition; and I doubt not that many torturers of Christians have fortified their reluctant minds, at the moment of applying the rack and the burning iron, by the sincere conviction that the cause of truth required the sacrifice of its foes. I beg that these remarks may not be applied indiscriminately to the party called "Orthodox," among whom are multitudes whose humility and charity would revolt from making themselves the standards of Christian piety, and from assailing the Christian character of their brethren.

Many other considerations may be added to those which have been already urged against the system of excluding from Christian fellowship men of upright lives on account of their opinions. It necessarily generates perpetual discord in the church. Men differ in opinions as much as in features. No two minds are perfectly accordant. The shades of belief are infinitely diversified. Amidst this immense variety of sentiment, every man is right in his own eyes. Every man discovers errors in the creed of his brother. Every man is prone to magnify the importance of his own peculiarities, and to discover danger in the peculiarities of others. This is human nature. Every man is partial to his own opinions, because they are his own, and his self-will and pride are wounded by contradiction. Now what must we expect when beings so erring, so divided in sentiment, and so apt to be unjust to the views of others, assert the right of excluding one another from the Christian church on account of imagined error? as the Scriptures confine this right to no individual and to no body of Christians, it belongs alike to all; and what must we expect when Christians of all capacities and dispositions, the ignorant, prejudiced, and self-conceited, imagine it their duty to prescribe opinions to Christendom, and to open or to shut the door of the church according to the decision which their neighbors may form on some of the most perplexing points of theology? This question, unhappily, has received answer upon answer in ecclesiastical history. We there see Christians denouncing and excommunicating one another for supposed error, until every denomination has been pronounced accursed by some portion of the Christian

world; so that were the curses of men to prevail, not one human being would enter heaven. To me, it appears that to plead for the right of excluding men of blameless lives, on account of their opinions, is to sound the peal of perpetual and universal war. Arm men with this power, and we shall have "nothing but thunder." Some persons are sufficiently simple to imagine that if this "horrid Unitarianism" were once hunted down, and put quietly into its grave, the church would be at peace. But no: our present contests have their origin, not in the "enormities" of Unitarianism, but very much in the principles of human nature, in the love of power, in impatience of contradiction, in men's passion for imposing their own views upon others, in the same causes which render them anxious to make proselytes to all their opinions. Were Unitarianism quietly interred, another and another hideous form of error would start up before the zealous guardians of the "purity of the church." The Arminian, from whom the pursuit has been diverted for a time by his more offending Unitarian brother, would soon be awakened from his dream of security by the clamor of denunciation; and should the Arminian fall a prey, the Calvinists would then find time to look into the controversies among themselves, and almost every class would discover, with the eagle eye of their brethren at New York, that those who differ from them hold "another gospel," and ought to be "resisted and denounced." Thus the wars of Christians will be perpetual. Never will there be peace until Christians agree to differ, and agree to look for the evidences of Christian character in the temper and the life.

Another argument against this practice of denouncing the supposed errors of sincere professors of Christianity is this. It exalts to supremacy in the church men who have the least claim to influence. Humble, meek, and affectionate Christians are least disposed to make creeds for their brethren, and to denounce those who differ from them. On the contrary, the impetuous, proud, and enthusiastic, men who cannot or will not weigh the arguments of opponents, are always most positive and most unsparing in denunciation. These take the lead in a system of exclusion. They have no false modesty, no false charity, to shackle their zeal in framing fundamentals for their brethren, and in punishing the obstinate in error. The consequence is, that creeds are formed which exclude from Christ's church some of his truest followers, which outrage reason as well as revelation, and which subsequent ages are obliged to mutilate and explain away, lest the whole religion be rejected by men of reflection. Such has been the history of the church. It is strange that we do not learn wisdom from the past. What man, who feels his own fallibility, who sees the errors into which the positive and "orthodox" of former times have been betrayed, and who considers his own utter inability to decide on the degree of truth which every mind, of every capacity, must receive in order to salvation, will not tremble at the responsibility of prescribing to his brethren, in his own words, the views they must maintain on the most perplexing subjects of religion? Humility will always leave this work to others.

Another important consideration is, that this system of excluding men of apparent sincerity, for their opinions, entirely subverts free inquiry into the Scriptures. When once a particular system is surrounded by this bulwark: when once its defenders have brought the majority to believe that the rejection of it is a mark of depravity and perdition, what but the name of liberty is left to Christians? The obstacles to inquiry are as real, and may be as powerful, as in the neighborhood of the Inquisition. The multitude dare not think, and the thinking dare not speak. The right of private judgment may thus, in a Protestant country, be reduced to a nullity. It is true that men are sent to the Scriptures; but they are told before they go that they will be driven from the church on earth and in heaven, unless they find in the Scriptures the doctrines which are embodied in the popular creed. They are told, indeed, to inquire for themselves; but they are also told at what points inquiry must arrive; and the sentence of exclusion hangs over them if they happen to stray, with some of the best and wisest men, into forbidden paths. Now this "Protestant liberty" is, in one respect, more irritating than papal bondage. It mocks

as well as enslaves us. It talks to us courteously as friends and brethren whilst it rivets our chains. It invites and even charges us to look with our own eyes, but with the same breath warns us against seeing any thing which "Orthodox" eyes have not seen before us. Is this a state of things favorable to serious inquiry into the truths of the gospel? yet, how long has the church been groaning under this cruel yoke!

Another objection to this system of excluding professed disciples of Christ, on account of their opinions, is, that it is inconsistent with the great principles of Congregationalism. In churches where the power is lodged in a few individuals, who are supposed to be the most learned men in the community, the work of marking out and excluding the erroneous may seem less difficult. But among Congregationalists, the tribunal before which the offender is to be brought is the whole church, consisting partly of men in humble circumstances and of unimproved minds; partly of men engaged in active and pressing business; and partly of men of education, whose studies have been directed to law and medicine. Now, is this a tribunal before which the most intricate points of theology are to be discussed, and serious inquirers are to answer for opinions which they have perhaps examined more laboriously and faithfully than all their judges? Would a church of humble men, conscious of their limited opportunities, consent to try, for these pretended crimes, professing Christians as intelligent, as honest, and as exemplary as themselves? It is evident that, in the business of excluding men for opinions, a church can be little more than the tool of the minister, or a few influential members; and our churches are, in general, too independent and too upright to take this part in so solemn a transaction. To correct their deficiencies, and to quicken their zeal on this point, we are now threatened with new tribunals, or consociations, whose office it will be to try ministers for their errors, to inspect the churches, and to advise and assist them in the extirpation of "heresy." Whilst the laity are slumbering, the ancient and free constitution of our churches is silently undermined, and is crumbling away. Since argument is insufficient to produce uniformity of opinion, recourse must be had to more powerful instruments of conviction, — I mean to ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS. And are this people indeed prepared to submit to this most degrading form of vassalage, — a vassalage which reaches and palsies the mind, and imposes on it the dreams and fictions of men for the everlasting truth of God?

These remarks lead me to the last consideration which I shall urge against the proposed system of exclusion and separation. This system will shake to the foundation our religious institutions, and destroy many habits and connections which have had the happiest influence on the religious character of this people. In the first place, if Christian communion and all acknowledgments of Christian character are to be denied on the ground of difference of opinion, the annual "Convention of Congregational Ministers of Massachusetts," that ancient bond of union, must be dissolved; and in its dissolution we shall lose the edifying, honorable, and rare example of ministers regularly assembling, not to exercise power and to fetter the conscience, but to reciprocate kind affection, and to unite in sending relief to the families of their deceased brethren. This event may gladden the heart of the sectarian; it will carry no joy to the widow and orphan. In the next place, the "Associations of Ministers," in our different counties, must in many cases be broken up, to make room for new associations, founded on similarity of opinion. Thus, that intercourse which now subsists between ministers of different persuasions, and which tends to enlarge the mind and to give a liberality to the feelings, will be diminished, if not destroyed; and ministers, becoming more contracted and exclusive, will communicate more of this unhappy spirit to their societies. In the next place, neighboring churches, which, from their very foundation, have cultivated Christian communion, and counselled and comforted each other, will be mutually estranged, and, catching the temper of their religious guides, will exchange fellowship for denunciation; and instead of delighting in each other's prosperity, will seek each other's destruction. Again: in the same church, where Christians of different views have

long acknowledged each other as disciples of our Master, and have partaken the same feast of charity, angry divisions will break forth, parties will be marshalled under different leaders, the sentence of excommunication will be hurled by the majority on their guiltless brethren (if the majority should be "Orthodox"), and thus anger, heart-burnings, and bitter recriminations will spread through many of our towns and churches. Again: many of our religious societies will be rent asunder, their ministers dismissed, and religious institutions cease. It is well known that many of our country parishes are able to support but a single minister. At the same time, they are divided in sentiment; and nothing but a spirit of charity and forbearance has produced that union by which public worship has been maintained. Once let the proposed war be proclaimed, let the standard of party be raised, and a minister must look for support to that party only to which he is attached. An "Orthodox" minister should blush to ask it from men whom he denounces for honest opinions, and to whom he denies all the ordinances of the gospel. It surely cannot be expected that Liberal Christians will contribute, by their property, to uphold a system of exclusion and intolerance directed against themselves. What, then, will be the fate of many of our societies? Their ministers, even now, can with difficulty maintain the conflict with other denominations. Must they not sink, when deserted by their most efficient friends? Many societies will be left, as sheep without a shepherd, a prey to those whom we call sectarians, but who will no longer have an exclusive right to the name, if the system of division which has been proposed be adopted. Many ministers will be compelled to leave the field of their labors and their prospects of usefulness; and I fear the ministry will lose its hold on the affection and veneration of men, when it shall have engendered so much division and contention. But this is not all. The system of denying the Christian name to those who differ from us in interpreting the Scriptures will carry discord not only into churches but families. In how many instances are heads of families divided in opinion on the present subjects of controversy? Hitherto they have loved each other as partakers of the same glorious hopes, and have repaired in their domestic joys and sorrows to the same God (as they imagined) through the same Mediator. But now, they are taught that they have different Gods and different gospels, and are taught that the friends of truth are not to hold communion with its rejecters. Let this doctrine be received, and one of the tenderest ties by which many wedded hearts are knit together will be dissolved. The family altar must fall. Religion will be known in many a domestic retreat, not as a bond of union, but a subject of debate, a source of discord or depression.

Now I ask, For what boon are all these sacrifices to be made? The great end is, that certain opinions, which have been embraced by many serious and inquiring Christians as the truth of God, may be driven from the church, and be dreaded by the people as among the worst of crimes. Uniformity of opinion, — that airy good, which emperors, popes, councils, synods, bishops, and ministers have been seeking for ages, by edicts, creeds, threatenings, excommunications, inquisitions, and flames, — this is the great object of the system of exclusion, separation, and denunciation, which is now to be introduced. To this we are to sacrifice our established habits and bonds of union; and this is to be pursued by means which, as many reflecting men believe, threaten our dearest rights and liberties.

It is sincerely hoped that reflecting laymen will no longer shut their eyes on this subject. It is a melancholy fact that our long-established Congregational form of church government is menaced, and tribunals unknown to our churches, and unknown, as we believe, to the Scriptures, are to be introduced; and introduced for the very purpose, that the supposed errors and mistakes of ministers and private Christians may be tried and punished as heresies, that is, as crimes. In these tribunals, as in all ecclesiastical bodies, the clergy, who make theology their profession, will of necessity have a preponderating influence, so that the question now before the public is, in fact, only a new form of the old controversy which has agitated all ages; namely, whether the clergy shall think for the laity, or pre-

scribe to them their religion. Were this question fairly proposed to the public, there would be but one answer; but it is wrapped up in a dark phraseology about the purity and order of the church, — a phraseology which, I believe, imposes on multitudes of ministers as well as laymen, and induces acquiescence in measures, the real tendency of which they would abhor. It is, I hope, from no feeling of party, but from a sincere regard to the religion of Christ, that I would rouse the slumbering minds of this community to the dangers which hang over their religious institutions. No power is so rapidly accumulated, or so dreadfully abused, as ecclesiastical power. It assails men with menaces of eternal woe unless they submit, and gradually awes the most stubborn and strongest minds into subjection. I mean not to ascribe the intention of introducing ecclesiastical tyranny to any class of Christians among us; but I believe that many, in the fervor of a zeal which may be essentially virtuous, are about to touch with unhallowed hands the ark of God, to support Christianity by measures which its mild and charitable spirit abhors. I believe that many, overlooking the principles of human nature and the history of the church, are about to set in motion a spring of which they know not the force, and cannot calculate the effects. I believe that the seed of spiritual tyranny is sown, and although to a careless spectator it may seem the "smallest of all seeds," it has yet within itself a fatal principle of increase, and may yet darken this region of our country with its deadly branches.

The time is come when the friends of Christian liberty and Christian charity are called to awake, and to remember their duties to themselves, to posterity, and to the church of Christ. The time is come when the rights of conscience and the freedom of our churches must be defended with zeal. The time is come when menace and denunciation must be met with a spirit which will show that we dread not the frowns and lean not on the favor of man. The time is come when every expression of superiority on the part of our brethren should be repelled as criminal usurpation. But, in doing this, let the friends of liberal and genuine Christianity remember the spirit of their religion. Let no passion or bitterness dishonor their sacred cause. In contending for the gospel, let them not lose its virtues or forfeit its promises. We are, indeed, called to pass through one of the severest trials of human virtue, — the trial of controversy. We should carry with us a sense of its danger. Religion, when made a subject of debate, seems often to lose its empire over the heart and life. The mild and affectionate spirit of Christianity gives place to angry recriminations and cruel surmises. Fair dealing, uprightness, and truth are exchanged for the arts of sophistry. The devotional feelings, too, decline in warmth and tenderness. Let us, then, watch and pray. Let us take heed that the weapons of our warfare be not carnal. Whilst we repel usurpation, let us be just to the general rectitude of many by whom our Christian rights are invaded. Whilst we repel the uncharitable censures of men, let us not forget that deep humility and sense of unworthiness with which we should ever appear before God. In our zeal to maintain the great truth, that OUR FATHER IN HEAVEN is alone the Supreme God, let us not neglect that intercourse with him without which the purest conceptions will avail little to enthrone him in our hearts. In our zeal to hold fast the "word of Christ," in opposition to human creeds and formularies, let us not forget that our Lord demands another and a still more unsuspicious confession of him, even the exhibition of his spirit and religion in our lives.

The controversy in which we are engaged is indeed painful; but it was not chosen, but forced upon us, and we ought to regard it as a part of the discipline to which a wise Providence has seen fit to subject us. Like all other trials, it is designed to promote our moral perfection. I trust, too, that it is designed to promote the cause of truth. Whilst I would speak diffidently of the future, I still hope that a brighter day is rising on the Christian church than it has yet enjoyed. The gospel is to shine forth in its native glory. The violent excitement by which some of the corruptions of this divine system are now supported cannot be permanent; and the uncharitableness with which they are enforced will react, like the perse-

cutions of the Church of Rome, in favor of truth. Already we have the comfort of seeing many disposed to inquire, and to inquire without that terror which has bound as with a spell so many minds. We doubt not that this inquiry will result in a deep conviction that Christianity is yet disfigured by errors which have been transmitted from ages of darkness. Of this, at least, we are sure that inquiry, by discovering to men the difficulties and obscurities which attend the present topics of controversy, will terminate in what is infinitely more desirable than doctrinal concord, — in the diffusion of a mild, candid, and charitable temper. I pray God that this most happy consummation may be in no degree obstructed by any unchristian feelings, which, notwithstanding my sincere efforts, have escaped me in the present controversy.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER ON CREEDS.

My aversion to human creeds as bonds of Christian union, as conditions of Christian fellowship, as means of fastening chains on men's minds, constantly gains strength.

My first objection to them is, that they separate us from Jesus Christ. To whom am I to go for my knowledge of the Christian religion but to the Great Teacher, to the Son of God, to him in whom the fulness of the Divinity dwelt? This is my great privilege as a Christian, that I may sit at the feet not of a human but divine Master; that I may repair to him in whom truth lived and spoke without a mixture of error; who was eminently the wisdom of God and the light of the world. And shall man dare to interpose between me and my heavenly guide and Saviour, and prescribe to me the articles of my Christian faith? What is the state of mind in which I shall best learn the truth? It is that in which I forsake all other teachers for Christ, in which my mind is brought nearest to him; it is that in which I lay myself open most entirely to the impressions of his mind. Let me go to Jesus with a human voice sounding in my ears, and telling me what I must hear from the Great Teacher, and how can I listen to him in singleness of heart? All Protestant sects, indeed, tell the learner to listen to Jesus Christ; but most of them shout around him their own articles so vehemently and imperiously, that the voice of the heavenly Master is well nigh drowned. He is told to listen to Christ, but told that he will be damned if he receives any lessons but such as are taught in the creed. He is told that Christ's word is alone infallible, but that unless it is received as interpreted by fallible men, he will be excluded from the communion of Christians. This is what shocks me in the creed-maker. He interposes himself between me and my Saviour. He dares not trust me alone with Jesus. He dares not leave me to the word of God. This I cannot endure. The nearest possible communication with the mind of Christ is my great privilege as a Christian. I must learn Christ's truth from Christ himself, as he speaks in the records of his life, and in the men whom he trained up and supernaturally prepared to be his witnesses to the world. On what ground, I ask, do the creed-makers demand assent to their articles as condition of church membership or salvation? What has conferred on them infallibility? "Show me your proofs," I say to them, "of Christ speaking in you. Work some miracle. Utter some prophecy. Show me something divine in you, which other men do not possess. Is it possible that you are unaided men like myself, having no more right to interpret the New Testament than myself, and that you yet exalt your interpretations as infallible standards of truth, and the necessary conditions of salvation? Stand out of my path. I wish to go to the Master. Have you words of greater power than his? Can you speak to the human conscience or heart in a mightier voice than he? What is it which emboldens you

to tell me what I must learn of Christ or be lost?"

I cannot but look on human creeds with feelings approaching contempt. When I bring them into contrast with the New Testament, into what insignificance do they sink! What are they? Skeletons, freezing abstractions, metaphysical expressions of unintelligible dogmas; and these I am to regard as the expositions of the fresh, living, infinite truth which came from Jesus! I might with equal propriety be required to hear and receive the lispings of infancy as the expressions of wisdom. Creeds are to the Scriptures what rush-lights are to the sun. The creed-maker defines Jesus in half a dozen lines, perhaps in metaphysical terms, and calls me to assent to this account of my Saviour. I learn less of Christ by this process than I should learn of the sun by being told that this glorious luminary is a circle about a foot in diameter. There is but one way of knowing Christ. We must place ourselves near him, see him, hear him, follow him from his cross to the heavens, sympathize with him and obey him, and thus catch clear and bright glimpses of his divine glory.

Christian truth is infinite. Who can think of shutting it up in a few lines of an abstract creed? You might as well compress the boundless atmosphere, the fire, the all-pervading light, the free winds of the universe, into separate parcels, and weigh and label them, as break up Christianity into a few propositions. Christianity is freer, more illimitable, than the light or the winds. It is too mighty to be bound down by man's puny hands. It is a spirit rather than a rigid doctrine, — the spirit of boundless love. The infinite cannot be defined and measured out like a human manufacture. It cannot be reduced to a system. It cannot be comprehended in a set of precise ideas. It is to be felt rather than described. The spiritual impressions which a true Christian receives from the character and teachings of Christ, and in which the chief efficacy of the religion lies, can be poorly brought out in words. Words are but brief, rude hints of a Christian's mind. His thoughts and feelings overflow them. To those who feel as he does, he can make himself known; for such can understand the tones of the heart; but he can no more lay down his religion in a series of abstract propositions, than he can make known in a few vague terms the expressive features and inmost soul of a much-loved friend. It has been the fault of all sects that they have been too anxious to define their religion. They have labored to circumscribe the infinite. Christianity, as it exists in the mind of the true disciple, is not made up of fragments, of separate ideas which he can express in detached propositions. It is a vast and ever-unfolding whole, pervaded by one spirit, each precept and doctrine deriving its vitality from its union with all. When I see this generous, heavenly doctrine compressed and cramped in human creeds, I feel as I should were I to see screws and chains applied to the countenance and limbs of a noble fellow-creature, deforming and destroying one of the most beautiful works of God.

From the infinity of Christian truth, of which I have spoken, it follows that our views of it must always be very imperfect, and ought to be continually enlarged. The wisest theologians are children who have caught but faint glimpses of the religion; who have taken but their first lessons; and whose business it is "to grow in the knowledge of Jesus Christ." Need I say how hostile to this growth is a fixed creed, beyond which we must never wander? Such a religion as Christ's demands the highest possible activity and freedom of the soul. Every new gleam of light should be welcomed with joy. Every hint should be followed out with eagerness. Every whisper of the divine voice in the soul should be heard. The love of Christian truth should be so intense as to make us willing to part with all other things for a better comprehension of it. Who does not see that human creeds, setting bounds to thought, and telling us where all inquiry must stop, tend to repress this holy zeal, to shut our eyes on new illumination, to hem us within the beaten paths of man's construction, to arrest that perpetual progress which is the life and glory of an immortal mind?

It is another and great objection to creeds that, wherever they acquire authority, they interfere with that simplicity and godly sincerity on which the efficacy of religious teaching very much depends. That a minister should speak

with power, it is important that he should speak from his own soul, and not studiously conform himself to modes of speaking which others have adopted. It is important that he should give out the truth in the very form in which it presents itself to his mind, in the very words which offer themselves spontaneously as the clothing of his thoughts. To express our own minds frankly, directly, fearlessly, is the way to reach other minds. Now, it is the effect of creeds to check this free utterance of thought. The minister must seek words which will not clash with the consecrated articles of his church. If new ideas spring up in his mind, not altogether consonant with what the creed-monger has established, he must cover them with misty language. If he happen to doubt the standard of his church, he must strain its phraseology, must force it beyond its obvious import, that he may give his assent to it without departures from truth. All these processes must have a blighting effect on the mind and heart. They impair self-respect. They cloud the intellectual eye. They accustom men to tamper with truth. In proportion as a man dilutes his thought and suppresses his conviction, to save his orthodoxy from suspicion; in proportion as he borrows his words from others, instead of speaking in his own tongue; in proportion as he distorts language from its common use, that he may stand well with his party; in that proportion he clouds and degrades his intellect, as well as undermines the manliness and integrity of his character. How deeply do I commiserate the minister who, in the warmth and freshness of youth, is visited with glimpses of higher truth than is embodied in the creed, but who dares not be just to himself, and is made to echo what is not the simple, natural expression of his own mind! Better were it for us to beg our bread and clothe ourselves in rags, than to part with Christian simplicity and frankness. Better for a minister to preach in barns or the open air, where he may speak the truth from the fulness of his soul, than to lift up in cathedrals, amidst pomp and wealth, a voice which is not true to his inward thoughts. If they who wear the chains of creeds once knew the happiness of breathing the air of freedom, and of moving with an unincumbered spirit, no wealth or power in the world's gift would bribe them to part with their spiritual liberty.

Another sad effect of creeds is, that they favor unbelief. It is not the object of a creed to express the simple truths of our religion, though in these its efficiency chiefly lies, but to embody and decree those mysteries about which Christians have been contending. I use the word "mysteries," not in the Scriptural but popular sense, as meaning doctrines which give a shock to the reason and seem to contradict some acknowledged truth. Such mysteries are the staples of creeds. The celestial virtues of Christ's character, these are not inserted into articles of faith. On the contrary, doctrines which from their darkness or unintelligibleness have provoked controversy, and which owe their importance very much to the circumstance of having been fought for or fought against for ages, these are thrown by the creed-makers into the foremost ranks of the religion, and made its especial representatives. Christianity as set forth in creeds is a propounder of dark sayings, of riddles, of knotty propositions, of apparent contradictions. Who, on reading these standards, would catch a glimpse of the simple, pure, benevolent, practical character of Christianity? And what is the result? Christianity becoming identified, by means of creeds, with so many dark doctrines, is looked on by many as a subject for theologians to quarrel about, but too thorny or perplexed for common minds, while it is spurned by many more as an insult on human reason, as a triumph of fanaticism over common-sense.

It is a little remarkable that most creeds, whilst they abound in mysteries of human creation, have renounced the great mystery of religion. There is in religion a great mystery. I refer to the doctrine of free-will, or moral liberty. How to reconcile this with God's foreknowledge and human dependence, is a question which has perplexed the greatest minds. It is probable that much of the obscurity arrises from our applying to God the same kind of foreknowledge as men possess by their acquaintance with causes, and from our supposing the Supreme Being to bear the same relation to time as man. It is probable that juster views on these subjects will re-

lieve the freedom of the will from some of its difficulties. Still the difficulties attending it are great. It is a mystery in the popular sense of the word. Now, is it not strange that theologians who have made and swallowed so many other mysteries, have generally rejected this, and rejected it on the ground of objections less formidable than those which may be urged against their own inventions? A large part of the Protestant world have sacrificed man's freedom of will to God's foreknowledge and sovereignty, thus virtually subverting all religion, all duty, all responsibility. They have made man a machine, and destroyed the great distinction between him and the brute. There seems a fatality attending creeds. After burdening Christianity with mysteries of which it is as innocent as the unborn child, they have generally renounced the real mystery of religion, of human nature. They have subverted the foundation of moral government, by taking from man the only capacity which makes him responsible, and in this way have fixed on the commands and threatenings of God the character of a cruel despotism. What a lesson against man's attempting to impose his wisdom on his fellow-creatures as the truth of God!

THE DUTIES OF CHILDREN:

Discourse delivered to the Religious Society in Federal Street, Boston.

EPHESIANS vi. 1, 2: "Children, obey your parents in the Lord: for this is right. Honor thy father and thy mother, which is the first commandment with promise."

FROM these words I propose to point out the duties of children to their parents. My young friends, let me ask your serious attention. I wish to explain to you the honor and obedience which you are required to render your parents; and to impress you with the importance, excellence, and happiness of this temper and conduct.

It will be observed, in the progress of this discourse, that I have chiefly in view the youngest part of my hearers; but I would not on this account be supposed to intimate that those who have reached more advanced periods of life are exempted from the obligation of honoring their parents. However old we may be, we should never forget that tenderness which watched over our infancy, which listened to our cries before we could articulate our wants, and was never weary with ministering to our comfort and enjoyments. There is scarcely any thing more interesting than to see the *man* retaining the respect and gratitude which belong to the *child;* than to see persons, who have come forward into life, remembering with affection the guides and friends of their youth, and laboring by their kind and respectful attention to cheer the declining years, and support the trembling infirmities, of those whose best days were spent in solicitude and exertion for their happiness and improvement. He who suffers any objects or pursuits to shut out a parent from his heart, who becomes so weaned from the breast which nourished and the arms which cherished him, as coldly to forsake a parent's dwelling, and neglect a parent's comfort, not only renounces the dictates of religion and morality, but deserves to be cast out from society as a stranger to the common sensibilities of human nature.

In the observations I am now to make, all who have parents should feel an interest; for some remarks will apply to all. But I shall principally confine myself to those who are so young as to depend on the care and to live under the eye of their parents; who surround a parent's table, dwell beneath a parent's roof, and hear continually a parent's voice. To such the text addresses itself, "Honor and obey your father and mother."

I shall now attempt to explain and enforce what is here required of you.

First, You are required to view and

treat your parents with *respect*. Your tender, inexperienced age requires that you think of yourselves with humility, and conduct yourselves with modesty; that you respect the superior age and wisdom and improvements of your parents, and observe towards them a submissive deportment. Nothing is more unbecoming in you, nothing will render you more unpleasant in the eyes of others, than froward or contemptuous conduct towards your parents. There are children — and I wish I could say there are only a few — who speak to their parents with rudeness, grow sullen at their rebukes, behave in their presence as if they deserved no attention, hear them speak without noticing them, and rather ridicule than honor them. There are many children at the present day who think more highly of themselves than of their elders; who think that their own wishes are first to be gratified; who abuse the condescension and kindness of their parents, and treat them as servants rather than superiors.

Beware, my young friends, lest you grow up with this assuming and selfish spirit. Regard your parents as kindly given you by God, to support, direct, and govern you in your present state of weakness and inexperience. Express your respect for them in your manner and conversation. Do not neglect those outward signs of dependence and inferiority which suit your age. You are young, and you should therefore take the lowest place, and rather retire than thrust yourselves forward into notice. You have much to learn, and you should therefore hear instead of seeking to be heard. You are dependent, and you should therefore *ask* instead of *demanding* what you desire; and you should receive every thing from your parents as a favor and not as a debt. I do not mean to urge upon you a slavish fear of your parents. Love them, and love them ardently; but mingle a sense of their superiority with your love. Feel a confidence in their kindness: but let not this confidence make you rude and presumptuous, and lead to indecent familiarity. Talk to them with openness and freedom; but never contradict with violence; never answer with passion or contempt.

The Scriptures say, "Cursed be he that setteth light by his father or his mother." "The eye that mocketh at his father, the ravens of the valley shall pluck it out, and the young ravens shall eat it." The sacred history teaches us that when Solomon on his throne saw his mother approaching him, he rose to meet her, and bowed himself unto her, and caused a seat to be set for her on his right hand. Let this wise and great king teach you to respect your parents.

Secondly, You should be grateful to your parents. Consider how much you owe them. The time has been, and it was not a long time past, when you depended wholly on their kindness, when you had no strength to make a single effort for yourselves, when you could neither speak, nor walk, and knew not the use of any of your powers. Had not a parent's arm supported you, you must have fallen to the earth and perished. Observe with attention the infants which you so often see, and consider that a little while ago you were as feeble as they are; you were only a burden and a care, and you had nothing with which you could repay your parents' affection. But did they forsake you? How many sleepless nights have they been disturbed by your cries! When you were sick, how tenderly did they hang over you! With what pleasure have they seen you grow up in health to your present state! and what do you now possess which you have not received from their hands? God indeed is your great parent, your best friend, and from him every good gift descends; but God is pleased to bestow every thing upon you through the kindness of your parents. To your parents you owe every comfort; you owe to them the shelter you enjoy from the rain and cold, the raiment which covers and the food which nourishes you. While you are seeking amusement, or are employed in gaining knowledge at school, your parents are toiling that you may be happy, that your wants be supplied, that your minds may be improved, that you may grow up and be useful in the world. And when you consider how often you have forfeited all this kindness, and yet how ready they have been to forgive you, and to continue their favors, ought you not to look upon them with the tenderest gratitude? What greater monster can there be than an unthankful child, whose heart is never warmed and melted by the

daily expressions of parental solicitude; who, instead of requiting his best friend by his affectionate conduct, is sullen and passionate, and thinks that his parents have done nothing for him, because they will not do all he desires? My young friends, your parents' hearts have ached enough for you already; you should strive from this time, by your expressions of gratitude and love, to requite their goodness. Do you ask how you may best express these feelings of respect and gratitude, which have been enjoined? In answer, I would observe,

Thirdly, That you must make it your study to obey your parents, to do what they command, and do it cheerfully. Your own hearts will tell you that this is a most natural and proper expression of honor and love. For how often do we see children opposing their wills to the will of their parents; refusing to comply with absolute commands; growing more obstinate, the more they are required to do what they dislike; and at last sullenly and unwillingly obeying, because they can no longer refuse without exposing themselves to punishment. Consider, my young friends, that by such conduct you very much displease God, who has given you parents that they may control your passions and train you up in the way you should go. Consider how much better they can decide for you than you can for yourselves. You know but little of the world in which you live. You hastily catch at every thing which promises you pleasure: and unless the authority of a parent should restrain you, you would soon rush into ruin, without a thought or a fear. In pursuing your own inclinations, your health would be destroyed, your minds would run waste, you would grow up slothful, selfish, a trouble to others, and burdensome to yourselves. Submit, then, cheerfully to your parents. Have you not experienced their goodness long enough to know that they wish to make you happy, even when their commands are most severe? Prove, then, your sense of their goodness by doing cheerfully what they require. When they oppose your wishes, do not think that you have more knowledge than they. Do not receive their commands with a sour, angry, sullen look, which says louder than words, that you obey only because you dare not rebel. If they deny your requests, do not persist in urging them, but consider how many requests they have already granted you. Consider that you have no claim upon them, and that it will be base and ungrateful for you, after all their tenderness, to murmur and complain. Do not expect that your parents are to give up every thing to your wishes; but study to give up every thing to theirs. Do not wait for them to threaten; but, when a look tells you what they want, fly to perform it. This is the way in which you can best reward them for all their pains and labors. In this way you will make their houses pleasant and cheerful. But if you are disobedient, perverse, and stubborn, you will be uneasy yourselves, and will make all around you unhappy. You will make home a place of contention, noise, and anger; and your best friends will have reason to wish that you had never been born. A disobedient child almost always grows up ill-natured and disobliging to all with whom he is connected. None love him, and he has no heart to love any but himself. If you would be amiable in your temper and manner, and desire to be beloved, let me advise you to begin life with giving up your wills to your parents.

Fourthly, You must further express your respect, affection, and gratitude, by doing all in your power to assist and oblige your parents. Children can very soon make some return for the kindness they receive. Every day you can render your parents some little service, and often save them many cares, and sometimes not a little expense. There have been children who in early life have been great supports to their sick, poor, and helpless parents. This is the most honorable way in which you can be employed. You must never think too highly of yourselves to be unwilling to do any thing for those who have done so much for you. You should never let your amusements take such a hold of your minds as to make you slothful, backward, and unwilling when you are called to serve your parents. Some children seem to think that they have nothing to seek but their own pleasure. They will run from every task which is imposed on them; and leave their parents to want many comforts rather than

expose themselves to a little trouble. But consider, had they loved you no better than you loved them, how wretched would have been your state! There are some children who not only refuse to exert themselves for their parents, but add very much to their cares, give them unnecessary trouble, and, by carelessness, by wasting, by extravagance, help to keep them in poverty and toil. Such children, as they grow up, instead of seeking to provide for themselves, generally grow more and more burdensome to their friends, and lead useless, sluggish, and often profligate lives. My young friends, you should be ashamed, after having given your parents so much pain, to multiply their cares and labors unnecessarily. You should learn very early to be active in pleasing them, and active in doing what you can for yourselves. Do not waste all your spirit upon play, but learn to be useful. Perhaps the time is coming when your parents will need as much attention from you as you have received from them; and you should endeavor to form such industrious, obliging habits, that you may render their last years as happy as they have rendered the first years of your existence.

Fifthly, You should express your respect for your parents, and your sense of their kindness and superior wisdom, by placing unreserved confidence in them. This is a very important part of your duty. Children should learn to be honest, sincere, and open-hearted to their parents. An artful, hypocritical child is one of the most unpromising characters in the world. You should have no secrets which you are unwilling to disclose to your parents. If you have done wrong, you should openly confess it, and ask that forgiveness which a parent's heart is ready to bestow. If you wish to undertake any thing, ask their consent. Never begin any thing in the hope that you can conceal your design. If you once strive to impose on your parents, you will be led on, from one step to another, to invent falsehoods, to practise artifice, till you will become contemptible and hateful. You will soon be detected, and then none will trust you. Sincerity in a child will make up for many faults. Of children, he is the worst who watches the eyes of his parents, pretends to obey as long as they see him, but as soon as they have turned away does what they have forbidden. Whatever else you do, never deceive. Let your parents always learn your faults from your own lips: and be assured they will never love you the less for your openness and sincerity.

Lastly, You must prove your respect and gratitude to your parents by attending seriously to their instructions and admonitions, and by improving the advantages they afford you for becoming wise, useful, good, and happy for ever. I hope, my young friends, that you have parents who take care not only of your bodies but your souls; who instruct you in your duty, who talk to you of your God and Saviour, who teach you to pray and to read the Scriptures, and who strive to give you such knowledge and bring you up in such habits as will lead you to usefulness on earth and to happiness in heaven. If you have not, I can only pity you: I have little hope that I can do you good by what I have here said. But if your parents are faithful in instructing and guiding you, you must prove your gratitude to them and to God, by listening respectfully and attentively to what they say; by shunning the temptations of which they warn you, and by walking in the paths they mark out before you. You must labor to answer their hopes and wishes by improving in knowledge; by being industrious at school: by living peaceably with your companions; by avoiding all profane and wicked language; by fleeing bad company; by treating all persons with respect; by being kind and generous and honest, and by loving and serving your Father in heaven. This is the happiest and most delightful way of repaying the kindness of your parents. Let them see you growing up with amiable tempers and industrious habits: let them see you delighting to do good, and fearing to offend God; and they will think you have never been a burden. Their fears and anxieties about you will give place to brighter views. They will hope to see you prosperous, respected, and beloved in the present world. But if in this they are to be disappointed, if they are soon to see you stretched on the bed of sickness and death, they will still smile amidst their tears, and be comforted by the

thought that you are the children of God, and that you are going to a Father that loves you better than they. If, on the contrary, you slight and despise their instructions, and suffer your youth to run waste, you will do much to embitter their happiness and shorten their days. Many parents have gone to the grave broken-hearted by the ingratitude, perverseness, impiety, and licentiousness of their children. My young friends, listen seriously to parental admonition. Beware, lest you pierce with anguish that breast on which you have so often leaned. Beware, lest by early contempt of instruction you bring yourselves to shame and misery in this world, and draw on your heads still heavier ruin in the world beyond the grave.

Children, I have now set before you your duties. Let me once more beseech you to honor your father and mother. Ever cling to them with confidence and love. Be to them an honor, an ornament, a solace, and a support. Be more than they expect, and if possible be all that they desire. To you they are now looking with an affection which trembles for your safety. So live that their eyes may ever fix on you with beams of hope and joy. So live that the recollection of you may soothe their last hours. May you now walk by their side in the steps of the holy Saviour, and through his grace may you meet again in a better and happier world! Amen.

DAILY PRAYER.

THE Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments agree in enjoining prayer. Let no man call himself a Christian who lives without giving a part of life to this duty. We are not taught how often we must pray; but our Lord, in teaching us to say, "Give us this day our daily bread," implies that we should pray daily. He has even said to us, "pray always"—an injunction to be explained, indeed, with that latitude which many of his precepts require, but which is not to be satisfied, we think, without regular and habitual devotion. As to the particular hours to be given to this duty, every Christian may choose them for himself. Our religion is too liberal and spiritual to bind us to any place or any hour of prayer. But there are parts of the day particularly favorable to this duty, and which, if possible, should be redeemed for it. On these we shall offer a few reflections.

The first of these periods is the morning, which even nature seems to have pointed out to men of different religions as a fit time for offerings to the Divinity. In the morning our minds are not so much shaken by worldly cares and pleasures as in other parts of the day. Retirement and sleep have helped to allay the violence of our feelings, to calm the feverish excitement so often produced by intercourse with men. The hour is a still one. The hurry and tumults of life are not begun, and we naturally share in the tranquillity around us. Having for so many hours lost our hold on the world, we can banish it more easily from the mind, and worship with less divided attention. This, then, is a favorable time for approaching the invisible Author of our being, for strengthening the intimacy of our minds with him, for thinking upon a future life, and for seeking those spiritual aids which we need in the labors and temptations of every day.

In the morning there is much to feed the spirit of devotion. It offers an abundance of thoughts friendly to pious feeling. When we look on creation, what a happy and touching change do we witness! A few hours past, the earth was wrapped in gloom and silence. There seemed "a pause in nature." But now a new flood of light has broken forth, and creation rises before us in fresher and brighter hues, and seems to rejoice as if it had just received birth from its Author. The sun never sheds more cheerful beams, and never proclaims more loudly God's glory and goodness, than when he returns after

the coldness and dampness of night, and awakens man and inferior animals to the various purposes of their being. A spirit of joy seems breathed over the earth and through the sky. It requires little effort of imagination to read delight in the kindled clouds, or in the fields bright with dew. This is the time when we can best feel and bless the Power which said, "let there be light;" which "set a tabernacle for the sun in the heavens," and made him the dispenser of fruitfulness and enjoyment through all regions.

If we next look at ourselves, what materials does the morning furnish for devout thought! At the close of the past day, we were exhausted by our labors, and unable to move without wearisome effort. Our minds were sluggish, and could not be held to the most interesting objects. From this state of exhaustion, we sunk gradually into entire insensibility. Our limbs became motionless; our senses were shut as in death. Our thoughts were suspended, or only wandered confusedly and without aim. Our friends, and the universe, and God himself were forgotten. And what a change does the morning bring with it! On waking, we find that sleep, the image of death, has silently infused into us a new life. The weary limbs are braced again. The dim eye has become bright and piercing. The mind is returned from the region of forgetfulness to its old possessions. Friends are met again with a new interest. We are again capable of devout sentiment, virtuous effort, and Christian hope. With what subjects of gratitude, then, does the morning furnish us! We can hardly recall the state of insensibility from which we have just emerged without a consciousness of our dependence, or think of the renovation of our powers and intellectual being without feeling our obligation to God. There is something very touching in the consideration, if we will fix our minds upon it, that God thought of us when we could not think; that he watched over us when we had no power to avert peril from ourselves; that he continued our vital motions, and in due time broke the chains of sleep, and set our imprisoned faculties free. How fit is it, at this hour, to raise to God the eyes which he has opened, and the arm which he has strengthened; to acknowledge his providence; and to consecrate to him the powers which he has renewed! How fit that he should be the first object of the thoughts and affections which he has restored! How fit to employ in his praise the tongue which he has loosed, and the breath which he has spared.

But the morning is a fit time for devotion, not only from its relation to the past night, but considered as the introduction of a new day. To a thinking mind, how natural at this hour are such reflections as the following: — I am now to enter on a new period of my life, to start afresh in my course. I am to return to that world where I have often gone astray; to receive impressions which may never be effaced; to perform actions which will never be forgotten; to strengthen a character which will fit me for heaven or hell. I am this day to meet temptations which have often subdued me; I am to be intrusted again with opportunities of usefulness which I have often neglected. I am to influence the minds of others, to help in moulding their characters, and in deciding the happiness of their present and future life. How uncertain is this day! What unseen dangers are before me! What unexpected changes may await me! It may be my last day! It will certainly bring me nearer to death and judgment! Now, when entering on a period of life so important, yet so uncertain, how fit and natural is it, before we take the first step, to seek the favor of that Being on whom the lot of every day depends, to commit all our interests to his almighty and wise providence, to seek his blessing on our labors and his succor in temptation, and to consecrate to his service the day which he raises upon us! This morning devotion not only agrees with the sentiments of the heart, but tends to make the day happy, useful, and virtuous. Having cast ourselves on the mercy and protection of the Almighty, we shall go forth with new confidence to the labors and duties which he imposes. Our early prayer will help to shed an odor of piety through the whole life. God, having first occupied, will more easily recur to our mind. Our first step will be in the right path, and we may hope a happy issue.

So fit and useful is morning devotion.

it ought not to be omitted without necessity. If our circumstances will allow the privilege, it is a bad sign when no part of the morning is spent in prayer. If God find no place in our minds at that early and peaceful hour, He will hardly recur to us in the tumults of life. If the benefits of the morning do not soften us, we can hardly expect the heart to melt with gratitude through the day. If the world then rush in and take possession of us, when we are at some distance and have had a respite from its cares, how can we hope to shake it off when we shall be in the midst of it, pressed and agitated by it on every side? Let a part of the morning, if possible, be set apart to devotion; and to this end we should fix the hour of rising, so that we may have an early hour at our own disposal. Our piety is suspicious if we can renounce, as too many do, the pleasures and benefits of early prayer, rather than forego the senseless indulgence of unnecessary sleep. What! we can rise early enough for business. We can even anticipate the dawn, if a favorite pleasure or an uncommon gain requires the effort. But we cannot rise that we may bless our great Benefactor, that we may arm ourselves for the severe conflicts to which our principles are to be exposed! We are willing to rush into the world, without thanks offered, or a blessing sought! From a day thus begun, what ought we to expect but thoughtlessness and guilt?

Let us now consider another part of the day which is favorable to the duty of prayer, — we mean the evening. This season, like the morning, is calm and quiet. Our labors are ended. The bustle of life has gone by. The distracting glare of the day has vanished. The darkness which surrounds us favors seriousness, composure, and solemnity. At night the earth fades from our sight, and nothing of creation is left us but the starry heavens, so vast, so magnificent, so serene, as if to guide up our thoughts above all earthly things to God and immortality.

This period should in part be given to prayer, as it furnishes a variety of devotional topics and excitements. The evening is the close of an important division of time, and is therefore a fit and natural season for stopping and looking back on the day. And can we ever look back on a day which bears no witness to God, and lays no claim to our gratitude? Who is it that strengthens us for daily labor, gives us daily bread, continues our friends and common pleasures, and grants us the privilege of retiring, after the cares of the day, to a quiet and beloved home? The review of the day will often suggest not only these ordinary benefits, but peculiar proofs of God's goodness, unlooked-for successes, singular concurrences of favorable events, signal blessings sent to our friends, or new and powerful aids to our own virtue, which call for peculiar thankfulness. And shall all these benefits pass away unnoticed? Shall we retire to repose as insensible as the wearied brute? How fit and natural is it to close with pious acknowledgment the day which has been filled with Divine beneficence!

But the evening is the time to review, not only our blessings, but our actions. A reflecting mind will naturally remember at this hour that another day is gone, and gone to testify of us to our Judge. How natural and useful to inquire what report it has carried to heaven. Perhaps we have the satisfaction of looking back on a day which, in its general tenor, has been innocent and pure, which, having begun with God's praise, has been spent as in his presence; which has proved the reality of our principles in temptation; and shall such a day end without gratefully acknowledging him in whose strength we have been strong, and to whom we owe the powers and opportunities of Christian improvement? But no day will present to us recollections of purity unmixed with sin. Conscience, if suffered to inspect faithfully and speak plainly, will recount irregular desires and defective motives, talents wasted and time misspent; and shall we let the day pass from us without penitently confessing our offences to him who has witnessed them, and who has promised pardon to true repentance? Shall we retire to rest with a burden of unlamented and unforgiven guilt upon our consciences? Shall we leave these stains to spread over and sink into the soul? A religious recollection of our lives is one of the chief instruments of piety. If possible, no day should end without it. If we take no account of our sins on the day on which they are committed,

can we hope that they will recur to us at a more distant period, that we shall watch against them to-morrow, or that we shall gain the strength to resist them, which we will not implore?

One observation more, and we have done. The evening is a fit time for prayer, not only as it ends the day, but as it immediately precedes the period of repose. The hours of activity having passed, we are soon to sink into insensibility and sleep. How fit that we resign ourselves to the care of that Being who never sleeps, to whom the darkness is as the light, and whose providence is our only safety! How fit to entreat him, that He would keep us to another day; or, if our bed should prove our grave, that He would give us a part in the resurrection of the just, and awake us to a purer and immortal life. The most important periods of prayer have now been pointed out. Let our prayers, like the ancient sacrifices, ascend morning and evening. Let our days begin and end with God.

REMARKS ON THE CHARACTER AND WRITINGS OF JOHN MILTON.

[" A Treatise on Christian Doctrine, compiled from the Holy Scriptures alone." By John Milton. Translated from the original by Charles R. Sumner, M.A., Librarian and Historiographer to His Majesty, and Prebendary of Canterbury. From the London Edition. Boston, 1825. 2 vols. 8vo.]

THE discovery of a work of Milton, unknown to his own times, is an important event in literary history. The consideration that we of this age are the first readers of this Treatise naturally heightens our interest in it; for we seem in this way to be brought nearer to the author, and to sustain the same relation which his contemporaries bore to his writings. The work opens with a salutation, which, from any other man, might be chargeable with inflation; but which we feel to be the natural and appropriate expression of the spirit of Milton. Endowed with gifts of the soul which have been imparted to few of our race, and conscious of having consecrated them through life to God and mankind, he rose without effort or affectation to the style of an Apostle: — "JOHN MILTON, TO ALL THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST, AND TO ALL WHO PROFESS THE CHRISTIAN FAITH THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, PEACE, AND THE RECOGNITION OF THE TRUTH, AND ETERNAL SALVATION IN GOD THE FATHER, AND IN OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST." Our ears are the first to hear this benediction, and it seems not so much to be borne to us from a distant age, as to come immediately from the sainted spirit by which it was indited.

Without meaning to disparage the "Treatise on Christian Doctrine," we may say that it owes very much of the attention which it has excited to the fame of its author. We value it chiefly as showing us the mind of Milton on that subject which, above all others, presses upon men of thought and sensibility. We want to know in what conclusions such a man rested after a life of extensive and profound research, of magnanimous efforts for freedom and his country, and of communion with the most gifted minds of his own and former times. The book derives its chief interest from its author, and accordingly there seems to be a propriety in introducing our remarks upon it with some notice of the character of Milton. We are not sure that we could have abstained from this subject, even if we had not been able to offer so good an apology for attempting it. The intellectual and moral qualities of a great man are attractions not easily withstood; and we can hardly serve others or ourselves more than by recalling to him the attention which is scattered among inferior topics.

In speaking of the *intellectual* qualities of Milton, we may begin with observing that the very splendor of his poetic fame has tended to obscure or conceal the extent of his mind, and the variety of its energies and attainments. To many he seems only a poet, when in truth he was a profound scholar, a man of vast compass of thought, imbued

thoroughly with all ancient and modern learning, and able to master, to mould, to impregnate with his own intellectual power, his great and various acquisitions. He had not learned the superficial doctrine of a later day, that poetry flourishes most in an uncultivated soil, and that imagination shapes its brightest visions from the mists of a superstitious age; and he had no dread of accumulating knowledge, lest it should oppress and smother his genius. He was conscious of that within him which could quicken all knowledge, and wield it with ease and might; which could give freshness to old truths and harmony to discordant thoughts; which could bind together, by living ties and mysterious affinities, the most remote discoveries, and rear fabrics of glory and beauty from the rude materials which other minds had collected. Milton had that universality which marks the highest order of intellect. Though accustomed almost from infancy to drink at the fountains of classical literature, he had nothing of the pedantry and fastidiousness which disdain all other draughts. His healthy mind delighted in genius, on whatever soil or in whatever age it burst forth and poured out its fulness. He understood too well the rights and dignity and pride of creative imagination to lay on it the laws of the Greek or Roman school. Parnassus was not to him the only holy ground of genius. He felt that poetry was as a universal presence. Great minds were everywhere his kindred. He felt the enchantment of oriental fiction, surrendered himself to the strange creations of "Araby the Blest," and delighted still more in the romantic spirit of chivalry, and in the tales of wonder in which it was embodied. Accordingly his poetry reminds us of the ocean, which adds to its own boundlessness contributions from all regions under heaven. Nor was it only in the department of imagination that his acquisitions were vast. He travelled over the whole field of knowledge, as far as it had then been explored. His various philological attainments were used to put him in possession of the wisdom stored in all countries where the intellect had been cultivated. The natural philosophy, metaphysics, ethics, history, theology, and political science, of his own and former times, were familiar to him. Never was there a more unconfined mind; and we would cite Milton as a practical example of the benefits of that universal culture of intellect which forms one distinction of our times, but which some dread as unfriendly to original thought. Let such remember that mind is in its own nature diffusive. Its object is the universe, which is strictly one, or bound together by infinite connections and correspondences; and accordingly its natural progress is from one to another field of thought; and wherever original power, creative genius, exists, the mind, far from being distracted or oppressed by the variety of its acquisitions, will see more and more common bearings and hidden and beautiful analogies in all the objects of knowledge, will see mutual light shed from truth to truth, and will compel, as with a kingly power, whatever it understands to yield some tribute of proof, or illustration, or splendor, to whatever topic it would unfold.

Milton's fame rests chiefly on his poetry, and to this we naturally give our first attention. By those who are accustomed to speak of poetry as light reading, Milton's eminence in this sphere may be considered only as giving him a high rank among the contributors to public amusement. Not so thought Milton. Of all God's gifts of intellect, he esteemed poetical genius the most transcendent. He esteemed it in himself as a kind of inspiration, and wrote his great works with something of the conscious dignity of a prophet. We agree with Milton in his estimate of poetry. It seems to us the divinest of all arts; for it is the breathing or expression of that principle or sentiment which is deepest and sublimest in human nature, — we mean, of that thirst or aspiration to which no mind is wholly a stranger, for something purer and lovelier, something more powerful, lofty, and thrilling, than ordinary and real life affords. No doctrine is more common among Christians than that of man's immortality; but it is not so generally understood that the germs or principles of his whole future being are *now* wrapped up in his soul, as the rudiments of the future plant in the seed. As a necessary result of this constitution, the soul, possessed and moved by these mighty though infant energies, is perpetually stretching beyond what is

present and visible, struggling against the bounds of its earthly prison-house, and seeking relief and joy in imaginings of unseen and ideal being. This view of our nature, which has never been fully developed, and which goes farther towards explaining the contradictions of human life than all others, carries us to the very foundation and sources of poetry. He who cannot interpret by his own consciousness what we now have said, wants the true key to works of genius. He has not penetrated those secret recesses of the soul where poetry is born and nourished, and inhales immortal vigor, and wings herself for her heavenward flight. In an intellectual nature, framed for progress and for higher modes of being, there must be creative energies, powers of original and ever-growing thought; and poetry is the form in which these energies are chiefly manifested. It is the glorious prerogative of this art, that it "makes all things new" for the gratification of a divine instinct. It indeed finds its elements in what it actually sees and experiences, in the worlds of matter and mind; but it combines and blends these into new forms and according to new affinities; breaks down, if we may so say, the distinctions and bounds of nature; imparts to material objects life, and sentiment, and emotion, and invests the mind with the powers and splendors of the outward creation; describes the surrounding universe in the colors which the passions throw over it, and depicts the soul in those modes of repose or agitation, of tenderness or sublime emotion, which manifest its thirst for a more powerful and joyful existence. To a man of a literal and prosaic character, the mind may seem lawless in these workings; but it observes higher laws than it transgresses, — the laws of the immortal intellect; it is trying and developing its best faculties; and in the objects which it describes, or in the emotions which it awakens, anticipates those states of progressive power, splendor, beauty, and happiness, for which it was created.

We accordingly believe that poetry, far from injuring society, is one of the great instruments of its refinement and exaltation. It lifts the mind above ordinary life, gives it a respite from depressing cares, and awakens the consciousness of its affinity with what is pure and noble. In its legitimate and highest efforts, it has the same tendency and aim with Christianity; that is, to spiritualize our nature. True, poetry has been made the instrument of vice, the pander of bad passions; but, when genius thus stoops, it dims its fires, and parts with much of its power; and, even when poetry is enslaved to licentiousness or misanthropy, she cannot wholly forget her true vocation. Strains of pure feeling, touches of tenderness, images of innocent happiness, sympathies with suffering virtue, bursts of scorn or indignation at the hollowness of the world, passages true to our moral nature, often escape in an immoral work, and show us how hard it is for a gifted spirit to divorce itself wholly from what is good. Poetry has a natural alliance with our best affections. It delights in the beauty and sublimity of the outward creation and of the soul. It indeed portrays, with terrible energy, the excesses of the passions; but they are passions which show a mighty nature, which are full of power, which command awe, and excite a deep though shuddering sympathy. Its great tendency and purpose is, to carry the mind beyond and above the beaten, dusty, weary walks of ordinary life; to lift it into a purer element; and to breathe into it more profound and generous emotion. It reveals to us the loveliness of nature, brings back the freshness of early feeling, revives the relish of simple pleasures, keeps unquenched the enthusiasm which warmed the spring-time of our being, refines youthful love, strengthens our interest in human nature by vivid delineations of its tenderest and loftiest feelings, spreads our sympathies over all classes of society, knits us by new ties with universal being, and, through the brightness of its prophetic visions, helps faith to lay hold on the future life.

We are aware that it is objected to poetry that it gives wrong views and excites false expectations of life, peoples the mind with shadows and illusions, and builds up imagination on the ruins of wisdom. That there is a wisdom against which poetry wars — the wisdom of the senses, which makes physical comfort and gratification the supreme good, and wealth the chief interest of life — we do not deny; nor do

we deem it the least service which poetry renders to mankind that it redeems them from the thraldom of this earthborn prudence. But, passing over this topic, we would observe that the complaint against poetry, as abounding in illusion and deception, is in the main groundless. In many poems there is more truth than in many histories and philosophic theories. The fictions of genius are often the vehicles of the sublimest verities, and its flashes often open new regions of thought, and throw new light on the mysteries of our being. In poetry, when the letter is falsehood, the spirit is often profoundest wisdom. And if truth thus dwells in the boldest fictions of the poet, much more may it be expected in his delineations of life; for the present life, which is the first stage of the immortal mind, abounds in the materials of poetry, and it is the high office of the bard to detect this divine element among the grosser labors and pleasures of our earthly being. The present life is not wholly prosaic, precise, tame, and finite. To the gifted eye it abounds in the poetic. The affections, which spread beyond ourselves and stretch far into futurity; the workings of mighty passions, which seem to arm the soul with an almost superhuman energy; the innocent and irrepressible joy of infancy; the bloom, and buoyancy, and dazzling hopes of youth; the throbbings of the heart, when it first wakes to love, and dreams of a happiness too vast for earth; woman, with her beauty, and grace, and gentleness, and fulness of feeling, and depth of affection, and blushes of purity, and the tones and looks which only a mother's heart can inspire; — these are all poetical. It is not true that the poet paints a life which does not exist. He only extracts and concentrates, as it were, life's ethereal essence, arrests and condenses its volatile fragrance, brings together its scattered beauties, and prolongs its more refined but evanescent joys. And in this he does well; for it is good to feel that life is not wholly usurped by cares for subsistence and physical gratifications, but admits, in measures which may be indefinitely enlarged, sentiments and delights worthy of a higher being. This power of poetry to refine our views of life and happiness, is more and more needed as society advances. It is needed to withstand the encroachments of heartless and artificial manners, which make civilization so tame and uninteresting. It is needed to counteract the tendency of physical science, which, being now sought, not, as formerly, for intellectual gratification, but for multiplying bodily comforts, requires a new development of imagination, taste, and poetry, to preserve men from sinking into an earthly, material, Epicurean life. Our remarks in vindication of poetry have extended beyond our original design. They have had a higher aim than to assert the dignity of Milton as a poet, and that is, to endear and recommend this divine art to all who reverence and would cultivate and refine their nature.

In delineating Milton's character as a *poet*, we are saved the necessity of looking far for its distinguishing attributes. His name is almost identified with sublimity. He is in truth the sublimest of men. He rises, not by effort or discipline, but by a native tendency and a godlike instinct, to the contemplation of objects of grandeur and awfulness. He always moves with a conscious energy. There is no subject so vast or terrific as to repel or intimidate him. The overpowering grandeur of a theme kindles and attracts him. He enters on the description of the infernal regions with a fearless tread, as if he felt within himself a power to erect the prison-house of fallen spirits, to encircle them with flames and horrors worthy of their crimes, to call forth from them shouts which should "tear hell's concave," and to embody in their chief an archangel's energies and a demon's pride and hate. Even the stupendous conception of Satan seems never to oppress his faculties. This character of power runs through all Milton's works. His descriptions of nature show a free and bold hand. He has no need of the minute, graphic skill which we prize in Cowper or Crabbe. With a few strong or delicate touches, he impresses, as it were, his own mind on the scenes which he would describe, and kindles the imagination of the gifted reader to clothe them with the same radiant hues under which they appeared to his own.

This attribute of power is universally felt to characterize Milton. His sublimity is in every man's mouth. Is it

felt that his poetry breathes a sensibility and tenderness hardly surpassed by its sublimity? We apprehend that the grandeur of Milton's mind has thrown some shade over his milder beauties; and this it has done, not only by being more striking and imposing, but by the tendency of vast mental energy to give a certain calmness to the expression of tenderness and deep feeling. A great mind is the master of its own enthusiasm, and does not often break out into those tumults which pass with many for the signs of profound emotion. Its sensibility, though more intense and enduring, is more self-possessed and less perturbed than that of other men, and is therefore less observed and felt, except by those who understand, through their own consciousness, the workings and utterance of genuine feeling. We might quote pages in illustration of the qualities here ascribed to Milton. Turn to "Comus," one of his earliest productions. What sensibility breathes in the descriptions of the benighted Lady's singing, by Comus and the Spirit!

"*Comus.* — Can any mortal mixture of earth's mould
Breathe such divine enchanting ravishment?
Sure something holy lodges in that breast,
And with these raptures moves the vocal air
To testify his hidden residence:
How sweetly did they float upon the wings
Of silence, through the empty-vaulted night,
At every fall smoothing the raven down
Of darkness till it smiled! I have oft heard
My mother Circe with the Sirens three,
Amidst the flowery-kirtled Naiades,
Culling their potent herbs, and baleful drugs,
Who, as they sung, would take the prison'd soul
And lap it in Elysium; Scylla wept,
And chid her barking waves into attention,
And fell Charybdis murmur'd soft applause:
Yet they in pleasing slumber lull'd the sense,
And in sweet madness robb'd it of itself;
But such a sacred and home-felt delight,
Such sober certainty of waking bliss,
I never heard till now." *Lines* 244–264.

"*Spirit.* — At last a soft and solemn-breathing sound
Rose like a steam of rich distill'd perfumes,
And stole upon the air, that even Silence
Was took ere she was 'ware, and wish'd she might
Deny her nature, and be never more,
Still to be so displaced. I was all ear,
And took in strains that might create a soul
Under the ribs of death." *Lines* 555–563.

In illustration of Milton's tenderness, we will open almost at a venture.

"Now Morn, her rosy steps in th' eastern clime
Advancing, sow'd the earth with orient pearl,
When Adam waked, so custom'd, for his sleep
Was aery-light, from pure digestion bred,
And temperate vapors bland, which th' only sound
Of leaves and fuming rills, Aurora's fan,
Lightly dispersed, and the shrill matin song
Of birds on every bough; so much the more
His wonder was to find unwaken'd Eve
With tresses discomposed, and glowing cheek,
As through unquiet rest: He, on his side
Leaning half-raised, with looks of cordial love
Hung over her enamour'd, and beheld
Beauty, which, whether waking or asleep,
Shot forth peculiar graces; then with voice
Mild, as when Zephyrus on Flora breathes,
Her hand soft touching, whisper'd thus: Awake,
My fairest, my espoused, my latest found,
Heaven's last best gift, my ever new delight,
Awake! the morning shines, and the fresh field
Calls us; we lose the prime, to mark how spring
Our tender plants, how blows the citron grove,
What drops the myrrh, and what the balmy reed,
How nature paints her colors, how the bee
Sits on the bloom extracting liquid sweet."
Par. Lost, B. V. lines 1–25.

"So cheer'd he his fair spouse, and she was cheer'd;
But silently a gentle tear let fall
From either eye, and wiped them with her hair;
Two other precious drops that ready stood,
Each in their crystal sluice, he ere they fell
Kiss'd, as the gracious signs of sweet remorse,
And pious awe that fear'd to have offended."
Par. Lost, B. V. lines 129–135.

From this very imperfect view of the qualities of Milton's poetry, we hasten to his great work, "Paradise Lost," perhaps the noblest monument of human genius. The two first books, by universal consent, stand pre-eminent in sublimity. Hell and hell's king have a terrible harmony, and dilate into new grandeur and awfulness the longer we contemplate them. From one element, "solid and liquid fire," the poet has framed a world of horror and suffering, such as imagination had never traversed. But fiercer flames than those which encompass Satan burn in his own soul. Revenge, exasperated pride, consuming wrath, ambition, though fallen, yet unconquered by the thunders of the Omnipotent, and grasping still at the empire of the universe, — these form a picture more sublime and terrible than hell. Hell yields to the spirit which it imprisons. The intensity of its fires reveals the intenser passions and more vehement will of Satan; and the ruined archangel gathers into himself the sublimity of the scene which surrounds him. This forms the tremendous interest of these wonderful books. We see mind triumphant over the most terrible powers of nature. We see unutterable

agony subdued by energy of soul. We have not, indeed, in Satan those bursts of passion which rive the soul, as well as shatter the outward frame, of Lear. But we have a depth of passion which only an archangel could manifest. The all-enduring, all-defying pride of Satan, assuming so majestically hell's burning throne, and coveting the diadem which scorches his thunder-blasted brow, is a creation requiring in its author almost the spiritual energy with which he invests the fallen seraph. Some have doubted whether the moral effect of such delineations of the storms and terrible workings of the soul is good; whether the interest felt in a spirit so transcendently evil as Satan favors our sympathies with virtue. But our interest fastens, in this and like cases, on what is not evil. We gaze on Satan with an awe not unmixed with mysterious pleasure, as on a miraculous manifestation of the *power of mind*. What chains us, as with a resistless spell, in such a character, is spiritual might made visible by the racking pains which it overpowers. There is something kindling and ennobling in the consciousness, however awakened, of the energy which resides in mind; and many a virtuous man has borrowed new strength from the force, constancy, and dauntless courage of evil agents.

Milton's description of Satan attests in various ways the power of his genius. Critics have often observed, that the great difficulty of his work was to reconcile the spiritual properties of his supernatural beings with the human modes of existence which he is obliged to ascribe to them. The difficulty is too great for any genius wholly to overcome, and we must acknowledge that our enthusiasm is in some parts of the poem checked by a feeling of incongruity between the spiritual agent and his sphere and mode of agency. But we are visited with no such chilling doubts and misgivings in the description of Satan in hell. Imagination has here achieved its highest triumph, in imparting a character of reality and truth to its most daring creations. That world of horrors, though material, is yet so remote from our ordinary nature, that a spiritual being, exiled from heaven, finds there an appropriate home. There is, too, an indefiniteness in the description of Satan's person, which excites without shocking the imagination, and aids us to reconcile in our conception of him, a human form with his superhuman attributes. To the production of this effect, much depends on the first impression given by the poet; for this is apt to follow us through the whole work; and here we think Milton eminently successful. The first glimpse of Satan is given us in the following lines, which, whilst too indefinite to provoke, and too sublime to allow, the scrutiny of the reason, fill the imagination of the reader with a form which can hardly be effaced: —

> "Thus Satan, talking to his nearest mate
> With head uplift above the wave, and eyes
> That sparkling blazed; his other parts besides
> Prone on the flood, extended long and large,
> Lay floating many a rood."
>
> *Par. Lost, B. I. lines* 192–196.

> "Forthwith upright he rears from off the pool
> His mighty stature; on each hand the flames,
> Driven backward, slope their pointing spires, and, roll'd
> In billows, leave i' the midst a horrid vale."
>
> *Lines* 221–224.

We have more which we would gladly say of the delineation of Satan, especially of the glimpses which are now and then given of his deep anguish and despair, and of the touches of better feelings which are skilfully thrown into the dark picture, both suited and designed to blend, with our admiration, dread, and abhorrence, a measure of that sympathy and interest with which every living, thinking being ought to be regarded, and without which all other feelings tend to sin and pain. But there is another topic which we cannot leave untouched. From hell we flee to Paradise, a region as lovely as hell is terrible, and which, to those who do not know the universality of true genius, will appear doubly wonderful, when considered as the creation of the same mind which had painted the infernal world.

Paradise and its inhabitants are in sweet accordance, and together form a scene of tranquil bliss, which calms and soothes, whilst it delights, the imagination. Adam and Eve, just moulded by the hand and quickened by the breath of God, reflect in their countenances and forms, as well as minds, the intelligence, benignity, and happiness of their Author. Their new existence has the freshness and peacefulness of the dewy morning. Their souls, unsated

and untainted, find an innocent joy in the youthful creation, which spreads and smiles around them. Their mutual love is deep, for it is the love of young, unworn, unexhausted hearts, which meet in each other the only human objects on whom to pour forth their fulness of affection; and still it is serene, for it is the love of happy beings, who know not suffering even by name, whose innocence excludes not only the tumults but the thought of jealousy and shame, who, "imparadised in one another's arms," scarce dream of futurity, so blessed is their present being. We will not say that we envy our first parents; for we feel that there may be higher happiness than theirs,—a happiness won through struggle with inward and outward foes, — the happiness of power and moral victory, — the happiness of disinterested sacrifices and wide-spread love, — the happiness of boundless hope, and of "thoughts which wander through eternity." Still there are times when the spirit, oppressed with pain, worn with toil, tired of tumult, sick at the sight of guilt, wounded in its love, baffled in its hope, and trembling in its faith, almost longs for the "wings of a dove, that it might fly away" and take refuge amidst the "shady bowers," the "vernal airs," the "roses without thorns," the quiet, the beauty, the loveliness of Eden. It is the contrast of this deep peace of Paradise with the storms of life which gives to the fourth and fifth books of this poem a charm so irresistible, that not a few would sooner relinquish the two first books, with all their sublimity, than part with these. It has sometimes been said that the English language has no good pastoral poetry. We would ask, in what age or country has the pastoral reed breathed such sweet strains as are borne to us on "the odoriferous wings of gentle gales" from Milton's Paradise?

We should not fulfil our duty were we not to say one word on what has been justly celebrated, the harmony of Milton's versification. His numbers have the prime charm of expressiveness. They vary with, and answer to, the depth, or tenderness, or sublimity of his conceptions, and hold intimate alliance with the soul. Like Michael Angelo, in whose hands the marble was said to be flexible, he bends our language, which foreigners reproach with hardness, into whatever forms the subject demands. All the treasures of sweet and solemn sound are at his command. Words, harsh and discordant in the writings of less gifted men, flow through his poetry in a full stream of harmony. This power over language is not to be ascribed to Milton's musical ear. It belongs to the soul. It is a gift or exercise of genius, which has power to impress itself on whatever it touches, and finds or frames, in sounds, motions, and material forms, correspondences and harmonies with its own fervid thoughts and feelings.

We close our remarks on Milton's poetry with observing, that it is characterized by seriousness. Great and various as are its merits, it does not discover all the variety of genius which we find in Shakspeare, whose imagination revelled equally in regions of mirth, beauty, and terror, now evoking spectres, now sporting with fairies, and now "ascending the highest heaven of invention." Milton was cast on times too solemn and eventful, was called to take part in transactions too perilous, and had too perpetual need of the presence of high thoughts and motives, to indulge himself in light and gay creations, even had his genius been more flexible and sportive. But Milton's poetry, though habitually serious, is always healthful, and bright, and vigorous. It has no gloom. He took no pleasure in drawing dark pictures of life; for he knew by experience that there is a power in the soul to transmute calamity into an occasion and nutriment of moral power and triumphant virtue. We find nowhere in his writings that whining sensibility and exaggeration of morbid feeling which makes so much of modern poetry effeminating. If he is not gay, he is not spirit-broken. His "L'Allegro" proves that he understood thoroughly the bright and joyous aspects of nature; and in his "Penseroso," where he was tempted to accumulate images of gloom, we learn that the saddest views which he took of creation are such as inspire only pensive musing or lofty contemplation.

From Milton's poetry we turn to his *prose*. We rejoice that the dust is beginning to be wiped from his prose writings, and that the public are now learning, what the initiated have long known, that these contain passages hardly infe-

rior to his best poetry, and that they are throughout marked with the same vigorous mind which gave us "Paradise Lost." The attention to these works has been discouraged by some objections, on which we shall bestow a few remarks.

And first, it is objected to his prose writings, that the style is difficult and obscure, abounding in involutions, transpositions, and Latinisms; that his protracted sentences exhaust and weary the mind, and too often yield it no better recompense than confused and indistinct perceptions. We mean not to deny that these charges have some grounds; but they seem to us much exaggerated; and, when we consider that the difficulties of Milton's style have almost sealed up his prose writings, we cannot but lament the fastidiousness and effeminacy of modern readers. We know that simplicity and perspicuity are important qualities of style: but there are vastly nobler and more important ones, such as energy and richness, and in these Milton is not surpassed. The best style is not that which puts the reader most easily and in the shortest time in possession of a writer's naked thoughts; but that which is the truest image of a great intellect, which conveys fully and carries farthest into other souls the conceptions and feelings of a profound and lofty spirit. To be universally intelligible is not the highest merit. A great mind cannot, without injurious constraint, shrink itself to the grasp of common passive readers. Its natural movement is free, bold, and majestic, and it ought not to be required to part with these attributes, that the multitude may keep pace with it. A full mind will naturally overflow in long sentences, and, in the moment of inspiration, when thick-coming thoughts and images crowd upon it, will often pour them forth in a splendid confusion, dazzling to common readers, but kindling to congenial spirits. There are writings which are clear through their shallowness. We must not expect in the ocean the transparency of the calm inland stream. For ourselves, we love what is called easy reading perhaps too well, especially in our hours of relaxation; but we love, too, to have our faculties tasked by master-spirits. We delight in long sentences, in which a great truth, instead of being broken up into numerous periods, is spread out in its full proportions, is irradiated with variety of illustration and imagery, is set forth in a splendid affluence of language, and flows, like a full stream, with a majestic harmony which fills at once the ear and the soul. Such sentences are worthy and noble manifestations of a great and far-looking mind, which grasps at once vast fields of thought, just as the natural eye takes in at a moment wide prospects of grandeur and beauty. We would not indeed have all compositions of this character. Let abundant provision be made for the common intellect. Let such writers as Addison, an honored name, "bring down philosophy from heaven to earth." But let inspired genius fulfil its higher function of lifting the prepared mind from earth to heaven. Impose upon it no strict laws, for it is its own best law. Let it speak in its own language, in tones which suit its own ear. Let it not lay aside its natural port, or dwarf itself that it may be comprehended by the surrounding multitude. If not understood and relished now, let it place a generous confidence in other ages, and utter oracles which futurity will expound. We are led to these remarks not merely for Milton's justification, but because our times seem to demand them. Literature, we fear, is becoming too popular. The whole community is now turned into readers, and in this we heartily rejoice; and we rejoice, too, that so much talent is employed in making knowledge accessible to all. We hail the general diffusion of intelligence as the brightest feature of the present age. But good and evil are never disjoined; and one bad consequence of the multitude of readers is, that men of genius are too anxious to please the multitude, and prefer a present shout of popularity to that less tumultuous, but deeper, more thrilling note of the trump of Fame, which resounds and grows clearer and louder through all future ages.

We now come to a much more serious objection to Milton's prose writings, and that is, that they are disfigured by party-spirit, coarse invective, and controversial asperity; and here we are prepared to say that there are passages in these works which every admirer of his character must earnestly desire to expunge. Milton's alleged virulence was mani-

fested toward private and public foes. The first, such as Salmasius and Morus, deserved no mercy. They poured out on his spotless character torrents of calumny, charging him with the blackest vices of the heart and the foulest enormities of the life. It ought to be added, that the manners and spirit of Milton's age justified a retaliation on such offenders, which the more courteous, and, we will hope, more Christian spirit of the present times will not tolerate. Still we mean not to be his apologists. Milton, raised as he was above his age, and fortified with the consciousness of high virtue, ought to have been, both to his own and future times, an example of Christian equanimity. In regard to the public enemies whom he assailed, we mean the despots in church and state, and the corrupt institutions which had stirred up a civil war, the general strain of his writings, though strong and stern, must exalt him, notwithstanding his occasional violence, among the friends of civil and religious liberty. That liberty was in peril. Great evils were struggling for perpetuity, and could only be broken down by great power. Milton felt that interests of infinite moment were at stake; and who will blame him for binding himself to them with the whole energy of his great mind, and for defending them with fervor and vehemence? We must not mistake Christian benevolence, as if it had but one voice, that of soft entreaty. It can speak in piercing and awful tones. There is constantly going on in our world a conflict between good and evil. The cause of human nature has always to wrestle with foes. All improvement is a victory won by struggles. It is especially true of those great periods which have been distinguished by revolutions in government and religion, and from which we date the most rapid movements of the human mind, that they have been signalized by conflict. Thus Christianity convulsed the world and grew up amidst storms; and the Reformation of Luther was a signal to universal war; and liberty in both worlds has encountered opposition over which she has triumphed only through her own immortal energies. At such periods, men, gifted with great power of thought and loftiness of sentiment, are especially summoned to the conflict with evil. They hear, as it were, in their own magnanimity and generous aspirations, the voice of a divinity; and thus commissioned, and burning with a passionate devotion to truth and freedom, they must and will speak with an indignant energy, and they ought not to be measured by the standard of ordinary minds in ordinary times. Men of natural softness and timidity, of a sincere but effeminate virtue, will be apt to look on these bolder, hardier spirits, as violent, perturbed, and uncharitable; and the charge will not be wholly groundless. But that deep feeling of evils, which is necessary to effectual conflict with them, and which marks God's most powerful messengers to mankind, cannot breathe itself in soft and tender accents. The deeply moved soul will speak strongly, and ought to speak so as to move and shake nations.

We have offered these remarks as strongly applicable to Milton. He reverenced and loved human nature, and attached himself to its great interests with a fervor of which only such a mind was capable. He lived in one of those solemn periods which determine the character of ages to come. His spirit was stirred to its very centre by the presence of danger. He lived in the midst of the battle. That the ardor of his spirit sometimes passed the bounds of wisdom and charity, and poured forth unwarrantable invective, we see and lament. But the purity and loftiness of his mind break forth amidst his bitterest invectives. We see a noble nature still. We see that no feigned love of truth and freedom was a covering for selfishness and malignity. He did indeed love and adore uncorrupted religion, and intellectual liberty, and let his name be enrolled among their truest champions. Milton has told us, in his own noble style, that he entered on his principal controversy with Episcopacy reluctantly, and only through a deep conviction of duty. The introduction to the second book of his "Reason of Church Government" shows us the workings of his mind on this subject, and is his best vindication from the charge we are now repelling. He says: —

"Surely to every good and peaceable man, it must in nature needs be a hateful thing, to be the displeaser and molester of thousands; much better would it like him, doubtless, to be the messenger of gladness

and contentment, which is his chief intended business to all mankind, but that they resist and oppose their own true happiness. But when God commands to take the trumpet, and blow a dolorous or a jarring blast, it lies not in man's will what he shall say, or what he shall conceal. . . . This I foresee, that should the church be brought under heavy oppression, and God have given me ability the while to reason against that man that should be the author of so foul a deed, or should she, by blessing from above on the industry and courage of faithful men, change this her distracted estate into better days, without the least furtherance or contribution of those few talents which God at that present had lent me; I foresee what stories I should hear within myself, all my life after, of discourage and reproach. 'Timorous and ungrateful, the church of God is now again at the foot of her insulting enemies, and thou bewailest; what matters it for thee or thy bewailing? When time was, thou couldst not find a syllable of all that thou hast read or studied, to utter in her behalf. Yet ease and leisure was given thee for thy retired thoughts, out of the sweat of other men. Thou hadst the diligence, the parts, the language of a man, if a vain subject were to be adorned or beautified; but when the cause of God and his church was to be pleaded, for which purpose that tongue was given thee which thou hast, God listened if he could hear thy voice among his zealous servants, but thou wert dumb as a beast: from henceforward be that which thine own brutish silence hath made thee.' . . . But now, by this little diligence, mark what a privilege I have gained with good men and saints, to claim my right of lamenting the tribulations of the church, if she should suffer, when others, that have ventured nothing for her sake, have not the honor to be admitted mourners. But, if she lift up her drooping head and prosper, among those that have something more than wished her welfare, I have my charter and freehold of rejoicing to me and my heirs.

"Concerning therefore this wayward subject against prelaty, the touching whereof is so distasteful and disquietous to a number of men, as by what hath been said I may deserve of charitable readers to be credited, that neither envy nor gall hath entered me upon this controversy, but the enforcement of conscience only, and a preventive fear lest the omitting of this duty should be against me, when I would store up to myself the good provision of peaceful hours." *Vol. I., pp.* 139–141.*

* From the introduction to the second book of "The Reason of Church Government," &c. Vol. I., pp. 137, &c. of "A Selection from the English Prose Works of John Milton, Boston, 1826," to which all our references are made.

He then goes on to speak of his consciousness of possessing great poetical powers, which he was most anxious to cultivate. Of these he speaks thus magnificently: —

"These abilities, wheresoever they be found, are the inspired gift of God rarely bestowed, but yet to some, though most abuse, in every nation; and are of power, — to imbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds of virtue, and public civility, to allay the perturbations of the mind, and set the affections in right tune; to celebrate in glorious and lofty hymns the throne and equipage of God's almightiness, and what he works, and what he suffers to be wrought with high providence in his church; to sing victorious agonies of martyrs and saints, the deeds and triumphs of just and pious nations, doing valiantly through faith against the enemies of Christ; to deplore the general relapses of kingdoms and states from justice and God's true worship; lastly, whatsoever in religion is holy and sublime, in virtue amiable or grave, whatsoever hath passion or admiration in all the changes of that which is called fortune from without, or the wily subtilties and refluxes of man's thoughts from within; all these things with a solid and treatable smoothness to paint out and describe." — *Vol. I., pp.* 145, 146.

He then gives intimations of his having proposed to himself a great poetical work, "a work," he says, —

"Not to be raised from the heat of youth, or the vapors of wine, like that which flows at waste from the pen of some vulgar amourist, or the rencher fury of a rhyming parasite, nor to be obtained by the invocation of dame Memory and her syren daughters, but by devout prayer to that eternal Spirit, who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his seraphim, with the hallowed fire of his altar, to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases." — *Vol. I., p.* 148.

He then closes with a passage, showing from what principles he forsook these delightful studies for controversy: —

"I trust hereby to make it manifest with what small willingness I endure to interrupt the pursuit of no less hopes than these, and leave a calm and pleasing solitariness, fed with cheerful and confident thoughts, to embark in a troubled sea of noises and hoarse disputes, put from beholding the bright countenance of truth in the quiet and still air of delightful studies. . . . But were it the meanest underservice, if God by his secretary conscience enjoin

it, it were sad for me if I should draw back; for me especially, now when all men offer their aid to help, ease, and lighten the difficult labors of the church, to whose service, by the intentions of my parents and friends, I was destined of a child, and in mine own resolutions, till coming to some maturity of years, and perceiving what tyranny had invaded the church, that he who would take orders must subscribe slave, and take an oath withal, which unless he took with a conscience that would retch, he must either strait perjure or split his faith, I thought it better to prefer a blameless silence before the sacred office of speaking, bought and begun with servitude and forswearing." — *Vol. I., p.* 149.

These passages, replete with Milton's genius and greatness of soul, show us the influences and motives under which his prose works were written, and help us to interpret passages, which, if taken separately, might justify us in ascribing to him a character of excessive indignation and scorn.

Milton's most celebrated prose work is his "Areopagitica, or a Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing," a noble work indeed, a precious manual of freedom, an arsenal of immortal weapons for the defence of man's highest prerogative, — intellectual liberty. His "Reformation in England" and "Reason of Church Government" are the most important theological treatises published during his life. They were his earliest prose compositions, and thrown off with much haste, and on these accounts are more chargeable with defects of style than any other of his writings. But these, with all their defects, abound in strong and elevated thought, and in power and felicity of expression. Their great blemish is an inequality of style, often springing from the conflict and opposition of the impulses under which he wrote. It is not uncommon to find, in the same sentence, his affluent genius pouring forth magnificent images and expressions, and suddenly his deep scorn for his opponents, suggesting and throwing into the midst of this splendor sarcasms and degrading comparisons altogether at variance with the general strain. From this cause, and from negligence, many powerful passages in his prose writings are marred by an incongruous mixture of unworthy allusions and phrases. In the close of his first work, that on "Reformation in England," he breaks out into an invocation and prayer to the Supreme Being, from which we extract a passage containing a remarkable intimation of his having meditated some great poetical enterprise from his earliest years, and giving full promise of that grandeur of thought and language which characterizes "Paradise Lost." Having "lifted up his hands to that eternal and propitious Throne, where nothing is readier than grace and refuge to the distresses of mortal suppliants," and besought God to perfect the work of civil and religious deliverance begun in England, he proceeds thus: —

"Then, amidst the hymns and hallelujahs of saints, *some one may perhaps be heard* offering at high strains in new and lofty measures, to sing and celebrate thy divine mercies, and marvellous judgments in this land throughout all ages, whereby this great and warlike nation, instructed and inured to the fervent and continual practice of truth and righteousness, and casting far from her the rags of her old vices, may press on hard to that high and happy emulation to be found the soberest, wisest, and most Christian people at that day, when Thou, the eternal and shortly expected King, shalt open the clouds to judge the several kingdoms of the world, and, distributing national honors and rewards to religious and just commonwealths, shalt put an end to all earthly tyrannies, proclaiming thy universal and mild monarchy through heaven and earth; where they undoubtedly, that by their labors, counsels, and prayers, have been earnest for the common good of religion and their country, shall receive, above the inferior orders of the blessed, the regal addition of principalities, legions, and thrones into their glorious titles, and, in supereminence of beatific vision, progressing the dateless and irrevoluble circle of eternity, shall clasp inseparable hands with joy and bliss, in overmeasure for ever." — *Vol. I., pp.* 69, 70.

We have not time to speak of Milton's political treatises. We close our brief remarks on his prose writings with recommending them to all who can enjoy great beauties in the neighborhood of great faults, and who would learn the compass, energy, and richness of our language; and still more do we recommend them to those who desire to nourish in their breast magnanimity of sentiment and an unquenchable love of freedom. They bear the impress of that seal by which genius distinguishes its productions from works of learning and

taste. The great and decisive test of genius is, that it calls forth *power* in the souls of others. It not merely gives knowledge, but breathes energy. There are authors, and among these Milton holds the highest rank, in approaching whom we are conscious of an access of intellectual strength. A "virtue goes out" from them. We discern more clearly, not merely because a new light is thrown over objects, but because our own vision is strengthened. Sometimes a single word, spoken by the voice of genius, goes far into the heart. A hint, a suggestion, an undefined delicacy of expression, teaches more than we gather from volumes of less gifted men. The works which we should chiefly study are not those which contain the greatest fund of knowledge, but which raise us into sympathy with the intellectual energy of the author, and through which a great mind multiplies itself, as it were, in the reader. Milton's prose works are imbued as really, if not as thoroughly, as his poetry, with this quickening power, and they will richly reward those who are receptive of this influence.

We now leave the writings of Milton to offer a few remarks on his *moral* qualities. His moral character was as strongly marked as his intellectual, and it may be expressed in one word, ***magnanimity***. It was in harmony with his poetry. He had a passionate love of the higher, more commanding, and majestic virtues, and fed his youthful mind with meditations on the perfection of a human being. In a letter written to an Italian friend before his thirtieth year, and translated by Hayley, we have this vivid picture of his aspirations after virtue: —

"As to other points, what God may have determined for me I know not; but this I know, that if he ever instilled an intense love of moral beauty into the breast of any man, he has instilled it into mine. Ceres, in the fable, pursued not her daughter with a greater keenness of inquiry, than I day and night the idea of perfection. Hence, wherever I find a man despising the false estimates of the vulgar, and daring to aspire, in sentiment, language, and conduct, to what the highest wisdom, through every age, has taught us as most excellent, to him I unite myself by a sort of necessary attachment; and if I am so influenced by nature or destiny, that by no exertion or labors of my own I may exalt myself to this summit of worth and honor, yet no powers of heaven or earth will hinder me from looking with reverence and affection upon those who have thoroughly attained this glory, or appeared engaged in the successful pursuit of it."

His "Comus" was written in his twenty-sixth year, and on reading this exquisite work our admiration is awakened, not so much by observing how the whole spirit of poetry had descended on him at that early age, as by witnessing how his whole youthful soul was penetrated, awed, and lifted up by the austere charms, "the radiant light," the invincible power, the celestial peace of saintly virtue. He reverenced moral purity and elevation, not only for its own sake, but as the inspirer of intellect, and especially of the higher efforts of poetry. "I was confirmed," he says, in his usual noble style, —

"I was confirmed in this opinion; that he who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things, ought himself to be a true poem; that is, a composition and pattern of the best and honorablest things; not presuming to sing of high praises of heroic men or famous cities, unless he have in himself the experience and the practice of all that which is praiseworthy." — *Vol. I., pp.* 237, 238.

We learn from his works that he used his multifarious reading to build up within himself this reverence for virtue. Ancient history, the sublime musings of Plato, and the heroic self-abandonment of chivalry, joined their influences with prophets and apostles in binding him "everlastingly in willing homage" to the great, the honorable, and the lovely in character. A remarkable passage to this effect we quote from his account of his youth: —

"I betook me among those lofty fables and romances, which recount, in solemn cantos, the deeds of knighthood founded by our victorious kings, and from hence had in renown over all Christendom. There I read it in the oath of every knight, that he should defend to the expense of his best blood or of his life, if it so befell him, the honor and chastity of virgin or matron; from whence even then I learned what a noble virtue chastity sure must be, to the defence of which so many worthies by such a dear adventure of themselves, had sworn. . . . So that even these, books which to many others have been the fuel

of wantonness and loose living, I cannot think how, unless by divine indulgence, proved to me so many incitements, as you have heard, to the love and steadfast observation of virtue." — *Vol. I., pp.* 238, 239.

All Milton's habits were expressive of a refined and self-denying character. When charged by his unprincipled slanderers with licentious habits, he thus gives an account of his morning hours: —

"Those morning haunts are where they should be, at home; not sleeping, or concocting the surfeits of an irregular feast, but up and stirring, in winter often ere the sound of any bell awake men to labor, or devotion; in summer as oft with the bird that first rouses, or not much tardier, to read good authors, or cause them to be read, till the attention be weary or memory have its full fraught; then with useful and generous labors preserving the body's health and hardiness, to render lightsome, clear, and not lumpish obedience to the mind, to the cause of religion, and our country's liberty, when it shall require firm hearts in sound bodies to stand and cover their stations, rather than to see the ruin of our protestation, and the enforcement of a slavish life." — *Vol I., p.* 233.

We have enlarged on the strictness and loftiness of Milton's virtue, not only from our interest in the subject, but that we may put to shame and silence those men who make genius an apology for vice, and take the sacred fire, kindled by God within them, to inflame men's passions, and to minister to a vile sensuality.

We see Milton's greatness of mind in his fervent and constant attachment to liberty. Freedom, in all its forms and branches, was dear to him, but especially freedom of thought and speech, of conscience and worship, freedom to seek, profess, and propagate truth. The liberty of ordinary politicians, which protects men's outward rights, and removes restraints from the pursuit of property and outward good, fell very short of that for which Milton lived, and was ready to die. The tyranny which he hated most was that which broke the intellectual and moral power of the community. The worst feature of the institutions which he assailed was, that they fettered the mind. He felt within himself that the human mind had a principle of perpetual growth, that it was essentially diffusive and made for progress, and he wished every chain broken, that it might run the race of truth and virtue with increasing ardor and success. This attachment to a spiritual and refined freedom, which never forsook him in the hottest controversies, contributed greatly to protect his genius, imagination, taste, and sensibility, from the withering and polluting influences of public station, and of the rage of parties. It threw a hue of poetry over politics, and gave a sublime reference to his service of the commonwealth. The fact that Milton, in that stormy day, and amidst the trials of public office, kept his high faculties undepraved, was a proof of no common greatness. Politics, however they make the intellect active, sagacious, and inventive, within a certain sphere, generally extinguish its thirst for universal truth, paralyze sentiment and imagination, corrupt the simplicity of the mind, destroy that confidence in human virtue which lies at the foundation of philanthropy and generous sacrifices, and end in cold and prudent selfishness. Milton passed through a revolution which, in its last stages and issue, was peculiarly fitted to damp enthusiasm, to scatter the visions of hope, and to infuse doubts of the reality of virtuous principle; and yet the ardor, and moral feeling, and enthusiasm of his youth came forth unhurt, and even exalted, from the trial.

Before quitting the subject of Milton's devotion to liberty, it ought to be recorded that he wrote his celebrated "Defence of the People of England," after being distinctly forewarned by his physicians that the effect of this exertion would be the utter loss of sight. His reference to this part of his history, in a short poetical effusion, is too characteristic to be withheld. It is inscribed to Cyriac Skinner, the friend to whom he appears to have confided his lately discovered "Treatise on Christian Doctrine."

"Cyriac, this three years day these eyes, though clear,
To outward view, of blemish or of spot,
Bereft of light, their seeing have forgot;
Nor to their idle orbs doth sight appear
Of sun, or moon, or star, throughout the year,
Or man, or woman. Yet I argue not
Against Heaven's hand or will, nor bate a jot
Of heart or hope, but still bear up and steer

Right onward. What supports me, dost thou ask?
The conscience, Friend, to have lost them overplied
In Liberty's defence, my noble task,
Of which all Europe rings from side to side.
This thought might lead me through the world's vain mask,
Content though blind, had I no better guide."
Sonnet XXII.

We see Milton's magnanimity in the circumstances under which "Paradise Lost" was written. It was not in prosperity, in honor, and amidst triumphs, but in disappointment, desertion, and in what the world calls disgrace, that he composed that work. The cause with which he had identified himself had failed. His friends were scattered; liberty was trodden under foot, and her devoted champion was a by-word among the triumphant royalists. But it is the prerogative of true greatness to glorify itself in adversity, and to meditate and execute vast enterprises in defeat. Milton, fallen in outward condition, afflicted with blindness, disappointed in his best hopes, applied himself with characteristic energy to the sublimest achievement of intellect, solacing himself with great thoughts, with splendid creations, and with a prophetic confidence that, however neglected in his own age, he was framing in his works a bond of union and fellowship with the illustrious spirits of a brighter day. We delight to contemplate him in his retreat and last years. To the passing spectator, he seemed fallen and forsaken, and his blindness was reproached as a judgment from God. But though sightless, he lived in light. His inward eye ranged through universal nature, and his imagination shed on it brighter beams than the sun. Heaven and hell and paradise were open to him. He visited past ages, and gathered round him ancient sages and heroes, prophets and apostles, brave knights and gifted bards. As he looked forward, ages of liberty dawned and rose to his view, and he felt that he was about to bequeath to them an inheritance of genius, "which would not fade away," and was to live in the memory, reverence, and love of remotest generations.

We have enlarged on Milton's character, not only from the pleasure of paying that sacred debt which the mind owes to him who has quickened and delighted it, but from an apprehension that Milton has not yet reaped his due harvest of esteem and veneration. The mists which the prejudices and bigotry of Johnson spread over his bright name are not yet wholly scattered, though fast passing away. We wish not to disparage Johnson. We could find no pleasure in sacrificing one great man to the *manes* of another. But we owe it to Milton and to other illustrious names, to say, that Johnson has failed of the highest end of biography, which is to give immortality to virtue, and to call forth fervent admiration towards those who have shed splendor on past ages. We acquit Johnson, however, of intentional misrepresentation. He did not, and could not, appreciate Milton. We doubt whether two other minds, having so little in common as those of which we are now speaking, can be found in the higher walks of literature. Johnson was great in his own sphere, but that sphere was comparatively "of the earth," whilst Milton's was only inferior to that of angels. It was customary, in the day of Johnson's glory, to call him a giant, to class him with a mighty, but still an earth-born race. Milton we should rank among seraphs. Johnson's mind acted chiefly on man's actual condition, on the realities of life, on the springs of human action, on the passions which now agitate society, and he seems hardly to have dreamed of a higher state of the human mind than was then exhibited. Milton, on the other hand, burned with a deep yet calm love of moral grandeur and celestial purity. He thought, not so much of what man is, as of what he might become. His own mind was a revelation to him of a higher condition of humanity, and to promote this he thirsted and toiled for freedom, as the element for the growth and improvement of his nature. In religion Johnson was gloomy and inclined to superstition, and on the subject of government leaned towards absolute power; and the idea of reforming either never entered his mind but to disturb and provoke it. The church and the civil polity under which he lived seemed to him perfect, unless he may have thought that the former would be improved by a larger infusion of Romish rites and doctrines, and the latter by an enlargement of the royal prerogative. Hence a tame acquiescence in the present forms of religion and government marks his works. Hence we find so

little in his writings which is electric and soul-kindling, and which gives the reader a consciousness of being made for a state of loftier thought and feeling than the present. Milton's whole soul, on the contrary, revolted against the maxims of legitimacy, hereditary faith, and servile reverence for established power. He could not brook the bondage to which men had bowed for ages. "Reformation" was the first word of public warning which broke from his youthful lips, and the hope of it was the solace of his declining years. The difference between Milton and Johnson may be traced, not only in these great features of mind, but in their whole characters. Milton was refined and spiritual in his habits, temperate almost to abstemiousness, and refreshed himself after intellectual effort by music. Johnson inclined to more sensual delights. Milton was exquisitely alive to the outward creation, to sounds, motions, and forms, to natural beauty and grandeur. Johnson, through defect of physical organization, if not through deeper deficiency, had little susceptibility of these pure and delicate pleasures, and would not have exchanged the Strand for the vale of Tempe or the gardens of the Hesperides. How could Johnson be just to Milton! The comparison which we have instituted has compelled us to notice Johnson's defects. But we trust we are not blind to his merits. His stately march, his pomp and power of language, his strength of thought, his reverence for virtue and religion, his vigorous logic, his practical wisdom, his insight into the springs of human action, and the solemn pathos which occasionally pervades his descriptions of life and his references to his own history, command our willing admiration. That he wanted enthusiasm and creative imagination and lofty sentiment, was not his fault. We do not blame him for not being Milton. We love intellectual power in all its forms, and delight in the variety of mind. We blame him only that his passions, prejudices, and bigotry engaged him in the unworthy task of obscuring the brighter glory of one of the most gifted and virtuous men. We would even treat what we deem the faults of Johnson with a tenderness approaching respect; for they were results, to a degree which man cannot estimate, of a diseased, irritable, nervous, unhappy physical temperament, and belonged to the body more than to the mind. We only ask the friends of genius not to put their faith in Johnson's delineations of it. His biographical works are tinged with his notoriously strong prejudices, and, of all his "Lives," we hold that of Milton to be the most apocryphal.

We here close our general remarks on Milton's intellectual and moral qualities. We venerate him as a man of genius, but still more as a man of magnanimity and Christian virtue, who regarded genius and poetry as sacred gifts, imparted to him, not to amuse men or to build up a reputation, but that he might quicken and call forth what was great and divine in his fellow-creatures, and might secure the only true fame, the admiration of minds which his writings were to kindle and exalt.

We come now to the examination of the newly discovered "Treatise on Christian Doctrine." This work, we have said, owes its chief interest to the character of its author. From its very nature, it cannot engage and fix general attention. It consists very much of collections of texts of Scripture, which, however exciting in their proper places, are read with little thought or emotion when taken from their ordinary connection, and marshalled under systematic heads. Milton aims to give us the doctrines of revelation in its own words. We have them in a phraseology long familiar to us, and we are disappointed: for we expected to see them, not in the language of the Bible, but as existing in the mind of Milton, modified by his peculiar intellect and sensibility, combined and embodied with his various knowledge, illustrated by the analogies, brightened by the new lights, and clothed with the associations, with which they were surrounded by this gifted man. We hoped to see these doctrines as they were viewed by Milton in his moments of solemn feeling and deep contemplation, when they pervaded and moved his whole soul. Still there are passages in which Milton's mind is laid open to us. We refer to the parts of the work where the peculiarity of his opinions obliges him to state his reasons for adopting them; and these we value highly for the vigor and independence of intellect with which they are im-

pressed. The work is plain and unambitious in style. Its characteristics are a calm earnestness, and that profound veneration for Scripture which certain denominations of Christians, who have little congeniality with Milton, seem to claim as a monopoly.

His introduction is worthy every man's attention, as a deliberate, mild assertion of the dearest right of human nature, that of free inquiry: —

"If I communicate the result of my inquiries to the world at large; if, as God is my witness, it be with a friendly and benignant feeling towards mankind, that I readily give as wide a circulation as possible to what I esteem my best and richest possession, I hope to meet with a candid reception from all parties, and that none at least will take unjust offence, even though many things should be brought to light, which will at once be seen to differ from certain received opinions. I earnestly beseech all lovers of truth not to cry out that the church is thrown into confusion by that freedom of discussion and inquiry, which is granted to the schools, and ought certainly to be refused to no believer, since we are ordered *to prove all things*, and since the daily progress of the light of truth is productive, far less of disturbance to the church, than of illumination and edification." — *Vol. I., pp.* 5, 6.

"It has also been my object to make it appear from the opinions I shall be found to have advanced, whether new or old, of how much consequence to the Christian religion is the liberty, not only of winnowing and sifting every doctrine, but also of thinking and even writing respecting it, according to our individual faith and persuasion; an inference which will be stronger in proportion to the weight and importance of those opinions, or rather in proportion to the authority of Scripture, on the abundant testimony of which they rest. Without this liberty there is neither religion nor gospel, — force alone prevails, by which it is disgraceful for the Christian religion to be supported. Without this liberty we are still enslaved, not, indeed, as formerly, under the divine law, but, what is worst of all, under the law of man, or, to speak more truly, under a barbarous tyranny." — *Vol. I., pp.* 7, 8.

On that great subject, the character of God, Milton has given nothing particularly worthy of notice, except that he is more disposed than Christians in general to conceive of the Supreme Being under the forms and affections of human nature: —

"If God habitually assign to himself the members and form of man, why should we be afraid of attributing to him what he attributes to himself, so long as what is imperfection and weakness, when viewed in reference to ourselves, be considered as most complete and excellent whenever it is imputed to God." — *Vol. I., p.* 23.

Milton is not the first Christian who has thought to render the Supreme Being more interesting by giving him human shape. We doubt the wisdom of this expedient. To spiritualize our conceptions of him seems to us the true process for strengthening our intimacy with him: for in this way only can we think of him as immediately present to our minds. As far as we give him a material form, we must assign to him a place, and that place will almost necessarily be a distant one, and thus we shall remove him from the soul, which is his true temple. Besides, a definite form clashes with God's infinity, which is his supreme distinction, and on no account to be obscured; for, strange as it may seem to those who know not their own nature, this incomprehensible attribute is that which above all things constitutes the correspondence or adaptation, if we may so speak, of God to the human mind.

In treating of God's efficiency, Milton strenuously maintains human freedom, in opposition to the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination. He maintains that God's decrees do not encroach on moral liberty; for our free agency is the very object decreed and predestined by the Creator. He maintains that some of the passages of Scripture which speak of election are to be understood of an election to outward privileges, not to everlasting life; and that in other texts, which relate to the future state, the election spoken of is not an arbitrary choice of individuals, but of that class or descriptions of persons, be it large or small, who shall comply with the prescribed terms of salvation; in other words, it is a conditional, not an absolute election, and such that every individual, if he will, may be included in it. Milton has so far told us truth. We wish that we could add that he had thrown new light on free agency. This great subject has indeed baffled as yet the deepest thinkers, and seems now to be consigned, with other sublime topics, under the sweeping denomination of "metaphysics," to general neglect. But

let it not be given up in despair. The time is coming when the human intellect is to strike into new fields, and to view itself and its Creator and the universe from new positions, and we trust that the darkness which has so long hung over our moral nature will be gradually dispersed. This attribute of free agency, through which an intelligent being is strictly and properly a cause, an agent, an originator of moral good or moral evil, and not a mere machine, determined by outward influences, or by a secret, yet resistless efficiency of God, which virtually makes him the author and sole author of all human actions, — this moral freedom, which is the best image of the creative energy of the Deity, seems to us the noblest object of philosophical investigation. However questioned and darkened by a host of metaphysicians, it is recognized in the common consciousness of every human being. It is the ground of responsibility, the fountain of moral feeling. It is involved in all moral judgments and affections, and thus gives to social life its whole interest; whilst it is the chief tie between the soul and its Creator. The fact that philosophers have attempted to discard free agency from their explanations of moral phenomena, and to subject all human action to necessity, to mechanical causes, or other extraneous influences, is proof enough that the science of the mind has as yet penetrated little beneath the surface, that the depths of the soul are still unexplored.

Milton naturally passes from his chapter on the Supreme Being to the consideration of those topics which have always been connected with this part of theology, — we mean, the character of Jesus Christ, and the nature of the Holy Spirit. All our readers are probably aware that Milton has here declared himself an Anti-trinitarian, and strenuously asserted the strict and proper unity of God. His chapter on "The Son of God" is the most elaborate one in the work. His "Prefatory Remarks" are highly interesting, as joining with a manly assertion of his right an affectionate desire to conciliate the Christians from whom he differed.

"I cannot enter upon subjects of so much difficulty as the *Son of God* and the *Holy Spirit*, without again premising a few introductory words. If, indeed, I were a member of the Church of Rome, which requires implicit obedience to its creed on all points of faith, I should have acquiesced from education or habit in its simple decree and authority, even though it denies that the doctrine of the Trinity, as now received, is capable of being proved from any passage of Scripture. But since I enrol myself among the number of those who acknowledge the Word of God alone as the rule of faith, and freely advance what appears to me much more clearly deducible from the Holy Scriptures than the commonly received opinion, I see no reason why any one, who belongs to the same Protestant or Reformed Church, and professes to acknowledge the same rule of faith as myself, should take offence at my freedom, particularly as I impose my authority on no one, but merely propose what I think more worthy of belief than the creed in general acceptation. I only entreat that my readers will ponder and examine my statements in a spirit which desires to discover nothing but the truth, and with a mind free from prejudice. For, without intending to oppose the authority of Scripture, which I consider inviolably sacred, I only take upon myself to refute human interpretations as often as the occasion requires, conformably to my right, or rather to my duty, as a man. If, indeed, those with whom I have to contend were able to produce direct attestation from Heaven to the truth of the doctrine which they espouse, it would be nothing less than impiety to venture to raise, I do not say a clamor, but so much as a murmur against it. But, inasmuch as they can lay claim to nothing more than human powers, assisted by that spiritual illumination which is common to all, it is not unreasonable that they should on their part allow the privileges of diligent research and free discussion to another inquirer, who is seeking truth through the same means and in the same way as themselves, and whose desire of benefiting mankind is equal to their own." — *Vol. I., pp.* 103–105.

Milton teaches that the Son of God is a distinct being from God, and inferior to him, that he existed before the world was made, that he is the first of the creation of God, and that afterwards all other things were made by him, as the instrument or minister of his Father. He maintains, in agreement with Dr. Clarke, that the Holy Spirit is a person, an intelligent agent, but created and inferior to God. This opinion of Milton is the more remarkable, because he admits that, before the time of Christ, the Jews, though accustomed to the phrase Holy Spirit, never attached to

it the idea of personality, and that, both in the Old and the New Testament, it is often used to express God himself, or his power and agency. It is strange that, after these concessions, he could have found a difficulty in giving a figurative interpretation to the few passages in the New Testament which speak of the Holy Spirit as a person.

We are unable within our limits to give a sketch of Milton's strong reasoning against the supreme divinity of Jesus Christ. We must, however, pause a moment to thank God that He has raised up this illustrious advocate of the long-obscured doctrine of the Divine Unity. We can now bring forward the three greatest and noblest minds of modern times, and, we may add, of the Christian era, as witnesses to that great truth, of which, in an humbler and narrower sphere, we desire to be the defenders. Our Trinitarian adversaries are perpetually ringing in our ears the names of Fathers and Reformers. We take Milton, Locke, and Newton, and place them in our front, and want no others to oppose to the whole array of great names on the opposite side. Before these intellectual suns, the stars of self-named Orthodoxy "hide their diminished heads." To these eminent men God communicated such unusual measures of light and mental energy, that their names spring up spontaneously when we think or would speak of the greatness of our nature. Their theological opinions were the fruits of patient, profound, reverent study of the Scriptures. They came to this work with minds not narrowed by a technical, professional education, but accustomed to broad views, to the widest range of thought. They were shackled by no party connections. They were warped by no clerical ambition, and subdued by no clerical timidity. They came to this subject in the fulness of their strength, with free minds open to truth, and with unstained purity of life. They came to it in an age when the doctrine of the Trinity was instilled by education, and upheld by the authority of the church and by penal laws. And what did these great and good men, whose intellectual energy and love of truth have made them the chief benefactors of the human mind, what, we ask, did they discover in the Scriptures? a triple divinity? three infinite agents? three infinite objects of worship? three persons, each of whom possesses his own distinct offices, and yet shares equally in the godhead with the rest? No! Scripture joined with nature and with that secret voice in the heart which even idolatry could not always stifle, and taught them to bow reverently before the one Infinite Father, and to ascribe to him alone supreme, self-existent divinity. Our principal object in these remarks has been to show that, as far as great names are arguments, the cause of Anti-trinitarianism, or of God's proper Unity, is supported by the strongest. But we owe it to truth to say that we put little trust in these fashionable proofs. The chief use of great names in religious controversy is, to balance and neutralize one another, that the unawed and unfettered mind may think and judge with a due self-reverence, and with a solemn sense of accountableness to God alone.

We have called Milton an Anti-trinitarian. But we have no desire to identify him with any sect. His mind was too independent and universal to narrow itself to human creeds and parties. He is supposed to have separated himself, in his last years, from all the denominations around him; and, were he now living, we are not sure that he would find one to which he would be strongly attracted. He would probably stand first among that class of Christians, more numerous than is supposed, and, we hope, increasing, who are too jealous of the rights of the mind, and too dissatisfied with the clashing systems of the age, to attach themselves closely to any party; in whom the present improved state of theology has created a consciousness of defect, rather than the triumph of acquisition; who, however partial to their own creed, cannot persuade themselves that it is the ultimate attainment of the human mind, and that distant ages will repeat its articles as reverently as the Catholics do the decrees of Trent; who contend earnestly for free inquiry, not because all who inquire will think as they do, but because some at least may be expected to outstrip them, and to be guides to higher truth. With this nameless and spreading class we have strong sympathies. We want new light, and care not whence

it comes; we want reformers worthy of the name; and we should rejoice in such a manifestation of Christianity as would throw all present systems into obscurity.

We come now to a topic on which Milton will probably startle a majority of readers. He is totally opposed, as were most of the ancient philosophers, to the doctrine of God's creating the universe out of nothing. He maintains that there can be no action without a passive material on which the act is exerted, and that accordingly the world was framed out of a pre-existent matter. To the question, What and whence is this primary matter? he answers, It is from God, "an efflux of the Deity." "It proceeded from God," and consequently no additional existence was produced by creation, nor is matter capable of annihilation. A specimen of his speculations on this subject is given in the following quotation: —

"It is clear, then, that the world was framed out of matter of some kind or other. For, since action and passion are relative terms, and since, consequently, no agent can act externally, unless there be some patient, such as matter, it appears impossible that God could have created this world out of nothing; not from any defect of power on his part, but because it was necessary that something should have previously existed capable of receiving passively the exertion of the divine efficacy. Since, therefore, both Scripture and reason concur in pronouncing that all these things were made, not out of nothing, but out of matter, it necessarily follows, that matter must either have always existed independently of God, or have originated from God at some particular point of time. That matter should have been always independent of God (seeing that it is only a passive principle, dependent on the Deity, and subservient to him; and seeing, moreover, that as in number, considered abstractly, so also in time or eternity, there is no inherent force or efficacy), that matter, I say, should have existed of itself from all eternity, is inconceivable. If, on the contrary, it did not exist from all eternity, it is difficult to understand from whence it derives its origin. There remains, therefore, but one solution of the difficulty, for which, moreover, we have the authority of Scripture, namely, that all things are of God." — *Vol. I., pp.* 236, 237.

This doctrine naturally led Milton to another, viz., that there is no ground for the supposed distinction between body and soul; for, if matter is an "efflux of the Deity," it is plainly susceptible of intellectual functions. Accordingly our author affirms, —

"That man is a living being, intrinsically and properly one and individual, not compound or separable, not, according to the common opinion, made up and framed of two distinct and different natures, as of soul and body, — but the whole man is soul, and the soul man; that is to say, a body, or substance, individual, animated, sensitive, and rational." — *Vol. I., pp.* 250, 251.

We here learn that a passage in "Paradise Lost," which we have admired as poetry, was deemed by Milton sound philosophy: —

"O Adam, One Almighty is, from whom
All things proceed, and up to him return,
If not depraved from good, created all
Such to perfection, *one first matter all*,
Indued with various forms, various degrees
Of substance, and, in things that live, of life;
But more refined, more spirituous, and pure,
As nearer to him placed or nearer tending,
Each in their several active spheres assigned,
Till body up to spirit work, in bounds
Proportioned to each kind. So from the root
Springs lighter the green stalk, from thence the leaves
More aery, last the bright consummate flower
Spirits odorous breathes; flowers and their fruit,
Man's nourishment, by gradual scale sublimed,
To vital spirits aspire, to animal,
To *intellectual*."

Par. Lost, B. V. lines 469–485.

These speculations of Milton will be received in this age with more favor, or with less aversion, than in his own; for, from the time of Locke, the discussions of philosophers have tended to unsettle our notions of matter, and no man is hardy enough now to say what it is, or what it may not be. The idealism of Berkeley, though it has never organized a sect, has yet sensibly influenced the modes of thinking among metaphysicians: and the coincidence of this system with the theory of certain Hindoo philosophers may lead us to suspect that it contains some great latent truth, of which the European and Hindoo intellect, so generally at variance, have caught a glimpse. Matter is indeed a Proteus, which escapes us at the moment we hope to seize it. Priestley was anxious to make the soul material; but for this purpose he was obliged to change matter from a substance into a power, that is, into no

matter at all; so that he destroyed in attempting to diffuse it. We have thrown out these remarks to rescue Milton's memory from the imputation, which he was the last man to deserve, of irreverence towards God; for of this some will deem him guilty in tracing matter to the Deity as its fountain. Matter, which seems to common people so intelligible, is still wrapped in mystery. We know it only by its relation to mind, or as an assemblage of powers to awaken certain sensations. Of its relation to God we may be said to know nothing. Perhaps, as knowledge advances, we shall discover that the Creator is bound to his works by stronger and more intimate ties than we now imagine. We do not, then, quarrel with such suggestions as Milton's, though we cannot but wonder at the earnestness with which he follows out such doubtful speculations.

Milton next proceeds to the consideration of man's state in Paradise, and, as marriage was the only social relation then subsisting, he introduces here his views of that institution, and of polygamy and divorce. These views show, if not the soundness, yet the characteristic independence of his mind. No part of his book has given such offence as his doctrine of the lawfulness of polygamy, and yet nowhere is he less liable to reproach. It is plain that his error was founded on his reverence for Scripture. He saw that polygamy was allowed to the best men in the Old Testament, to patriarchs before the law, who, he says, were the objects of God's special favor, and to eminent individuals in subsequent ages; and, finding no prohibition of it in the New Testament, he believed that not only holy men would be traduced, but Scripture dishonored, by pronouncing it morally evil. We are aware that some will say that the practice *is* condemned in the New Testament; and we grant that it is censured by implication in these words of Christ, "Whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery." * But we believe it to be an indisputable fact that, although Christianity was first preached in Asia, which had been from the earliest ages the seat of polygamy, the Apostles never denounced it as a crime, and never required their converts to put away all wives but one. "What then?" some may say. "Are you, too, the advocates of the lawfulness of polygamy?" We answer, No. We consider our religion as decidedly hostile to this practice; and we add, what seems to us of great importance, that this hostility is not the less decided because no express prohibition of polygamy is found in the New Testament; for Christianity is not a system of precise legislation, marking out with literal exactness every thing to be done, and every thing to be avoided; but an inculcation of broad principles, which it intrusts to individuals and to society to be applied according to their best discretion. It is through this generous peculiarity that Christianity is fitted to be a universal religion. Through this it can subsist and blend itself with all stages of society, and can live in the midst of abuses which it silently and powerfully overcomes, but against which it would avail little were it immediately to lift up the voice of denunciation. We all know that long-cherished corruptions, which have sent their roots through the whole frame of a community, cannot be torn up at once without dissolving society. To Christianity is committed the sublime office of eradicating all the errors and evils of the world; but this it does by a process corresponding with man's nature, by working a gradual revolution in the mind, which, in its turn, works a safe and effectual revolution in manners and life. No argument, therefore, in favor of a practice can be adduced from the fact that it is not explicitly reprobated in the New Testament. For example, Christianity went forth into communities where multitudes were held in slavery, and all ranks were ground and oppressed by despotism, — abuses on which the spirit of our religion frowns as sternly as on any which can be named. Yet Christianity did not command the master to free his slaves, or the despot to descend from his absolute throne: but satisfied itself with proclaiming sublime truths in regard to God's paternal character and administration, and broad and generous principles of action, leaving to these the work of breaking every chain, by a gradual, inward, irresistible influence, and of asserting the essential equality and unalienable rights of the whole human race. We cannot leave

* Matt. xix. 9.

this topic without adding that not only Milton's error on polygamy but many other noxious mistakes have resulted from measuring Christianity by the condition of the primitive church, as if *that* were the standard of faith and practice, as if every thing allowed then were wise and good, as if the religion were then unfolded in all its power and extent. The truth is, that Christianity was then in its infancy. The Apostles communicated its great truths to the rude minds of Jews and Heathens; but the primitive church did not, and could not, understand all that was involved in those principles, all the applications of which they are susceptible, all the influences they were to exert on the human mind, all the combinations they were to form with the new truths which time was to unfold, all the new lights in which they were to be placed, all the adaptations to human nature and to more advanced states of society, which they were progressively to manifest. In the first age, the religion was administered with a wise and merciful conformity to the capacities of its recipients. With the progress of intelligence, and the development of the moral faculties, Christianity is freeing itself, and ought to be freed, from the local, temporary, and accidental associations of its childhood. Its great principles are coming forth more distinctly and brightly, and condemning abuses and errors which have passed current for ages. This great truth, for such we deem it, that Christianity is a growing light, and that it must be more or less expounded by every age for itself, was not sufficiently apprehended by Milton: nor is it now understood as it will be. For want of apprehending it, Christianity is administered now too much as it was in ages when nothing of our literature, philosophy, and spirit of improvement existed; and consequently it does not, we fear, exert that entire and supreme sway over strong and cultivated minds which is its due, and which it must one day obtain.

Milton has connected with polygamy the subject of divorce, on which he is known to have differed from many Christians. He strenuously maintains in the work under review, and more largely in other treatises, that the violation of the marriage bed is not the sole ground of divorce, but that "the perpetual interruption of peace and affection, by mutual differences and unkindness, is a sufficient reason" for dissolving the conjugal relation. On this topic we cannot enlarge.

We now arrive at that part of Milton's work in which his powerful mind might have been expected to look beyond the prevalent opinions of his day, but in which he has followed the beaten road, almost without deviation, seldom noticing difficulties, and hardly seeming to know their existence. We refer to the great subjects of the moral condition of mankind, and of redemption by Jesus Christ. The doctrine of original sin he has assumed as true, and his faith in it was evidently strengthened by his doctrine of the identity of the soul with the body, in consequence of which he teaches that souls are propagated from parents to children, and not immediately derived from God, and that they are born with an hereditary taint, just as the body contracts hereditary disease. It is humbling to add, that he supports this doctrine of the propagation of sin by physical contagion, on the ground that it relieves the Creator from the charge of originating the corruption which we are said to bring into life; as if the infinitely pure and good God could, by a covert agency, infect with moral evil the passive and powerless mind of the infant, and then absolve himself of the horrible work by imputing it to instruments of his own ordination! Milton does not, however, believe in total depravity, feeling that this would free men from guilt, by taking away all power; and he therefore leaves us a portion of the divine image, — not enough to give us a chance of virtue, but enough to take away excuse from sin. Such are the "tender mercies" of theology! With respect to Christ's mediation, he supposes that Christ saves us by bearing our punishment, and in this way satisfying God's justice. His views, indeed, are not expressed with much precision, and seem to have been formed without much investigation. On these great subjects, of human nature and redemption, we confess we are disappointed in finding the spirit of Milton satisfying itself with the degrading notions which prevailed around him. But we remember that it is the order of Providence that the greatest minds should sympathize much with their age, and that

they contribute the more to the progress of mankind by not advancing too fast and too far beyond their contemporaries. In this part of his work, Milton maintains that the death threatened to sin extends equally to body and soul, which indeed he was bound to do, as he holds the soul and body to be one; and he then proceeds to defend, with his usual power, the necessary inference, that all consciousness is suspended between death and the resurrection. We have no faith in this doctrine; but we respect the courage with which he admits and maintains whatever can be fairly deduced from his opinions.

Having concluded the subject of redemption, he passes to what he calls "man's renovation, or the change whereby the sinner is brought into a state of grace;" and here, though he is not always perspicuous, yet he seldom deviates from what was then the beaten road. We owe it, however, to Milton, to say that, although he sometimes approached, he never adopted Calvinism. All the distinguished articles of that creed, — total depravity, election and reprobation, Christ dying for the elect only, irresistible grace, the perseverance of the saints, and justification by mere faith, — all are denied and opposed by him, and some with great strength. Swayed as Milton was by the age in which he lived, his spirit could not be subdued to the heart-withering faith of the Genevan school.

We now come to a subject in which Milton was deeply interested, — we mean Christian liberty, under which head may be included the discipline of the church, the power of ministers, and the rights of the people. To vindicate the liberty of Christians, and to secure them from all outward impositions and ordinances, he maintains that the whole Mosaic law is abolished, so that no part is binding on Christians, — a doctrine which may startle many who believe that the moral precepts of that law are as binding now as ever. But such persons differ little in reality from Milton, whose true meaning is that these precepts bind Christians, not through the authority of Moses, which is wholly done away, but only because they are taken up and incorporated into Christianity, which is our only law, and which has set forth whatever was permanently valuable in Judaism, in a more perfect form, and with more powerful sanctions.

As another branch of the liberty of Christians, he maintains, as we may well suppose, the right of every believer to consult the Scriptures and to judge of them for himself. Not satisfied with this, he takes the ground of Quakerism, and maintains that the Christian, in addition to the Scriptures, has an inward guide, with which no human authority should interfere: —

"Under the gospel we possess, as it were, a twofold Scripture, — one external, which is the written word, and the other internal, which is the Holy Spirit, written in the hearts of believers, according to the promise of God, and with the intent that it should by no means be neglected." — *Vol. II., p.* 172. "The external Scripture . . . has been liable to frequent corruption, and in some instances has been corrupted, through the number, and occasionally the bad faith, of those by whom it has been handed down, the variety and discrepancy of the original manuscripts, and the additional diversity produced by subsequent transcripts and printed editions. But the Spirit which leads to truth cannot be corrupted, neither is it easy to deceive a man who is really spiritual." — *p.* 173. "It is difficult to conjecture the purpose of Providence in committing the writings of the New Testament to such uncertain and variable guardianship, unless it were to teach us, by this very circumstance, that the Spirit which is given to us is a more certain guide than Scripture, whom, therefore, it is our duty to follow." — *p.* 174. "Hence it follows, that when an acquiescence in human opinions or an obedience to human authority in matters of religion is exacted, in the name either of the church or of the Christian magistrate, from those who are themselves led individually by the Spirit of God, this is in effect to impose a yoke, not on man, but on the Holy Spirit itself." — *p.* 176.

This, in words, is genuine Quakerism; but whether Milton understood by the Holy Spirit that *immediate* revelation which forms the leading doctrine of that creed, we doubt. To this doctrine it may be objected, and we think Milton must have felt the objection, that it disparages and discourages our faculties, and produces inaction of mind, leading men to expect from a sudden flash from heaven the truth which we are taught to seek by the right use of our own powers. We imagine that Milton believed that the Holy Spirit works with

and by our own understandings, and, instead of superseding reason, invigorates and extends it. But this is not the only place where his precise views are obscured by general expressions, or by rapid and superficial notices of subjects.

In Milton's views of the church and the ministry, we have other proofs of his construing the Scriptures in the manner most favorable to Christian liberty. He teaches that the universal church has no head but Christ, and that the power arrogated by popes, councils, and bishops, is gross usurpation. In regard to particular churches, he is a strict Congregationalist. Each church, he says, is competent to its own government, and connected with others only by the bond of charity. No others are authorized to interfere with any of its concerns, but in the way of brotherly counsel: —

"Every church consisting of the above parts," *i.e.*, well-instructed believers, "however small its numbers, is to be considered as in itself an integral and perfect church, so far as regards its religious rights; nor has it any superior on earth, whether individual, or assembly, or convention, to whom it can be lawfully required to render submission; inasmuch as no believer out of its pale, nor any order or council of men whatever, has a greater right than itself to expect a participation in the written word and the promises, in the presence of Christ, in the presiding influence of the Spirit, and in those gracious gifts which are the reward of united prayer." — *Vol. II., p.* 194.

The choice of the minister, he says, belongs to the people. The minister, if possible, should serve the church gratuitously, and live by the labor of his own hands. This unpaid service he pronounces more noble and consonant to our Lord's example and that of the Apostles. In accordance with these views, he favors the idea of a church consisting of few members: —

"All that pertains to the worship of God and the salvation of believers, all, in short, that is necessary to constitute a church, may be duly and orderly transacted in a particular church, within the walls of a private house, and where the numbers assembled are inconsiderable. Nay, such a church, when in compliance with the interested views of its pastor it allows of an increase of numbers beyond what is convenient, deprives itself in a great measure of the advantages to be derived from meeting in common." — *Vol. II., p.* 194.

He maintains that ministers are not to monopolize public instruction, or the administration of the ordinances; but that all Christians, having sufficient gifts, are to participate in these services: —

"The custom of holding assemblies is to be maintained, not after the present mode, but according to the apostolical institution, which did not ordain that an individual, and he a stipendiary, should have the sole right of speaking from a higher place, but that each believer in turn should be authorized to speak, or prophesy, or teach, or exhort, according to his gifts; insomuch that even the weakest among the brethren had the privilege of asking questions, and consulting the elders and more experienced members of the congregation." — *Vol. II., p.* 203. "Any believer is competent to act as an *ordinary minister*, according as convenience may require, provided only he be endowed with the necessary gifts; these gifts constituting his mission." — *p.* 153. "If, therefore, it be competent to any believer whatever to preach the gospel, provided he be furnished with the requisite gifts, it is also competent to him to administer the rite of baptism; inasmuch as the latter office is inferior to the former." — *p.* 157. "With regard to the Lord's supper also, it has been shown, in the preceding chapter, that all are entitled to participate in that rite, but that the privilege of dispensing the elements is confined to no particular man, or order of men." — *p.* 158.

We entirely accord with the spirit of freedom which these passages breathe; but from some of the particular views we dissent. The great error of Milton lies in supposing that the primitive church was meant to be a model for all ages. But can we suppose that the church at its birth, when it was poor, persecuted, hemmed in by Judaism and Heathenism, supplied imperfectly with written rules and records, dependent for instruction chiefly on inspired teachers, and composed of converts who had grown up and been steeped in Jewish and Heathen errors, — can we imagine that in these circumstances the church took a form which it ought to retain as sacred and unalterable, in its triumphs, and prosperity, and diffusion, and in ages of greater light and refinement? We know that in the first ages there were no ministers with salaries, or edifices for public worship. Christians

met in private houses, and sometimes in the obscurest they could find. On these occasions, the services were not monopolized by an individual, but shared by the fraternity; nor is there a hint in the New Testament that the administration of the Lord's supper and baptism was confined to the minister. But in all this we have no rule for the present day. Indeed it seems to us utterly repugnant to the idea of a universal religion, intended for all ages and nations, and for all the progressive states of society to the end of the world, to suppose that in its infancy it established an order of worship, instruction, and discipline, which was to remain inviolable in all future times. This doctrine of an inflexible form seems to us servile, superstitious, and disparaging to Christianity. Our religion is too spiritual and inward, and cares too little about its exterior, to bind itself in this everlasting chain. The acknowledged indefiniteness of the New Testament, in regard to this subject, is no mean proof of the enlarged and prospective wisdom of its Founder. We believe that, with the diffusion of liberal views, the question will arise, whether our religion cannot be taught and administered in methods and forms more adapted than those which now prevail to its spirit and great design, to the principles of human nature, and to the condition and wants of society. Among the changes which may grow from this discussion, we do not anticipate the adoption of Milton's plan of sentencing ministers to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow; for we think that we see reasons, in the general spread of knowledge, for enlarging their means and opportunities of study and intellectual culture, that they may meet the increasing demand for more enlightened inculcation of Christian truth. At the same time, it seems to us not unlikely that, in conformity to Milton's suggestion, public instruction, instead of continuing to be a monopoly of ministers, may be extended freely to men of superior intelligence and piety, and that the results of this arrangement may be the infusion of new life, power, and practical wisdom into religious teaching, and the substitution of a more natural, free, and various eloquence, for the technical and monotonous mode of treating subjects which clings so often and so obstinately to the performances of the pulpit. Again, we do not expect, among the changes of forms and outward worship, that Christians, to meet our author's views, will shut their churches and meet in private houses; for large religious edifices, and large congregations, seem to us among the important means of collecting, and interesting in Christianity, the mass of the community. But perhaps narrower associations for religious improvement may be formed, in which the formalities of public worship will be relaxed, and Christians may reap the benefits of the more familiar and confidential meetings of the primitive converts. It is, indeed, a great question, how the public administration of Christianity, including modes of discipline, instruction, and worship, may be rendered more impressive and effectual. This field is almost untrodden; but, if we read aright the signs of the times, the day for exploring it draws nigh.

We have said that, whilst we dissent from some of Milton's views on the subject of our present remarks, we agree in their spirit. It was evidently the aim of all his suggestions to strip the clergy, as they are called, of that peculiar, artificial sanctity with which superstition had long arrayed them, and which had made their simple, benignant office one of the worst instruments of ambition and despotism. We believe that this institution will never exert its true and full power on the church and on the world until the childish awe with which it has been viewed shall be exchanged for enlightened esteem, and until men, instead of expecting from it certain mysterious, undefined influences, shall see in it a rational provision for promoting virtue and happiness, not by magic, but according to the fixed laws of human nature.

The remainder of the "Treatise on Christian Doctrine" furnishes topics on which we should willingly remark; but we have only time to glance at the opinions in which Milton differs from the majority. He rejects infant baptism, and argues against it with his usual earnestness and strength. He not only affirms, with many other Christians, that the fourth commandment, relating to the Sabbath, is abolished with the rest of the Mosaic system, but maintains, what

few have done, that under the gospel no time is appointed for public worship, but that the observance of the first day of the week rests wholly on expediency, and on the agreement of Christians. He believes that Christ is to appear visibly for the judgment of the world, and that he will reign a thousand years on earth, at the end of which period Satan will assail the church with an innumerable confederacy, and be overwhelmed with everlasting ruin. He speaks of the judgment as beginning with Christ's second advent, and as comprehending his whole government through the millennium, as well as the closing scene, when sentence will be pronounced on evil angels, and on the whole human race. We have now given, we believe, all the peculiarities of Milton's faith. As for that large part of his work in which he has accumulated scriptural proofs of doctrines and duties in which all Christians are agreed, its general tenor may be understood without further remarks.

It may now be asked, What is the value of this book? We prize it chiefly as a testimony to Milton's profound reverence for the Christian religion, and an assertion of the freedom and rights of the mind. We are obliged to say that the work throws little new light on the great subjects of which it treats. Some will say that this ought not to surprise us; for new light is not to be looked for in the department of theology. But, if this be true, our religion may be charged with the want of adaptation to our nature in an essential point; for one of the most striking features of the human mind is its thirst for constantly enlarging knowledge, and its proneness to lose its interest in subjects which it has exhausted. The chief cause of Milton's failure was, that he sought truth too exclusively in the past, and among the dead. He indeed called no man master, and disclaimed the authority of Fathers, and was evidently dissatisfied with all the sects which had preceded or were spread around him. Still he believed in the perfection of the primitive church, and that Christianity, instead of being carried forward, was to be carried *back* to its original purity. To use his own striking language, "the lovely form of Truth," which Christians at first embraced, "had been hewn into a thousand pieces, like the mangled body of Osiris, and scattered to the four winds;" and consequently he believed that the great duty of her friends was "to gather up limb by limb, and bring together every joint and member." In conformity with this doctrine, he acted too much as an eclectic theologian, culling something from almost every sect, and endeavoring to form an harmonious system from materials "gathered from the four winds." He would have done better had he sought truth less in other minds, and more in the communion of his own soul with Scripture, nature, God, and itself. The fact is, that the church, from its beginning, had been imperfect in knowledge and practice, and our business is not to rest in the past, but to use it as a means of a purer and brighter futurity. Christianity began to be corrupted at its birth, to be debased by earthly mixtures as soon as it touched the earth. The seeds of that corruption, which grew and shot up into the overshadowing despotism of Papal Rome, were sown in the age of the Apostles, as we learn in the Epistles; and we infer from the condition of the world, that nothing but a stupendous moral miracle, subverting all the laws of the human mind, could have prevented their development. Who, that understands human nature, does not know that old associations are not broken up in a moment; that, to minds plunged in a midnight of error, truth must gradually open like the dawning day; that old views will mingle with the new; that old ideas, which we wish to banish, will adhere to the old words to which they were formerly attached; and that the sudden and entire eradication of long-rooted errors would be equivalent to the creation of a new intellect? How long did the Apostles, under Christ's immediate tuition, withstand his instructions! Even Peter, after the miraculous illumination of the day of Pentecost, remained ignorant, until the message from Cornelius, of that glorious feature of Christianity, the abolition of the Jewish peculiarity, and the equal participation of the Gentiles with the Jews in the blessings of the Messiah. As soon as Christianity was preached, it was blended with Judaism, which had power to neutralize the authority of Paul in many churches. In like manner, it soon began to be "spoiled" of its simplicity "by philosophy and sci-

ence falsely so called," and to be encumbered by Pagan ceremonies. The first Christians were indeed brought into "wonderful light," if their Christian state be compared with the darkness from which they had emerged; but not if compared with the perfection of knowledge to which Christ came to exalt the human race. The earliest Fathers, as we learn from their works, were not receptive of large communications of truth. Their writings abound in puerilities and marks of childish credulity, and betray that indistinctness of vision which is experienced by men who issue from thick darkness into the light of day. In the ages of barbarism which followed the fall of the Roman empire, Christianity, though it answered wise purposes of Providence, was more and more disfigured and obscured. The Reformation was indeed a glorious era, but glorious for its reduction of papal and clerical power, and for the partial liberation of the mind, rather than for immediate improvements of men's apprehensions of Christianity. Some of the Reformers invented or brought back as injurious errors as those they overthrew. Luther's consubstantiation differed from the Pope's transubstantiation by a syllable, and that was all the gain; and we may safely say that transubstantiation was a less monstrous doctrine than the five points of Calvin. How vain, therefore, was Milton's search for "the mangled Osiris," for "the lovely form and immortal features of Truth," in the history of the church!

Let us not be misunderstood, as if we would cut off the present age from the past. We mean not that Milton should have neglected the labors of his predecessors. He believed justly that all the periods and generations of the human family are bound together by a sublime connection, and that the wisdom of each age is chiefly a derivation from all preceding ages, not excepting the most ancient, just as a noble stream, through its whole extent and in its widest overflowings, still holds communication with its infant springs, gushing out perhaps in the depths of distant forests, or on the heights of solitary mountains. We only mean to say, that the stream of religious knowledge is to swell and grow through its whole course, and to receive new contributions from gifted minds in successive generations. We only regret that Milton did not draw more from the deep and full fountains of his own soul. We wish only to teach that antiquity was the infancy of our race, and that its acquisitions, instead of being rested in, are to bear us onward to new heights of truth and virtue. We mean not to complain of Milton for not doing more. He rendered to mankind a far greater service than that of a teacher of an improved theology. He taught and exemplified that spirit of intellectual freedom, through which all the great conquests of truth are to be achieved, and by which the human mind is to attain to a new consciousness of its sublime faculties, and to invigorate and expand itself for ever.

We here close our remarks on Milton. In offering this tribute, we have aimed at something higher than to express and gratify our admiration of an eminent man. We believe, that an enlightened and exalted mind is a brighter manifestation of God than the outward universe; and we have set forth, as we have been able, the praises of an illustrious servant of the Most High, that, through him, glory may redound to the Father of all spirits, the Fountain of all wisdom and magnanimous virtue. And still more; we believe that the sublime intelligence of Milton was imparted, not for his own sake only, but to awaken kindred virtue and greatness in other souls. Far from regarding him as standing alone and unapproachable, we believe that he is an illustration of what all, who are true to their nature, will become in the progress of their being: and we have held him forth, not to excite an ineffectual admiration, but to stir up our own and others' breasts to an exhilarating pursuit of high and ever-growing attainments in intellect and virtue.

REMARKS ON THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

1827–28.

PART I.

THE Life of Napoleon Bonaparte by Sir Walter Scott has been anticipated with an eagerness proportioned to the unrivalled powers of the author, and to the wonderful endowments and fortunes of the hero. That the general expectation has been satisfied, we cannot affirm. But few will deny that the writer has given us a monument of his great talents. The rapidity with which such a work has been thrown off astonishes us. We think, however, that the author owed to himself and to the public a more deliberate execution of this important undertaking. He should either have abandoned it or have bestowed on it the long and patient labor which it required. The marks of negligence and haste which are spread through the work are serious blemishes, and, to more fastidious readers, inexpiable defects. It wants compression and selection throughout. Many passages are encumbered with verbiage. Many thoughts are weakened by useless expansion and worse than useless repetition. Comparisons are accumulated to excess, and, whilst many are exquisite, perhaps as many are trite and unworthy of history. The remarks are generally just, but obvious. We state these defects plainly, that we may express the more freely our admiration of the talents which have executed so rapidly a work so extensive and various, so rich in information, so fresh and vivid in description, and furnishing such abundant specimens of a free, graceful, and vigorous style.

The work has the great merit of impartiality. It is probably inaccurate in many of its details, but singularly free from prejudice and passion. Not a few, who considered that the author was both a Briton and a friend of the principles and policy of Pitt, were expecting from his pen a discolored delineation of the implacable foe of England and of that great minister. But the rectitude of his mind, and his reverence for historical truth, have effectually preserved him from abusing the great power conferred on him by his talents over public opinion. We think that his laudable fear of wronging the enemy of his country, joined to an admiration of the dazzling qualities of Napoleon, has led him to soften unduly the crimes of his hero, and to give more favorable impressions than truth will warrant.

But enough of the author, who needs not our praise, and can suffer little by our censure. Our concern is with his subject. A just estimate of the late Emperor of France seems to us important. That extraordinary man, having operated on the world with unprecedented power during his life, is now influencing it by his character. That character, we apprehend, is not viewed as it should be. The kind of admiration which it inspires, even in free countries, is a bad omen. The greatest crime against society, that of spoiling it of its rights and loading it with chains, still fails to move that deep abhorrence which is its due; and which, if really felt, would fix on the usurper a brand of indelible infamy. Regarding freedom as the chief interest of human nature, as essential to its intellectual, moral, and religious progress, we look on men who have signalized themselves by their hostility to it with an indignation at once stern and sorrowful, which no glare of successful war, and no admiration of the crowd, can induce us to suppress. We mean, then, to speak freely of Napoleon. But, if we know ourselves, we could on no account utter one unjust reproach. We speak the more freely, because conscious of exemption from every feeling like animosity. We war not with the dead. We would resist only what we deem the pernicious influence of the dead. We would devote ourselves to the cause of

freedom and humanity, — a cause perpetually betrayed by the admiration lavished on prosperous crime and all-grasping ambition. Our great topic will be the character of Napoleon; and with this we shall naturally intersperse reflections on the great interests which he perpetually influenced.

We begin with observing that it is an act of justice to Bonaparte to remember that he grew up under disastrous influences, in a troubled day, when men's minds were convulsed, old institutions overthrown, old opinions shaken, old restraints snapped asunder; when the authority of religion was spurned, and youth abandoned to unwonted license; when the imagination was made feverish by visions of indistinct good, and the passions swelled, by the sympathy of millions, to a resistless torrent. A more dangerous school for the character cannot well be conceived. That all-seeing Being, who knows the trials of his creatures and the secrets of the heart, can alone judge to what degree crimes are extenuated by circumstances so inauspicious. This we must remember in reviewing the history of men who were exposed to trials unknown to ourselves. But, because the turpitude of an evil agent is diminished by infelicities of education or condition, we must not therefore confound the immutable distinctions of right and wrong, and withhold our reprobation from atrocities which have spread misery and slavery far and wide.

It is also due to Napoleon to observe that there has always existed, and still exists, a mournful obtuseness of moral feeling in regard to the crimes of military and political life. The wrong-doing of public men on a large scale has never drawn upon them that sincere, hearty abhorrence which visits private vice. Nations have seemed to court aggression and bondage by their stupid, insane admiration of successful tyrants. The wrongs from which men have suffered most in body and mind are yet unpunished. True, Christianity has put into our lips censures on the aspiring and the usurping. But these reproaches are as yet little more than sounds, and unmeaning commonplaces. They are repeated for form's sake. When we read or hear them, we feel that they want depth and strength. They are not inward, solemn, burning convictions, breaking from the indignant soul with a tone of reality, before which guilt would cower. The true moral feeling in regard to the crimes of public men is almost to be created. We believe, then, that such a character as Bonaparte's is formed with very little consciousness of its turpitude; and society, which contributes so much to its growth, is responsible for its existence, and merits in part the misery which it spreads.

Of the early influences under which Bonaparte was formed, we know little. He was educated in a military school, and this, we apprehend, is not an institution to form much delicacy, or independence of moral feeling; for the young soldier is taught, as his first duty, to obey his superior without consulting his conscience; to take human life at another's bidding: to perform that deed, which above all others requires deliberate conviction, without a moment's inquiry as to its justice; and to place himself a passive instrument in hands which, as all history teaches, often reek with blood causelessly shed.

His first political association was with the Jacobins, the most sanguinary of all the factions which raged in France, and whose sway is emphatically called "the reign of terror." The service which secured his command in Italy was the turning of his artillery on the people, who, however dangerous when acting as a mob, happened in the present case to understand their rights, and were directing their violence against manifest usurpation.

His first campaign was in Italy, and we have still a vivid recollection of the almost rapturous admiration with which we followed his first triumphs; for then we were simple enough to regard him as the chosen guardian of liberty. His peculiar tactics were not then understood; the secret of his success had not reached us; and his rapid victories stimulated the imagination to invest him with the mysterious powers of a hero of romance. We confess that we cannot now read the history of his Italian wars without a quickened movement in the veins. The rapidity of his conceptions; the inexhaustibleness of his invention; the energy of his will; the decision which suffered not a moment's pause between the purpose and its ex-

ecution; the presence of mind which, amidst sudden reverses and on the brink of ruin, devised the means of safety and success; these commanding attributes, added to a courage which, however suspected afterwards, never faltered then, compel us to bestow, what indeed we have no desire to withhold, the admiration which is due to superior power.

Let not the friends of peace be offended. We have said, and we repeat it, that we have no desire to withhold our admiration from the energies which war often awakens. Great powers, even in their perversion, attest a glorious nature, and we may feel their grandeur whilst we condemn, with our whole strength of moral feeling, the evil passions by which they are depraved. We are willing to grant that war, abhor it as we may, often develops, and places in strong light, a force of intellect and purpose which raises our conceptions of the human soul. There is perhaps no moment in life in which the mind is brought into such intense action, in which the will is so strenuous, and in which irrepressible excitement is so tempered with self-possession, as in the hour of battle. Still the greatness of the warrior is poor and low compared with the magnanimity of virtue. It vanishes before the greatness of principle. The martyr to humanity, to freedom, or religion; the unshrinking adherent of despised and deserted truth, who, alone, unsupported, and scorned, with no crowd to infuse into him courage, no variety of objects to draw his thoughts from himself, no opportunity of effort or resistance to rouse and nourish energy, still yields himself calmly, resolutely, with invincible philanthropy, to bear prolonged and exquisite suffering, which one retracting word might remove, — such a man is as superior to the warrior as the tranquil and boundless heavens above us to the low earth we tread beneath our feet.

We have spoken of the energies of mind called forth by war. If we may be allowed a short digression, — which, however, bears directly on our main subject, the merits of Napoleon, — we would observe, that military talent, even of the highest order, is far from holding the first place among intellectual endowments. It is one of the lower forms of genius; for it is not conversant with the highest and richest objects of thought. We grant that a mind, which takes in a wide country at a glance, and understands, almost by intuition, the positions it affords for a successful campaign, is a comprehensive and vigorous one. The general who disposes his forces so as to counteract a greater force; who supplies by skill, science, and invention, the want of numbers; who dives into the counsels of his enemy, and who gives unity, energy, and success to a vast variety of operations, in the midst of casualties and obstructions which no wisdom could foresee, manifests great power. But still the chief work of a general is to apply physical force; to remove physical obstructions; to avail himself of physical aids and advantages; to act on matter: to overcome rivers, ramparts, mountains, and human muscles; and these are not the highest objects of mind, nor do they demand intelligence of the highest order; and accordingly nothing is more common than to find men, eminent in this department, who are wanting in the noblest energies of the soul; in habits of profound and liberal thinking, in imagination and taste, in the capacity of enjoying works of genius, and in large and original views of human nature and society. The office of a great general does not differ widely from that of a great mechanician, whose business it is to frame new combinations of physical forces, to adapt them to new circumstances, and to remove new obstructions. Accordingly great generals, away from the camp, are often no greater men than the mechanician taken from his workshop. In conversation they are often dull. Deep and refined reasonings they cannot comprehend. We know that there are splendid exceptions. Such was Cæsar, at once the greatest soldier and the most sagacious statesman of his age, whilst, in eloquence and literature, he left behind him almost all who had devoted themselves exclusively to these pursuits. But such cases are rare. The conqueror of Napoleon, the hero of Waterloo, possesses undoubtedly great military talents; but we do not understand that his most partial admirers claim for him a place in the highest class of minds. We will not go down for illustration to such men as Nelson, a man great on the deck, but

debased by gross vices, and who never pretended to enlargement of intellect. To institute a comparison in point of talent and genius between such men and Milton, Bacon, and Shakspeare, is almost an insult on these illustrious names. Who can think of these truly great intelligences; of the range of their minds through heaven and earth; of their deep intuition into the soul; of their new and glowing combinations of thought; of the energy with which they grasped, and subjected to their main purpose, the infinite materials of illustration which nature and life afford, — who can think of the forms of transcendent beauty and grandeur which they created, or which were rather emanations of their own minds; of the calm wisdom and fervid imagination which they conjoined; of the voice of power, in which "though dead, they still speak," and awaken intellect, sensibility, and genius in both hemispheres, — who can think of such men, and not feel the immense inferiority of the most gifted warrior, whose elements of thought are physical forces and physical obstructions, and whose employment is the combination of the lowest class of objects on which a powerful mind can be employed.

We return to Napoleon. His splendid victories in Italy spread his name like lightning through the civilized world. Unhappily, they emboldened him to those unprincipled and open aggressions, to the indulgence of that lawless, imperious spirit which marked his future course, and kept pace with his growing power. In his victorious career he soon came in contact with states, some of which, as Tuscany and Venice, had acknowledged the French Republic, whilst others, as Parma and Modena, had observed a strict neutrality. The old-fashioned laws of nations, under which such states would have found shelter, seemed never to have crossed the mind of the young victor. Not satisfied with violating the neutrality of all, he seized the port of Leghorn, and ruined the once flourishing commerce of Tuscany; and, having exacted heavy tribute from Parma and Modena, he compelled these powers to surrender, what had hitherto been held sacred in the utmost extremities of war, some of their choicest pictures, the chief ornaments of their capitals. We are sometimes told of the good done by Napoleon to Italy. But we have heard his name pronounced as indignantly there as here. An Italian cannot forgive him for robbing that country of its noblest works of art, its dearest treasures and glories, which had made it a land of pilgrimage to men of taste and genius from the whole civilized world, and which had upheld and solaced its pride under conquest and humiliation. From this use of power in the very dawn of his fortunes, it might easily have been foretold what part he would act in the stormy day which was approaching, when the sceptre of France and Europe was to be offered to any strong hand which should be daring enough to grasp it.

Next to Italy, Egypt became the stage for the display of Napoleon; Egypt, a province of the Grand Signior, with whom France was in profound peace, and who, according to the long-established relations of Europe, was her natural ally. It would seem that this expedition was Bonaparte's own project. His motives are not very distinctly stated by his biographer. We doubt not that his great aim was conspicuousness. He chose a theatre where all eyes could be turned upon him. He saw that the time for usurpation had not yet come in France. To use his own language, "the fruit was not yet ripe." He wanted a field of action which would draw upon him the gaze of the world, and from which he might return at the favorable moment for the prosecution of his enterprises at home. At the same time he undoubtedly admitted into his mind, which success had already intoxicated, some vague, wild hope of making an impression on the Eastern world, which might place its destinies at his command, and give him a throne more enviable than Europe could bestow. His course in the East exhibited the same lawlessness — the same contempt of all restraints on his power — which we have already noted. No means which promised success were thought the worse for their guilt. It was not enough for him to boast of his triumphs over the cross, or to profess Mahometanism. He claimed inspiration and a commission from God, and was anxious to join the character of prophet to that of hero. This was the beginning of the great

weaknesses and errors into which he was betrayed by that spirit of self-exaggeration which, under the influence of past success and of unbounded flattery, was already growing into a kind of insanity. In his own view he was fit to be a compeer with Mahomet. His greatness in his own eyes made him blind to the folly of urging his supernatural claims on the Turk, who contemned, even more than he abhorred, a Frank; and who would sooner have sold himself a slave to Christians than have acknowledged a renegade Christian as a sharer of the glories of Mahomet. It was not enough for Bonaparte on this expedition to insult God, to show an impiety as foolish as it was daring. He proceeded to trample on the sentiments and dictates of humanity with equal hardihood. The massacre of Jaffa is universally known. Twelve hundred prisoners, and probably more, who had surrendered themselves to Napoleon, and were apparently admitted to quarter, were two days afterwards marched out of the fort, divided into small bodies, and then deliberately shot, and, in case the musket was not effectual, were despatched by bayonets. This was an outrage which cannot be sheltered by the laws and usages of war, barbarous as they are. It was the deed of a bandit and savage, and ought to be execrated by good men who value, and would preserve, the mitigations which Christianity has infused into the conduct of national hostilities.

The next great event in Bonaparte's history was the usurpation of the supreme power of the state, and the establishment of military despotism over France. On the particulars of this criminal act we have no desire to enlarge, nor are we anxious to ascertain whether our hero, on this occasion, lost his courage and self-possession, as he is reported to have done. We are more anxious to express our convictions of the turpitude of this outrage on liberty and justice. For this crime but one apology can be offered. Napoleon, it is said, seized the reins when, had he let them slip, they would have fallen into other hands. He enslaved France at a moment when, had he spared her, she would have found another tyrant. Admitting the truth of the plea, what is it but the reasoning of the highwayman, who robs and murders the traveller because the booty was about to be seized by another hand, or because another dagger was ready to do the bloody deed? We are aware that the indignation with which we regard this crime of Napoleon will find a response in few breasts; for, to the multitude, a throne is a temptation which no virtue can be expected to withstand. But moral truth is immovable amidst the sophistry, ridicule, and abject reasonings of men, and the time will come when it will find a meet voice to give it utterance. Of all crimes against society, usurpation is the blackest. He who lifts a parricidal hand against his country's rights and freedom; who plants his foot on the necks of thirty millions of his fellow-creatures; who concentrates in his single hand the powers of a mighty empire; and who wields its powers, squanders its treasures, and pours forth its blood like water, to make other nations slaves and the world his prey, — this man, as he unites all crimes in his sanguinary career, so he should be set apart by the human race for their unmingled and unmeasured abhorrence, and should bear on his guilty head a mark as opprobrious as that which the first murderer wore. We cannot think with patience of one man fastening chains on a whole people, and subjecting millions to his single will; of whole regions overshadowed by the tyranny of a frail being like ourselves. In anguish of spirit we exclaim, How long will an abject world kiss the foot which tramples it? How long shall crime find shelter in its very aggravations and excess?

Perhaps it may be said that our indignation seems to light on Napoleon, not so much because he was a despot as because he became a despot by usurpation; that we seem not to hate tyranny itself so much as a particular mode of gaining it. We do indeed regard usurpation as a crime of peculiar blackness, especially when committed, as in the case of Napoleon, in the name of liberty. All despotism, however, whether usurped or hereditary, is our abhorrence. We regard it as the most grievous wrong and insult to the human race. But towards the hereditary despot we have more of compassion than indignation. Nursed and brought up in delusion, worshipped from his cradle, never spo-

ken to in the tone of fearless truth, taught to look on the great mass of his fellow-beings as an inferior race, and to regard despotism as a law of nature and a necessary element of social life; such a prince, whose education and condition almost deny him the possibility of acquiring healthy moral feeling and manly virtue, must not be judged severely. Still, in absolving the despot from much of the guilt which seems at first to attach to his unlawful and abused power, we do not the less account despotism a wrong and a curse. The time for its fall, we trust, is coming. It cannot fall too soon. It has long enough wrung from the laborer his hard earnings; long enough squandered a nation's wealth on its parasites and minions; long enough warred against the freedom of the mind, and arrested the progress of truth. It has filled dungeons enough with the brave and good, and shed enough of the blood of patriots. Let its end come. It cannot come too soon.

We have now followed Bonaparte to the moment of possessing himself of the supreme power. Those who were associated with him in subverting the government of the Directory essayed to lay restraints on the First Consul who was to take their place. But he indignantly repelled them. He held the sword, and with this not only intimidated the selfish, but awed and silenced the patriotic, who saw too plainly that it could only be wrested from him by renewing the horrors of the Revolution. We now proceed to consider some of the means by which he consolidated his power, and raised it into the imperial dignity. We consider these as much more important illustrations of his character than his successive campaigns, to which, accordingly, we shall give little attention.

One of his first measures for giving stability to his power was certainly a wise one, and was obviously dictated by his situation and character. Having seized the first dignity in the state by military force, and leaning on a devoted soldiery, he was under no necessity of binding himself to any of the parties which had distracted the country, — a vassalage to which his domineering spirit could ill have stooped. Policy and his love of mastery pointed out to him an indiscriminate employment of the leading men of all parties; and not a few of these had become so selfish and desperate in the disastrous progress of the Revolution, that they were ready to break up old connections, and to divide the spoils of the Republic with a master. Accordingly he adopted a system of comprehension and lenity, from which even the emigrants were not excluded, and had the satisfaction of seeing almost the whole talent, which the Revolution had quickened, leagued in the execution of his plans. Under the able men whom he called to his aid, the finances and the war department, which had fallen into a confusion that threatened ruin to the State, were soon restored to order, and means and forces provided for retrieving the recent defeats and disgraces of the French armies.

This leads us to mention another and most important and effectual means by which Napoleon secured and enlarged his power. We refer to the brilliant campaign immediately following his elevation to the Consulate, and which restored to France the ascendency which she had lost during his absence. On his success at this juncture his future fortunes wholly depended. It was in this campaign that he proved himself the worthy rival of Hannibal. The energy which conducted an army, with its cavalry, artillery, and supplies, across the Alps, by untried paths, which only the chamois hunter, born and bred amidst glaciers and everlasting snows, had trodden, gave the impression, which of all others he most desired to spread, of his superiority to nature, as well as to human opposition. This enterprise was in one view a fearful omen to Europe. It showed a power over the minds of his soldiers, the effects of which were not to be calculated. The conquest of St. Bernard by a French army was the boast of the nation; but a still more wonderful thing was, the capacity of the general to inspire into that army the intense force, confidence, resolution, and patience, by which alone the work could be accomplished. The victory of Marengo, gained by one of the accidents of war in the moment of apparent defeat and ruin, secured to Bonaparte the dominion which he coveted. France, who, in her madness and folly, had placed her happiness in conquest, now felt that the glory of her arms was safe only in

the hands of the First Consul; whilst the soldiery, who held the sceptre in their gift, became more thoroughly satisfied that triumph and spoils waited on his standard.

Another important and essential means of securing and building up his power was the system of *espionage*, called the Police, which, under the Directory, had received a development worthy of those friends of freedom, but which was destined to be perfected by the wisdom of Napoleon. It would seem as if despotism, profiting by the experience of ages, had put forth her whole skill and resources in forming the French police, and had framed an engine, never to be surpassed, for stifling the faintest breathings of disaffection, and chaining every free thought. This system of *espionage* (we are proud that we have no English word for the infernal machine) had indeed been used under all tyrannies. But it wanted the craft of Fouché, and the energy of Bonaparte, to disclose all its powers. In the language of our author, "it spread through all the ramifications of society;" that is, every man, of the least importance in the community, had the eye of a spy upon him. He was watched at home as well as abroad, in the *boudoir* and theatre, in the brothel and gaming-house; and these last-named haunts furnished not a few ministers of the Argus-eyed police. There was an ear open through all France to catch the whispers of discontent, — a power of evil which aimed to rival in omnipresence and invisibleness the benignant agency of the Deity. Of all instruments of tyranny, this is the most detestable. It chills social intercourse; locks up the heart; infects and darkens men's minds with mutual jealousies and fears; and reduces to system a wary dissimulation, subversive of force and manliness of character. We find, however, some consolation in learning that tyrants are the prey of distrust, as well as the people over whom they set this cruel guard; that tyrants cannot confide in their own spies, but must keep watch over the machinery which we have described, lest it recoil upon themselves. Bonaparte at the head of an army is a dazzling spectacle; but Bonaparte, heading a horde of spies, compelled to doubt and fear these base instruments of his power, compelled to divide them into bands, and to receive daily reports from each, so that by balancing them against each other and sifting their testimony, he might gather the truth; Bonaparte, thus employed, is any thing but imposing. It requires no great elevation of thought to look down on such an occupation with scorn: and we see, in the anxiety and degradation which it involves, the beginning of that retribution which tyranny cannot escape.

Another means by which the First Consul protected his power can excite no wonder. That he should fetter the press, should banish or imprison refractory editors, should subject the journals and more important works of literature to jealous superintendence, these were things of course. Free writing and despotism are such implacable foes, that we hardly think of blaming a tyrant for keeping no terms with the press. He cannot do it. He might as reasonably choose a volcano for the foundation of his throne. Necessity is laid upon him, unless he is in love with ruin, to check the bold and honest expression of thought. But the necessity is his own choice; and let infamy be that man's portion who seizes a power which he cannot sustain, but by dooming the mind through a vast empire to slavery, and by turning the press, that great organ of truth, into an instrument of public delusion and debasement.

We pass to another means of removing obstructions to his power and ambition, still worse than the last. We refer to the terror which he spread by his severities, just before assuming the imperial power. The murder of the Duke d'Enghien was justified by Napoleon as a method of striking fear into the Bourbons, who, as he said, were plotting his death. This may have been one motive: for we have reason to think that he was about that time threatened with assassination. But we believe still more that he intended to awe into acquiescence the opposition which he knew would be awakened in many breasts by the prostration of the forms of the Republic, and the open assumption of the imperial dignity. There were times when Bonaparte disclaimed the origination of the murder of the Duke d'Enghien. But no other could have originated it. It bears internal marks of its author. The bold-

ness, decision, and overpowering rapidity of the crime, point unerringly to the soul where it was conceived. We believe that one great recommendation of this murder was, that it would strike amazement and terror into France and Europe, and show that he was prepared to shed any blood, and to sweep before him every obstruction, in his way to absolute power. Certain it is that the open murder of the Duke d'Enghien, and the justly suspected assassinations of Pichegru and Wright, did create a dread, such as had not been felt before; and, whilst on previous occasions some faint breathings of liberty were to be heard in the legislative bodies, only one voice, that of Carnot, was raised against investing Bonaparte with the imperial crown, and laying France an unprotected victim at his feet.

There remain for our consideration other means employed by Bonaparte for building up and establishing his power, of a different character from those we have named, and which on this account we cannot pass without notice. One of these was the Concordat which he extorted from the Pope, and which professed to re-establish the Catholic religion in France. Our religious prejudices have no influence on our judgment of this measure. We make no objections to it as the restoration of a worship which, on many accounts we condemn. We view it now simply as an instrument of policy, and, in this light, it seems to us no proof of the sagacity of Bonaparte. It helps to confirm in us an impression, which other parts of his history give us, that he did not understand the peculiar character of his age, and the peculiar and original policy which it demanded. He always used commonplace means of power, although the unprecedented times in which he lived required a system which should combine untried resources, and touch new springs of action. Because old governments had found a convenient prop in religion, Napoleon imagined that it was a necessary appendage and support of his sway, and resolved to restore it. But at this moment there were no foundations in France for a religious establishment, which could give strength and a character of sacredness to the supreme power. There was comparatively no faith, no devout feeling, and, still more, no superstition to supply the place of these. The time for the reaction of the religious principle had not yet arrived; and a more likely means of retarding it could hardly have been devised than the nursing care extended to the church by Bonaparte, the recent Mussulman, the known despiser of the ancient faith, who had no worship at heart but the worship of himself. Instead of bringing religion to the aid of the state, it was impossible that such a man should touch it without loosening the faint hold which it yet retained on the people. There were none so ignorant as to be the dupes of the First Consul in this particular. Every man, woman, and child knew that he was playing the part of a juggler. Not one religious association could be formed with his character or government. It was a striking proof of the self-exaggerating vanity of Bonaparte, and of his ignorance of the higher principles of human nature, that he not only hoped to revive and turn to his account the old religion, but imagined that he could, if necessary, have created a new one. "Had the Pope never existed before, he should have been made for the occasion," was the speech of this political charlatan; as if religious opinion and feeling were things to be manufactured by a consular decree. Ancient legislators, by adopting and sympathizing with popular and rooted superstitions, were able to press them into the service of their institutions. They were wise enough to build on a pre-existing faith, and studiously to conform to it. Bonaparte, in a country of infidelity and atheism, and whilst unable to refrain from sarcasms on the system which he patronized, was weak enough to believe that he might make it a substantial support of his government. He undoubtedly congratulated himself on the terms which he exacted from the Pope, and which had never been conceded to the most powerful monarchs, forgetting that his apparent success was the defeat of his plans; for, just as far as he severed the church from the supreme pontiff, and placed himself conspicuously at its head, he destroyed the only connection which could give it influence. Just so far its power over opinion and conscience ceased. It became a coarse instrument of state, contemned by the people, and serving only to demonstrate the aspiring views of its

master. Accordingly, the French bishops in general refused to hold their dignities under this new head, preferred exile to the sacrifice of the rights of the church, and left behind them a hearty abhorrence of the Concordat among the more zealous members of their communion. Happy would it have been for Napoleon had he left the Pope and the church to themselves. By occasionally recognizing and employing, and then insulting and degrading, the Roman pontiff, he exasperated a large part of Christendom, fastened on himself the brand of impiety, and awakened a religious hatred which contributed its full measure to his fall.

As another means employed by Bonaparte for giving strength and honor to his government, we may name the grandeur of his public works, which he began in his consulate and continued after his accession to the imperial dignity. These dazzled France, and still impress travellers with admiration. Could we separate these from his history, and did no other indication of his character survive, we should undoubtedly honor him with the title of a beneficent sovereign; but, connected as they are, they do little or nothing to change our conceptions of him as an all-grasping, unprincipled usurper. Paris was the chief object of these labors; and surely we cannot wonder that he who aimed at universal dominion should strive to improve and adorn the metropolis of his empire. It is the practice of despots to be lavish of expense on the royal residence and the seat of government. Travellers in France, as in other countries of the continent, are struck and pained by the contrast between the magnificent capital and the mud-walled village and uninteresting province. Bonaparte had a special motive for decorating Paris, for "Paris is France," as has often been observed; and, in conciliating the vanity of the great city, he secured the obedience of the whole country. The boasted internal improvements of Napoleon scarcely deserve to be named, if we compare their influence with the operation of his public measures. The conscription, which drew from agriculture its most effective laborers, and his continental system, which sealed up every port and annihilated the commerce of his empire, drained and exhausted France to a degree for which his artificial stimulants of industry, and his splendid projects, afforded no compensation. Perhaps the most admired of all his public works is the road over the Simplon, to which all travellers concur in giving the epithet, stupendous. But it ought not to amaze us that he, who was aspiring at unlimited dominion, should establish communications between the different provinces of his empire. It ought not to amaze us that he, who had scaled the glaciers of St. Bernard, should covet some easier passage for pouring his troops into Italy: nor is it very wonderful that a sovereign, who commanded the revenues of Europe, and who lived in an age when civil engineering had been advanced to a perfection before unknown, should accomplish a bolder enterprise than his predecessors. We would add, that Napoleon must divide with Fabbroni the glory of the road over the Simplon; for the genius which contrived and constructed is more properly its author than the will which commanded it.

There is, however, one great work which gives Bonaparte a fair claim on the gratitude of posterity, and entitles him to an honorable renown. We refer to the new code of laws which was given to France under his auspices. His participation in this work has indeed been unwarrantably and ridiculously magnified. Because he attended the meetings of the commissioners to whom it was assigned, and made some useful and sagacious suggestions, he has been praised as if he had struck out, by the miraculous force of his genius, a new code of laws. The truth is, that he employed for this work, as he should have done, the most eminent civilians of the empire; and it is also true that these learned men have little claim to originality; for, as our author observes, the code "has few peculiarities making a difference between its principles and those of the Roman law." In other words, they preferred wisdom to novelty. Still Bonaparte deserves great praise for his interest in the work, for the impulse he gave to those to whom it was committed, and for the time and thought which, amidst the cares of a vast empire, he bestowed upon it. That his ambition incited him to this labor, we doubt not. He meant to entwine the laurels of Justinian with those of Alexander. But we will not quarrel with

ambition, when it is wise enough to devote itself to the happiness of mankind. In the present case, he showed that he understood something of true glory; and we prize the instance more because it stands almost alone in his history. We look on the conqueror, the usurper, the spoiler of kingdoms, the insatiable despot, with disgust, and see in all these characters an essential vulgarness of mind. But, when we regard him as a fountain of justice to a vast empire, we recognize in him a resemblance to the just and benignant Deity, and cheerfully accord to him the praise of bestowing on a nation one of the greatest gifts which it is permitted to man to confer. It was, however, the misery of Bonaparte, a curse brought on him by his crimes, that he could touch nothing without leaving on it the polluting mark of despotism. His usurpation took from him the power of legislating with magnanimity, where his own interest was concerned. He could provide for the administration of justice between man and man, but not between the citizen and the ruler. Political offences, the very class which ought to be submitted to a jury, were denied that mode of trial. Juries might decide on other criminal questions; but they were not to be permitted to interpose between the despot and the ill-fated subjects who might fall under his suspicion. These were arraigned before "special tribunals, invested with a half military character," the ready ministers of nefarious prosecutions, and only intended to cloak by legal forms the murderous purpose of the tyrant.

We have thus considered some of the means by which Bonaparte consolidated and extended his power. We now see him advanced to that imperial throne on which he had long fixed his eager eye. We see France alternately awed and dazzled by the influences we have described, and at last surrendering, by public, deliberate acts, without a struggle or a show of opposition, her rights, liberties, interests, and power to an absolute master and to his posterity for ever. Thus perished the name and forms of the Republic. Thus perished the hopes of philanthropy. The air, which a few years ago resounded with the shouts of a great people casting away their chains, and claiming their birthright of freedom, now rung with the servile cries of long life to a blood-stained usurper. There were, indeed, generous spirits, true patriots, like our own La Fayette, still left in France. But, few and scattered, they were left to shed in secret the tears of sorrowful and indignant despair. By this base and disastrous issue of their revolution, the French nation not only renounced their own rights, but brought reproach on the cause of freedom, which years cannot wash away. This is to us a more painful recollection than all the desolations which France spread through Europe, and than her own bitter sufferings, when the hour of retribution came upon her. The fields which she laid waste are again waving with harvest; and the groans which broke forth through her cities and villages, when her bravest sons perished by thousands and ten thousands on the snows of Russia, have died away, and her wasted population is renewed. But the wounds which she inflicted on freedom by the crimes perpetrated in that sacred name, and by the abject spirit with which that sacred cause was deserted, are still fresh and bleeding. France not only subjected herself to a tyrant, but, what is worse, she has given tyranny everywhere new pleas and arguments, and emboldened it to preach openly, in the face of heaven, the impious doctrines of absolute power and unconditional submission.

Napoleon was now Emperor of France; and a man unacquainted with human nature would think that such an empire, whose bounds now extended to the Rhine, might have satisfied even an ambitious man. But Bonaparte obeyed that law of progress to which the highest minds are peculiarly subjected: and acquisition inflamed, instead of appeasing, the spirit of dominion. He had long proposed to himself the conquest of Europe, of the world; and the title of Emperor added intenseness to this purpose. Did we not fear that by repetition we might impair the conviction which we are most anxious to impress, we would enlarge on the enormity of the guilt involved in the project of universal empire. Napoleon knew distinctly the price which he must pay for the eminence which he coveted. He knew that the path to it lay over wounded and

slaughtered millions, over putrefying heaps of his fellow-creatures, over ravaged fields, smoking ruins, pillaged cities. He knew that his steps would be followed by the groans of widowed mothers and famished orphans; of bereaved friendship and despairing love; and that, in addition to this amount of misery, he would create an equal amount of crime, by multiplying indefinitely the instruments and participators of his rapine and fraud. He knew the price, and resolved to pay it. But we do not insist on a topic which few, very few as yet, understand or feel. Turning, then, for the present from the moral aspect of this enterprise, we will view it in another light, which is of great importance to a just estimate of his claims on admiration. We will inquire into the nature and fitness of the measures and policy which he adopted for compassing the subjugation of Europe and the world.

We are aware that this discussion may expose us to the charge of great presumption. It may be said that men, having no access to the secrets of cabinets, and no participation in public affairs, are not the best judges of the policy of such a man as Napoleon. This we are not anxious to disprove. We do not deny the disadvantages of our position, nor shall we quarrel with our readers for questioning the soundness of our opinions. But we will say, that though distant, we have not been indifferent observers of the great events of our age, and that, though conscious of exposure to many errors, we have a strong persuasion of the substantial correctness of our views. We express, then, without reserve, our belief that the policy of Napoleon was wanting in sagacity, and that he proved himself incapable, as we before suggested, of understanding the character and answering the demands of his age. His system was a repetition of old means, when the state of the world was new. The sword and the police, which had sufficed him for enslaving France, were not the only powers required for his designs against the human race. Other resources were to be discovered or created: and the genius for calling them forth did not, we conceive, belong to Napoleon.

The circumstances under which Napoleon aspired to universal empire differed in many respects from those under which former conquerors were placed. It was easy for Rome, when she had subdued kingdoms, to reduce them to provinces and to govern them by force; for nations at that period were bound together by no tie. They had little communication with each other. Differences of origin, of religion, of manners, of language, of modes of warfare; differences aggravated by long and ferocious wars, and by the general want of civilization, prevented joint action, and almost all concern for one another's fate. Modern Europe, on the other hand, was an assemblage of civilized states, closely connected by commerce, by literature, by a common faith, by interchange of thoughts and improvements, and by a policy which had for ages proposed, as its chief object, the establishment of such a balance of power as would secure national independence. Under these influences the human mind had made great progress; and, in truth, the French Revolution had resulted from an unprecedented excitement and development of men's faculties, and from the extension of power and intelligence through a vastly wider class than had participated in them at any former period. The very power which Napoleon was wielding might be traced to an enthusiasm essentially generous, and manifesting a tendency of the civilized world to better institutions. It is plain that the old plans of conquest, and the maxims of comparatively barbarous ages, did not suit such a state of society. An ambitious man was to make his way by allying himself with the new movements and excitements of the world. The existence of a vast maritime power like England, which, by its command of the ocean and its extensive commerce, was brought into contact with every community, and which at the same time enjoyed the enviable pre-eminence of possessing the freest institutions in Europe, was of itself a sufficient motive for a great modification of the policy by which one state was now to be placed at the head of the nations. The peculiar character and influence of England, Bonaparte seemed indeed never able to comprehend; and the violent measures by which he essayed to tear asunder the old connections of that country with the continent, only gave them strength, by adding to the

ties of interest those of sympathy, of common suffering, and common danger.

Force and corruption were the great engines of Napoleon, and he plied them without disguise or reserve, not caring how far he insulted, and armed against himself, the moral and national feelings of Europe. His great reliance was on the military spirit and energy of the French people. To make France a nation of soldiers was the first and main instrument of his policy; and here he was successful. The Revolution, indeed, had in no small degree done this work to his hands. To complete it, he introduced a national system of education, having for its plain end to train the whole youth of France to a military life, to familiarize the mind to this destination from its earliest years, and to associate the idea of glory almost exclusively with arms. The conscription gave full efficacy to this system; for, as every young man in the empire had reason to anticipate a summons to the army, the first object in education naturally was to fit him for the field. The public honors bestowed on military talent, and a rigorous impartiality in awarding promotion to merit, so that no origin, however obscure, was a bar to what were deemed the highest honors of Europe, kindled the ambition of the whole people into a flame, and directed it exclusively to the camp. It is true, the conscription, which thinned so terribly the ranks of her youth, and spread anxiety and bereavement through all her dwellings, was severely felt in France. But Napoleon knew the race whom it was his business to manage; and by the glare of victory and the title of the Grand Empire, he succeeded in reconciling them for a time to the most painful domestic privations, and to an unexampled waste of life. Thus he secured what he accounted the most important instrument of dominion, — a great military force. But, on the other hand, the stimulants which for this purpose he was forced to apply perpetually to French vanity, the ostentation with which the invincible power of France was trumpeted to the world, and the haughty, vaunting style which became the most striking characteristic of that intoxicated people, were perpetual irritations of the national spirit and pride of Europe, and implanted a deep hatred towards the new and insulting empire, which waited but for a favorable moment to repay with interest the debt of humiliation.

The condition of Europe forbade, as we believe, the establishment of universal monarchy by mere physical force. The sword, however important, was now to play but a secondary part. The true course for Napoleon seems to us to have been indicated, not only by the state of Europe, but by the means which France in the beginning of her Revolution had found most effectual. He should have identified himself with some great interests, opinion, or institutions, by which he might have bound to himself a large party in every nation. He should have contrived to make at least a specious cause against all old establishments. To contrast himself most strikingly and most advantageously with former governments, should have been the key of his policy. He should have placed himself at the head of a new order of things, which should have worn the face of an improvement of the social state. Nor did the subversion of republican forms prevent his adoption of this course, or of some other which would have secured to him the sympathy of multitudes. He might still have drawn some broad lines between his own administration and that of other states, tending to throw the old dynasties into the shade. He might have cast away the ancient pageantry and forms, distinguished himself by the simplicity of his establishments, and exaggerated the relief which he gave to his people, by saving them the burdens of a wasteful and luxurious court. He might have insisted on the great benefits that had accrued to France from the establishment of uniform laws, which protected alike all classes of men; and he might have virtually pledged himself to the subversion of the feudal inequalities which still disfigure Europe. He might have insisted on the favorable changes to be introduced into property, by abolishing the entails which fettered it, the rights of primogeniture, and the exclusive privileges of a haughty aristocracy. He might have found abuses enough against which to array himself as a champion. By becoming the head of new institutions, which would have involved the transfer of power into new hands, and would have offered to the people a real

improvement, he might everywhere have summoned to his standard the bold and enterprising, and might have disarmed the national prejudices to which he fell a prey. Revolution was still the true instrument of power. In a word, Napoleon lived at a period when he could only establish a durable and universal control through principles and institutions of some kind or other, to which he would seem to be devoted.

It was impossible, however, for such a man as Napoleon to adopt, perhaps to conceive, a system such as has now been traced; for it was wholly at war with that egotistical, self-relying, self-exaggerating principle, which was the most striking feature of his mind. He imagined himself able, not only to conquer nations, but to hold them together by the awe and admiration which his own character would inspire; and this bond he preferred to every other. An indirect sway, a control of nations by means of institutions, principles, or prejudices, of which he was to be only the apostle and defender, was utterly inconsistent with that vehemence of will, that passion for astonishing mankind, and that persuasion of his own invincibleness, which were his master feelings, and which made force his darling instrument of dominion. He chose to be the great, palpable, and sole bond of his empire; to have his image reflected from every establishment; to be the centre in which every ray of glory should meet, and from which every impulse should be propagated. In consequence of this egotism, he never dreamed of adapting himself to the moral condition of the world. The sword was his chosen weapon, and he used it without disguise. He insulted nations as well as sovereigns. He did not attempt to gild their chains, or to fit the yoke gently to their necks. The excess of his extortions, the audacity of his claims, and the insolent language in which Europe was spoken of as the vassal of the great empire, discovered that he expected to reign, not only without linking himself with the interests, prejudices, and national feelings of men, but by setting all at defiance.

It would be easy to point out a multitude of instances in which he sacrificed the only policy by which he could prevail, to the persuasion that his own greatness could more than balance whatever opposition his violence might awaken. In an age in which Christianity was exerting some power, there was certainly a degree of deference due to the moral convictions of society. But Napoleon thought himself more than a match for the moral instincts and sentiments of our nature. He thought himself able to cover the most atrocious deeds by the splendor of his name, and even to extort applause for crimes by the brilliancy of his success. He took no pains to conciliate esteem. In his own eyes he was mightier than conscience; and thus he turned against himself the power and resentment of virtue in every breast where that divine principle yet found a home.

Through the same blinding egotism, he was anxious to fill the thrones of Europe with men bearing his own name, and to multiply everywhere images of himself. Instead of placing over conquered countries efficient men, taken from themselves, who, by upholding better institutions, would carry with them large masses of the people, and who would still, by their hostility to the old dynasties, link their fortunes with his own, he placed over nations such men as Jerome and Murat. He thus spread a jealousy of his power, whilst he rendered it insecure; for as none of the princes of his creation, however well disposed, were allowed to identify themselves with their subjects, and to take root in the public heart, but were compelled to act, openly and without disguise, as satellites and prefects of the French emperor, they gained no hold on their subjects, and could bring no strength to their master in his hour of peril. In none of his arrangements did Napoleon think of securing to his cause the attachment of nations. Astonishment, awe, and force were his weapons, and his own great name the chosen pillar of his throne.

So far was Bonaparte from magnifying the contrast and distinctions between himself and the old dynasties of Europe, and from attaching men to himself by new principles and institutions, that he had the great weakness — for so we view it — to revive the old forms of monarchy, and to ape the manners of the old court, and thus to connect himself with the herd of legitimate sovereigns. This was not only to rob his government of

that imposing character which might have been given to it, and of that interest which it might have inspired as an improvement on former institutions, but was to become competitor in a race in which he could not but be distanced. He could, indeed, pluck crowns from the heads of monarchs; but he could not by any means infuse their blood into his veins, associate with himself the ideas which are attached to a long line of ancestry, or give to his court the grace of manners which belongs to older establishments. His true policy was, to throw contempt on distinctions which he could not rival; and, had he possessed the genius and spirit of the founder of a new era, he would have substituted for a crown, and for other long-worn badges of power, a new and simple style of grandeur, and new insignia of dignity, more consonant with an enlightened age, and worthy of one who disdained to be a vulgar king. By the policy which he adopted, if it be worthy of that name, he became a vulgar king, and showed a mind incapable of answering the wants and demands of his age. It is well known that the progress of intelligence had done much in Europe to weaken men's reverence for pageantry and show. Nobles had learned to lay aside their trappings in ordinary life, and to appear as gentlemen. Even royalty had begun to retrench its pomp; and, in the face of all this improvement, Bonaparte stooped from his height to study costumes, to legislate about court dresses and court manners, and to outshine his brother monarchs in their own line. He desired to add the glory of master of ceremonies to that of conqueror of nations. In his anxiety to belong to the caste of kings, he exacted scrupulously the observance and etiquette with which they are approached. Not satisfied with this approximation to the old sovereigns, with whom he had no common interest, and from whom he could not have removed himself too far, he sought to ally himself by marriage with the royal families in Europe, to ingraft himself and his posterity on an old imperial tree. This was the very way to turn back opinion into its old channels; to carry back Europe to its old prejudices; to facilitate the restoration of its old order; to preach up legitimacy; to crush every hope that he was to work a beneficent change among nations. It may seem strange that his egotism did not preserve him from the imitation of antiquated monarchy. But his egotism, though excessive, was not lofty, nor was it seconded by a genius, rich and inventive, except in war.

We have now followed Napoleon to the height of his power, and given our views of the policy by which he hoped to make that power perpetual and unbounded. His fall is easily explained. It had its origin in that spirit of self-reliance and self-exaggeration of which we have seen so many proofs. It began in Spain. That country was a province in reality. He wanted to make it one in name; to place over it a Bonaparte; to make it a more striking manifestation of his power. For this purpose he "kidnapped" its royal family, stirred up the unconquerable spirit of its people, and, after shedding on its plains and mountains the best blood of France, lost it for ever. Next came his expedition against Russia, an expedition against which his wisest counsellors remonstrated, but which had every recommendation to a man who regarded himself as an exception to his race, and able to triumph over the laws of nature. So insane were his self-confidence and impatience of opposition, that he drove by his outrages Sweden, the old ally of France, into the arms of Russia, at the very moment that he was about to throw himself into the heart of that mighty empire. On his Russian campaign we have no desire to enlarge. Of all the mournful pages of history, none are more sad than that which records the retreat of the French army from Moscow. We remember that, when the intelligence of Napoleon's discomfiture in Russia first reached this country, we were among those who exulted in it, thinking only of the results. But when subsequent and minuter accounts brought distinctly before our eyes that unequalled army of France, broken, famished, slaughtered, seeking shelter under snowdrifts, and perishing by intense cold, we looked back on our joy with almost a consciousness of guilt, and expiated by a sincere grief our insensibility to the sufferings of our fellow-creatures. We understand that many interesting notices of Napoleon, as he appeared in this disastrous campaign, are given in the Memoirs of

Count Segur, a book from which we have been repelled by the sorrows and miseries which it details. We can conceive few subjects more worthy of Shakspeare than the mind of Napoleon, at the moment when his fate was sealed; when the tide of his victories was suddenly stopped and rolled backwards; when his dreams of invincibleness were broken as by a peal of thunder; when the word which had awed nations died away on the bleak waste, a powerless sound; and when he, whose spirit Europe could not bound, fled in fear from a captive's doom. The shock must have been tremendous to a mind so imperious, scornful, and unschooled to humiliation. The intense agony of that moment, when he gave the unusual orders to retreat; the desolateness of his soul, when he saw his brave soldiers and his chosen guards sinking in the snows, and perishing in crowds around him; his unwillingness to receive the details of his losses, lest self-possession should fail him; the levity and badinage of his interview with the Abbé de Pradt at Warsaw, discovering a mind laboring to throw off an insupportable weight, wrestling with itself, struggling against misery; and, though last not least, his unconquerable purpose, still clinging to lost empire as the only good of life; — these workings of such a spirit would have furnished to the great dramatist a theme worthy of his transcendent powers.

By the irretrievable disasters of the Russian campaign, the empire of the world was effectually placed beyond the grasp of Napoleon. The tide of conquest had ebbed, never to return. The spell which had bound the nations was dissolved. He was no longer the Invincible. The weight of military power, which had kept down the spirit of nations, was removed, and their long-smothered sense of wrong and insult broke forth like the fires of a volcano. Bonaparte might still, perhaps, have secured the throne of France; but that of Europe was gone. This, however, he did not, could not, would not understand. He had connected with himself too obstinately the character of the world's master to be able to relinquish it. Amidst the dark omens which gathered round him he still saw, in his past wonderful escapes, and in his own exaggerated energies, the means of rebuilding his fallen power. Accordingly, the thought of abandoning his pretensions does not seem to have crossed his mind, and his irreparable defeat was only a summons to new exertion. We doubt, indeed, whether Napoleon, if he could have understood fully his condition, would have adopted a different course. Though despairing, he would probably have raised new armies, and fought to the last. To a mind which has placed its whole happiness in having no equal, the thought of descending to the level even of kings is intolerable. Napoleon's mind had been stretched by such ideas of universal empire that France, though reaching from the Rhine to the Pyrenees, seemed narrow to him. He could not be shut up in it. Accordingly, as his fortunes darkened, we see no signs of relenting. He could not wear, he said, "a tarnished crown:" that is, a crown no brighter than those of Austria and Russia. He continued to use a master's tone. He showed no change but such as opposition works in the obstinate; he lost his temper and grew sour. He heaped reproaches on his marshals and the legislative body. He insulted Metternich, the statesman on whom, above all others, his fate depended. He irritated Murat by sarcasms, which rankled within him, and accelerated, if they did not determine, his desertion of his master. It is a striking example of retribution, that the very vehemence and sternness of his will, which had borne him onward to dominion, now drove him to the rejection of terms which might have left him a formidable power, and thus made his ruin entire. Refusing to take counsel of events, he persevered in fighting with a stubbornness which reminds us of a spoiled child, who sullenly grasps what he knows he must relinquish, struggles without hope, and does not give over resistance until his little fingers are one by one unclenched from the object on which he has set his heart. Thus fell Napoleon. We shall follow his history no farther. His retreat to Elba, his irruption into France, his signal overthrow, and his banishment to St. Helena, though they add to the romance of his history, throw no new light on his character, and would, of course, contribute nothing to our present object. There

are, indeed, incidents in this portion of his life which are somewhat inconsistent with the firmness and conscious superiority which belonged to him. But a man into whose character so much impulse and so little principle entered, must not be expected to preserve unblemished, in such hard reverses, the dignity and self-respect of an emperor and a hero.

In the course of these remarks, our views of the Conqueror, of the First Consul, and of the Emperor, have been given plainly and freely. The subject, however, is so important and interesting that we have thought it worth our while, though at the hazard of some repetition, to bring together, in a narrower compass, what seem to us the great leading features of the intellectual and moral character of Napoleon Bonaparte.

His intellect was distinguished by rapidity of thought. He understood by a glance what most men, and superior men, could learn only by study. He darted to a conclusion rather by intuition than reasoning. In war, which was the only subject of which he was master, he seized in an instant on the great points of his own and his enemy's positions; and combined at once the movements by which an overpowering force might be thrown with unexpected fury on a vulnerable part of the hostile line, and the fate of an army be decided in a day. He understood war as a science; but his mind was too bold, rapid, and irrepressible to be enslaved by the technics of his profession. He found the old armies fighting by rule, and he discovered the true characteristic of genius, which, without despising rules, knows when and how to break them. He understood thoroughly the immense moral power which is gained by originality and rapidity of operation. He astonished and paralyzed his enemies by his unforeseen and impetuous assaults, by the suddenness with which the storm of battle burst upon them: and, whilst giving to his soldiers the advantages of modern discipline, breathed into them, by his quick and decisive movements, the enthusiasm of ruder ages. This power of disheartening the foe, and of spreading through his own ranks a confidence, and exhilarating courage, which made war a pastime, and seemed to make victory sure, distinguished Napoleon in an age of uncommon military talent, and was one main instrument of his future power.

The wonderful effects of that rapidity of thought by which Bonaparte was marked, the signal success of his new mode of warfare, and the almost incredible speed with which his fame was spread through the nations, had no small agency in fixing his character and determining for a period the fate of empires. These stirring influences infused a new consciousness of his own might. They gave intensity and audacity to his ambition; gave form and substance to his indefinite visions of glory, and raised his fiery hopes to empire. The burst of admiration which his early career called forth must in particular have had an influence in imparting to his ambition that modification by which it was characterized, and which contributed alike to its success and to its fall. He began with *astonishing* the world, with producing a sudden and universal *sensation*, such as modern times had not witnessed. To *astonish*, as well as to sway by his energies, became the great aim of his life. Henceforth, to rule was not enough for Bonaparte. He wanted to amaze, to dazzle, to overpower men's souls, by striking, bold, magnificent, and unanticipated results. To govern ever so absolutely would not have satisfied him, if he must have governed silently. He wanted to reign through wonder and awe, by the grandeur and terror of his name, by displays of power which would rivet on him every eye, and make him the theme of every tongue. Power was his supreme object, but a power which should be gazed at as well as felt, which should strike men as a prodigy, which should shake old thrones as an earthquake, and, by the suddenness of its new creations, should awaken something of the submissive wonder which miraculous agency inspires.

Such seems to us to have been the distinction, or characteristic modification of his love of fame. It was a diseased passion for a kind of admiration, which, from the principles of our nature, cannot be enduring, and which demands for its support perpetual and more stimulating novelty. Mere esteem he would have scorned. Calm admiration, though universal and enduring, would have been insipid. He wanted to electrify and

overwhelm. He lived for effect. The world was his theatre, and he cared little what part he played if he might walk the sole hero on the stage, and call forth bursts of applause which would silence all other fame. In war, the triumphs which he coveted were those in which he seemed to sweep away his foes like a whirlwind; and the immense and unparalleled sacrifices of his own soldiers, in the rapid marches and daring assaults to which he owed his victories, in no degree diminished their worth to the victor. In peace, he delighted to hurry through his dominions: to multiply himself by his rapid movements; to gather at a glance the capacities of improvement which every important place possessed; to suggest plans which would startle by their originality and vastness: to project in an instant works which a life could not accomplish, and to leave behind the impression of a superhuman energy.

Our sketch of Bonaparte would be imperfect indeed, if we did not add that he was characterized by nothing more strongly than by the spirit of *self-exaggeration*. The singular energy of his intellect and will, through which he had mastered so many rivals and foes, and overcome what seemed insuperable obstacles, inspired a consciousness of being something more than man. His strong original tendencies to pride and self-exaltation, fed and pampered by strange success and unbounded applause, swelled into an almost insane conviction of superhuman greatness. In his own view, he stood apart from other men. He was not to be measured by the standard of humanity. He was not to be retarded by difficulties to which all others yielded. He was not to be subjected to laws and obligations which all others were expected to obey. Nature and the human will were to bend to his power. He was the child and favorite of fortune, and, if not the lord, the chief object of destiny. His history shows a spirit of self-exaggeration unrivalled in enlightened ages, and which reminds us of an oriental king to whom incense had been burnt from his birth as to a deity. This was the chief source of his crimes. He wanted the sentiment of a common nature with his fellow-beings. He had no sympathies with his race. That feeling of brotherhood, which is developed in truly great souls with peculiar energy, and through which they give up themselves willing victims, joyful sacrifices, to the interests of mankind, was wholly unknown to him. His heart, amidst its wild beatings, never had a throb of disinterested love. The ties which bind man to man he broke asunder. The proper happiness of a man, which consists in the victory of moral energy and social affection over the selfish passions, he cast away for the lonely joy of a despot. With powers which might have made him a glorious representative and minister of the beneficent Divinity, and with natural sensibilities which might have been exalted into sublime virtues, he chose to separate himself from his kind, to forego their love, esteem, and gratitude, that he might become their gaze, their fear, their wonder; and, for this selfish, solitary good, parted with peace and imperishable renown.

This insolent exaltation of himself above the race to which he belonged broke out in the beginning of his career. His first success in Italy gave him the tone of a master, and he never laid it aside to his last hour. One can hardly help being struck with the *natural* manner with which he arrogates supremacy in his conversation and proclamations. We never feel as if he were putting on a lordly air. In his proudest claims he speaks from his own mind, and in native language. His style is swollen, but never strained, as if he were conscious of playing a part above his real claims. Even when he was foolish and impious enough to arrogate miraculous powers and a mission from God, his language showed that he thought there was something in his character and exploits to give a color to his blasphemous pretensions. The empire of the world seemed to him to be in a measure his due, for nothing short of it corresponded with his conceptions of himself; and he did not use mere verbiage, but spoke a language to which he gave some credit, when he called his successive conquests "the fulfilment of his destiny."

This spirit of self-exaggeration wrought its own misery, and drew down upon him terrible punishments; and this it did by vitiating and perverting his high powers. First, it diseased his fine intellect, gave imagination the ascendency over judgment, turned the inventiveness and fruitfulness of his

mind into rash, impatient, restless energies, and thus precipitated him into projects which, as the wisdom of his counsellors pronounced, were fraught with ruin. To a man whose vanity took him out of the rank of human beings, no foundation for reasoning was left. All things seemed possible. His genius and his fortune were not to be bounded by the barriers which experience had assigned to human powers. Ordinary rules did not apply to him. He even found excitement and motives in obstacles before which other men would have wavered; for these would enhance the glory of triumph, and give a new thrill to the admiration of the world. Accordingly he again and again plunged into the depths of an enemy's country, and staked his whole fortune and power on a single battle. To be rash was indeed the necessary result of his self-exalting and self-relying spirit; for to dare what no other man would dare, to accomplish what no other man would attempt, was the very way to display himself as a superior being in his own and others' eyes. To be impatient and restless was another necessary issue of the attributes we have described. The calmness of wisdom was denied him. He, who was next to omnipotent in his own eyes, and who delighted to strike and astonish by sudden and conspicuous operations, could not brook delay or wait for the slow operations of time. A work, which was to be gradually matured by the joint agency of various causes, could not suit a man who wanted to be felt as the great, perhaps only, cause; who wished to stamp his own agency in the most glaring characters on whatever he performed; and who hoped to rival, by a sudden energy, the steady and progressive works of nature. Hence so many of his projects were never completed, or only announced. They swelled, however, the tide of flattery, which ascribed to him the completion of what was not yet begun, whilst his restless spirit, rushing to new enterprises, forgot its pledges, and left the promised prodigies of his creative genius to exist only in the records of adulation. Thus the rapid and inventive intellect of Bonaparte was depraved, and failed to achieve a growing and durable greatness. It reared, indeed, a vast and imposing structure, but disproportioned, disjointed, without strength, without foundations. One strong blast was enough to shake and shatter it, nor could his genius uphold it. Happy would it have been for his fame had he been buried in its ruins!

One of the striking properties of Bonaparte's character was decision, and this, as we have already seen, was perverted, by the spirit of self-exaggeration, into an inflexible stubbornness, which counsel could not enlighten, nor circumstances bend. Having taken the first step, he pressed onward. His purpose he wished others to regard as a law of nature, or a decree of destiny. It *must* be accomplished. Resistance but strengthened it; and so often had resistance been overborne, that he felt as if his unconquerable will, joined to his matchless intellect, could vanquish all things. On such a mind the warnings of human wisdom and of Providence were spent in vain; and the Man of Destiny lived to teach others, if not himself, the weakness and folly of that all-defying decision which arrays the purposes of a mortal with the immutableness of the counsels of the Most High.

A still more fatal influence of the spirit of self-exaggeration which characterized Bonaparte remains to be named. It depraved to an extraordinary degree his moral sense. It did not obliterate altogether the ideas of duty, but, by a singular perversion, it impelled him to apply them exclusively to others. It never seemed to enter his thought that he was subject to the great obligations of morality which all others are called to respect. He was an exempted being. Whatever stood in his way to empire he was privileged to remove. Treaties only bound his enemies. No nation had rights but his own France. He claimed a monopoly in perfidy and violence. He was not naturally cruel; but, when human life obstructed his progress, it was a lawful prey, and murder and assassination occasioned as little compunction as war. The most luminous exposition of his moral code was given in his counsels to the King of Holland. "Never forget that, in the situation to which my political system and the interests of my empire have called you, your first duty is towards ME, your second towards France. All your other duties,

even those towards the people whom I have called you to govern, rank after these." To his own mind he was the source and centre of duty. He was too peculiar and exalted to be touched by that vulgar stain called guilt. Crimes ceased to be such when perpetrated by himself. Accordingly he always speaks of his transgressions as of indifferent acts. He never imagined that they tarnished his glory, or diminished his claim on the homage of the world. In St. Helena, though talking perpetually of himself, and often reviewing his guilty career, we are not aware that a single compunction escapes him. He speaks of his life as calmly as if it had been consecrated to duty and beneficence, whilst in the same breath he has the audacity to reproach unsparingly the faithlessness of almost every individual and nation with whom he had been connected. We doubt whether history furnishes so striking an example of the moral blindness and obduracy to which an unbounded egotism exposes and abandons the mind.

His spirit of self-exaggeration was seen in his openness to adulation. Policy indeed prompted him to put his praises into the mouths of the venal slaves, who administered his despotism. But flattery would not have been permitted to swell into exaggerations, now nauseous, now ludicrous, and now impious, if, in the bosom of the chief, there had not lodged a flatterer who sounded a louder note of praise than all around him. He was remarkably sensitive to opinion, and resented as a wrong the suppression of his praises. The press of all countries was watched, and free states were called upon to curb it for daring to take liberties with his name. Even in books published in France on general topics, he expected a recognition of his authority. Works of talent were suppressed, when their authors refused to offer incense at the new shrine. He resolved, indeed, to stamp his name on the literature, as on the legislation, policy, warfare of his age, and to compel genius, whose pages survive statues, columns, and empires, to take a place among his tributaries.

We close our view of Bonaparte's character by saying that his original propensities, released from restraint, and pampered by indulgence, to a degree seldom allowed to mortals, grew up into a spirit of despotism as stern and absolute as ever usurped the human heart. The love of power and supremacy absorbed, consumed him. No other passion, no domestic attachment, no private friendship, no love of pleasure, no relish for letters or the arts, no human sympathy, no human weakness, divided his mind with the passion for dominion and for dazzling manifestations of his power. Before this, duty, honor, love, humanity, fell prostrate. Josephine, we are told, was dear to him; but the devoted wife, who had stood firm and faithful in the day of his doubtful fortunes, was cast off in his prosperity, to make room for a stranger, who might be more subservient to his power. He was affectionate, we are told, to his brothers and mother; but his brothers, the moment they ceased to be his tools, were disgraced; and his mother, it is said, was not allowed to sit in the presence of her imperial son.* He was sometimes softened, we are told, by the sight of the field of battle strewn with the wounded and dead. But, if the Moloch of his ambition claimed new heaps of slain to-morrow, it was never denied. With all his sensibility, he gave millions to the sword with as little compunction as he would have brushed away so many insects which had infested his march. To him all human will, desire, power, were to bend. His superiority none might question. He insulted the fallen, who had contracted the guilt of opposing his progress; and not even woman's loveliness, and the dignity of a queen, could give shelter from his contumely. His allies were his vassals, nor was their vassalage concealed. Too lofty to use the arts of conciliation, preferring command to persuasion, overbearing, and all-grasping, he spread distrust, exasperation, fear, and revenge through Europe; and, when the day of retribution came, the old antipathies and mutual jealousies of nations were swallowed up in one burning purpose to prostrate the common tyrant, the universal foe.

Such was Napoleon Bonaparte. But some will say he was still a great man. This we mean not to deny. But we

* See "America," page 57. We should not give this very unamiable trait of Napoleon's domestic character, but on authority which we cannot question.

would have it understood that there are various kinds or orders of greatness, and that the highest did not belong to Bonaparte. There are different orders of greatness. Among these the first rank is unquestionably due to *moral* greatness, or magnanimity; to that sublime energy by which the soul, smitten with the love of virtue, binds itself indissolubly, for life and for death, to truth and duty; espouses as its own the interests of human nature; scorns all meanness and defies all peril; hears in its own conscience a voice louder than threatenings and thunders; withstands all the powers of the universe, which would sever it from the cause of freedom and religion; reposes an unfaltering trust in God in the darkest hour, and is ever "ready to be offered up" on the altar of its country or of mankind. Of this moral greatness, which throws all other forms of greatness into obscurity, we see not a trace in Napoleon. Though clothed with the power of a god, the thought of consecrating himself to the introduction of a new and higher era, to the exaltation of the character and condition of his race, seems never to have dawned on his mind. The spirit of disinterestedness and self-sacrifice seems not to have waged a moment's war with self-will and ambition. His ruling passions, indeed, were singularly at variance with magnanimity. Moral greatness has too much simplicity, is too unostentatious, too self-subsistent, and enters into others' interests with too much heartiness, to live an hour for what Napoleon always lived, to make itself the theme, and gaze, and wonder of a dazzled world. Next to moral, comes *intellectual* greatness, or genius in the highest sense of that word; and by this we mean that sublime capacity of thought through which the soul, smitten with the love of the true and the beautiful, essays to comprehend the universe, soars into the heavens, penetrates the earth, penetrates itself, questions the past, anticipates the future, traces out the general and all-comprehending laws of nature, binds together by innumerable affinities and relations all the objects of its knowledge, rises from the finite and transient to the infinite and the everlasting, frames to itself from its own fulness lovelier and sublimer forms than it beholds, discerns the harmonies between the world within and the world without us, and finds in every region of the universe types and interpreters of its own deep mysteries and glorious inspirations. This is the greatness which belongs to philosophers, and to the master-spirits in poetry and the fine arts. Next comes the greatness of *action;* and by this we mean the sublime power of conceiving bold and extensive plans; of constructing and bringing to bear on a mighty object a complicated machinery of means, energies, and arrangements, and of accomplishing great outward effects. To this head belongs the greatness of Bonaparte, and that he possessed it we need not prove, and none will be hardy enough to deny. A man who raised himself from obscurity to a throne, who changed the face of the world, who made himself felt through powerful and civilized nations, who sent the terror of his name across seas and oceans, whose will was pronounced and feared as destiny, whose donatives were crowns, whose antechamber was thronged by submissive princes, who broke down the awful barrier of the Alps and made them a highway, and whose fame was spread beyond the boundaries of civilization to the steppes of the Cossack, and the deserts of the Arab; — a man, who has left this record of himself in history, has taken out of our hands the question whether he shall be called great. All must concede to him a sublime power of action, an energy equal to great effects.

We are not disposed, however, to consider him as pre-eminent even in this order of greatness. War was his chief sphere. He gained his ascendency in Europe by the sword. But war is not the field for the highest active talent, and Napoleon, we suspect, was conscious of this truth. The glory of being the greatest general of his age would not have satisfied him. He would have scorned to take his place by the side of Marlborough or Turenne. It was as the founder of an empire, which threatened for a time to comprehend the world, and which demanded other talents besides that of war, that he challenged unrivalled fame. And here we question his claim. Here we cannot award him supremacy. The project of universal empire, however imposing, was not orig-

inal. The revolutionary governments of France had adopted it before; nor can we consider it as a sure indication of greatness, when we remember that the weak and vain mind of Louis the Fourteenth was large enough to cherish it. The question is, Did Napoleon bring to this design the capacity of advancing it by bold and original conceptions, adapted to an age of civilization, and of singular intellectual and moral excitement? Did he discover new foundations of power? Did he frame new bonds of union for subjugated nations? Did he discover or originate some common interests by which his empire might be held together? Did he breathe a spirit which could supplant the old national attachments, or did he invent any substitutes for those vulgar instruments of force and corruption which any and every usurper would have used? Never in the records of time did the world furnish such materials to work with, such means of modelling nations afresh, of building up a new power, of introducing a new era, as did Europe at the period of the French Revolution. Never was the human mind so capable of new impulses. And did Napoleon prove himself equal to the condition of the world? Do we detect one original conception in his means of universal empire? Did he seize on the enthusiasm of his age, that powerful principle, more efficient than arms or policy, and bend it to his purpose? What did he do but follow the beaten track, — but apply force and fraud in their very coarsest forms? Napoleon showed a vulgar mind when he assumed self-interest as the sole spring of human action. With the sword in one hand and bribes in the other, he imagined himself absolute master of the human mind. The strength of moral, national, and domestic feeling he could not comprehend. The finest and, after all, the most powerful elements in human nature hardly entered into his conceptions of it; and how, then, could he have established a durable power over the human race? We want little more to show his want of originality and comprehensiveness, as the founder of an empire, than the simple fact that he chose as his chief counsellors Talleyrand and Fouché, names which speak for themselves. We may judge of the greatness of the master-spirit from the minds which he found most congenial with his own. In war Bonaparte was great, for he was bold, original, and creative. Beyond the camp he indeed showed talent, but not superior to that of other eminent men.

There have been two circumstances which have done much to disarm or weaken the strong moral reprobation with which Bonaparte ought to have been regarded, and which we deem worthy of notice. We refer to the wrongs which he is supposed to have suffered at St. Helena, and to the unworthy use which the Allied Powers have made of their triumph over Napoleon. First, his supposed wrongs at St. Helena have excited a sympathy in his behalf which has thrown a veil over his crimes. We are not disposed to deny that an unwarrantable, because unnecessary, severity was exercised towards Bonaparte. We think it not very creditable to the British government that it tortured a sensitive captive by refusing him a title which he had long worn. We think that not only religion and humanity but self-respect forbids us to inflict a single useless pang on a fallen foe. But we should be weak indeed if the moral judgments and feelings with which Napoleon's career ought to be reviewed, should give place to sympathy with the sufferings by which it was closed. With regard to the scruples, which not a few have expressed, as to the right of banishing him to St. Helena, we can only say that our consciences are not yet refined to such exquisite delicacy as to be at all sensitive on this particular. We admire nothing more in Bonaparte than the effrontery with which he claimed protection from the laws of nations. That a man, who had set these laws at open defiance, should fly to them for shelter: that the oppressor of the world should claim its sympathy as an oppressed man, and that his claim should find advocates; these things are to be set down among the extraordinary events of this extraordinary age. Truly the human race is in a pitiable state. It may be trampled on, spoiled, loaded like a beast of burden, made the prey of rapacity, insolence, and the sword; but it must not touch a hair, or disturb the pillow, of one of its oppressors, unless it can find chapter and verse in the code of national law to authorize its rudeness towards the privileged offender. For ourselves, we should

rejoice to see every tyrant, whether a usurper or hereditary prince, fastened to a lonely rock in the ocean. Whoever gives clear, undoubted proof that he is prepared and sternly resolved to make the earth a slaughter-house, and to crush every will adverse to his own, ought to be caged like a wild beast; and to require mankind to proceed against him according to written laws and precedents, as if he were a private citizen in a quiet court of justice, is just as rational as to require a man, in imminent peril from an assassin, to wait and prosecute his murderer according to the most protracted forms of law. There are great solemn rights of nature, which precede laws, and on which law is founded. There are great exigencies in human affairs, which speak for themselves, and need no precedent to teach the right path. There are awful periods in the history of our race, which do not belong to its ordinary state, and which are not to be governed and judged by ordinary rules. Such a period was that when Bonaparte, by infraction of solemn engagements, had thrown himself into France, and convulsed all Europe; and they who confound this with the ordinary events of history, and see in Bonaparte but an ordinary foe to the peace and independence of nations, have certainly very different intellects from our own.

We confess, too, that we are not only unable to see the wrong done to Napoleon in sending him to St. Helena, but that we cannot muster up much sympathy for the inconveniences and privations which he endured there. Our sympathies in this particular are wayward and untractable. When we would carry them to that solitary island, and fasten them on the illustrious victim of British cruelty, they will not tarry there, but take their flight across the Mediterranean to Jaffa, and across the Atlantic to the platform where the Duke d'Enghien was shot, to the prison of Toussaint, and to fields of battle where thousands at his bidding lay weltering in blood. When we strive to fix our thoughts upon the sufferings of the injured hero, other and more terrible sufferings, of which he was the cause, rush upon us; and his complaints, however loud and angry, are drowned by groans and execrations, which fill our ears from every region which he traversed. We have no tears to spare for fallen greatness, when that greatness was founded in crime, and reared by force and perfidy. We reserve them for those on whose ruin it rose. We keep our sympathies for our race, for human nature in its humbler forms, for the impoverished peasant, the widowed mother, the violated virgin; and are even perverse enough to rejoice that the ocean has a prison-house where the author of those miseries may be safely lodged. Bonaparte's history is to us too solemn, the wrongs for which humanity and freedom arraign him are too flagrant, to allow us to play the part of sentimentalists around his grave at St. Helena. We leave this to the more refined age in which we live; and we do so in the hope that an age is coming of less tender mould, but of loftier, sterner feeling, and of deeper sympathy with the whole human race. Should our humble page then live, we trust, with an undoubting faith, that the uncompromising indignation with which we plead the cause of our oppressed and insulted nature will not be set down to the account of vindictiveness and hardness of heart.

We observed that the moral indignation of many towards Bonaparte had been impaired or turned away, not only by his supposed wrongs, but by the unworthy use which his conquerors made of their triumph. We are told that, bad as was his despotism, the Holy Alliance is a worse one; and that Napoleon was less a scourge than the present coalition of the continental monarchs, framed for the systematic suppression of freedom. By such reasoning, his crimes are cloaked, and his fall is made a theme of lamentation. It is not one of the smallest errors and sins of the Allied Sovereigns that they have contrived, by their base policy, to turn the resentments and moral displeasure of men from the usurper upon themselves. For these sovereigns we have no defence to offer. We yield to none in detestation of the Holy Alliance, profanely so called. To us its doctrines are as false and pestilent as any broached by Jacobinism. The Allied Monarchs are adding to the other wrongs of despots that of flagrant ingratitude; of ingratitude to the generous and brave nations to whom they owe their thrones, whose spirit of independence and patriotism, and whose

hatred of the oppressor, contributed more than standing armies to raise up the fallen, and to strengthen the falling monarchies of Europe. Be it never forgotten in the records of despotism, let history record it on her most durable tablet, that the first use made by the principal continental sovereigns of their regained or confirmed power, was to conspire against the hopes and rights of the nations by whom they had been saved; to combine the military power of Europe against free institutions, against the press, against the spirit of liberty and patriotism which had sprung up in the glorious struggle with Napoleon, against the right of the people to exert an influence on the governments by which their dearest interests were to be controlled. Never be it forgotten that such was the honor of sovereigns, such their requital for the blood which had been shed freely in their defence. Freedom and humanity send up a solemn and prevailing cry against them to that tribunal where kings and subjects are soon to stand as equals.

But still we should be strangely blind, if we were not to feel that the fall of Napoleon was a blessing to the world. Who can look, for example, at France, and not see there a degree of freedom which could never have grown up under the terrible frown of the usurper? True, Bonaparte's life, though it seemed a charmed one, must at length have ended; and we are told that then his empire would have been broken, and that the general crash, by some inexplicable process, would have given birth to a more extensive and durable liberty than can now be hoped. But such anticipations seem to us to be built on a strange inattention to the nature and inevitable consequences of Napoleon's power. It was wholly a military power. He was literally turning Europe into a camp, and drawing its best talent into one occupation, — war. Thus Europe was retracing its steps to those ages of calamity and darkness, when the only law was the sword. The progress of centuries, which had consisted chiefly in the substitution of intelligence, public opinion, and other mild and rational influences, for brutal force, was to be reversed. At Bonaparte's death, his empire must, indeed, have been dissolved; but military chiefs, like Alexander's lieutenants, would have divided it. The sword alone would have shaped its future communities; and, after years of desolation and bloodshed, Europe would have found, not repose, but a respite, an armed truce, under warriors whose only title to empire would have been their own good blades, and the weight of whose thrones would have been upheld by military force alone. Amidst such convulsions, during which the press would have been everywhere fettered, and the military spirit would have triumphed over and swallowed up the spirit and glory of letters and liberal arts, we greatly fear that the human intellect would have lost its present impulse, its thirst for progress, and would have fallen back towards barbarism. Let not the friends of freedom bring dishonor on themselves or desert their cause by instituting comparisons between Napoleon and legitimate sovereigns, which may be construed into eulogies on the former. For ourselves, we have no sympathy with tyranny, whether it bear the name of usurpation or legitimacy. We are not pleading the cause of the Allied Sovereigns. In our judgment, they have contracted the very guilt against which they have pretended to combine. In our apprehension, a conspiracy against the rights of the human race is as foul a crime as rebellion against the rights of sovereigns; nor is there less of treason in warring against public freedom than in assailing royal power. Still we are bound in truth to confess that the Allied Sovereigns are not to be ranked with Bonaparte, whose design against the independence of nations and the liberties of the world, in this age of civilization, liberal thinking, and Christian knowledge, is in our estimation the most nefarious enterprise recorded in history.

The series of events which it has been our province to review offers subjects of profound thought and solemn instruction to the moralist and politician. We have retraced it with many painful feelings. It shows us a great people, who had caught some indistinct glimpses of freedom, and of a nobler and a happier political constitution, betrayed by their leaders, and brought back, by a military despot, to heavier chains than they had broken. We see with indignation one

man — a man like ourselves — subjecting whole nations to his absolute rule. It is this wrong and insult to our race which has chiefly moved us. Had a storm, of God's ordination, passed over Europe, prostrating its capitals, sweeping off its villages, burying millions in ruins, we should have wept, we should have trembled. But in this there would have been only wretchedness. Now we also see debasement. To us there is something radically and increasingly shocking in the thought of one man's will becoming a law to his race; in the thought of multitudes, of vast communities, surrendering conscience, intellect, their affections, their rights, their interests to the stern mandate of a fellow-creature. When we see one word of a frail man on the throne of France tearing a hundred thousand sons from their homes, breaking asunder the sacred ties of domestic life, sentencing myriads of the young to make murder their calling and rapacity their means of support, and extorting from nations their treasures to extend this ruinous sway, we are ready to ask ourselves, Is not this a dream? And when the sad reality comes home to us, we blush for a race which can stoop to such an abject lot. At length, indeed, we see the tyrant humbled, stripped of power; but stripped by those who, in the main, are not unwilling to play the despot on a narrower scale, and to break down the spirit of nations under the same iron sway.

How is it that tyranny has thus triumphed? that the hopes with which we greeted the French Revolution have been crushed? that a usurper plucked up the last roots of the tree of liberty, and planted despotism in its place? The chief cause is not far to seek, nor can it be too often urged on the friends of freedom. France failed through the want of that moral preparation for liberty, without which the blessing cannot be secured. She was not ripe for the good she sought. She was too corrupt for freedom. France had indeed to contend with great political ignorance; but had not ignorance been reinforced by deep moral defect, she might have won her way to free institutions. Her character forbade her to be free; and it now seems strange that we could ever have expected her to secure this boon. How could we believe that a liberty of which that heartless scoffer, Voltaire, was a chief apostle, could have triumphed? Most of the preachers of French liberty had thrown off all the convictions which ennoble the mind. Man's connection with God they broke, for they declared that there was no God in whom to trust in the great struggle for liberty. Human immortality — that truth which is the seed of all greatness — they derided. To their philosophy, man was a creature of chance, a compound of matter, an ephemeron, a worm, who was soon to rot and perish for ever. What insanity was it to expect that such men were to work out the emancipation of their race! that in such hands the hopes and dearest rights of humanity were secure! Liberty was tainted by their touch, polluted by their breath, and yet we trusted that it was to rise in health and glory from their embrace. We looked to men who openly founded morality on private interest for the sacrifices, the devotion, the heroic virtue which Freedom always demands from her assertors.

The great cause of the discomfiture of the late European struggle for liberty is easily understood by an American, who recurs to the history of his own revolution. This issued prosperously, because it was begun and was conducted under the auspices of private and public virtue. Our liberty did not come to us by accident, nor was it the gift of a few leaders; but its seeds were sown plentifully in the minds of the whole people. It was rooted in the conscience and reason of the nation. It was the growth of deliberate convictions and generous principles liberally diffused. We had no Paris, no metropolis, which a few leaders swayed, and which sent forth its influences, like "a mighty heart," through dependent and subservient provinces. The country was all heart. The living principle pervaded the community, and every village added strength to the solemn purpose of being free. We have here an explanation of a striking fact in the history of our revolution, — we mean the want or absence of that description of great men whom we meet in other countries; men who, by their distinct and single agency, and by their splendid deeds, determine a nation's fate. There was too much greatness in the American people to admit this overshadowing great-

ness of leaders. Accordingly, the United States had no liberator, no political saviour. Washington, indeed, conferred on us great blessings. But Washington was not a hero, in the common sense of that word. We never spoke of him as the French did of Bonaparte, never talked of his eagle-eyed, irresistible genius, as if this were to work out our safety. We never lost our self-respect. We felt that, under God, we were to be free through our own courage, energy, and wisdom, under the animating and guiding influences of this great and good mind. Washington served us chiefly by his sublime moral qualities. To him belonged the proud distinction of being the leader in a revolution, without awakening one doubt or solicitude as to the spotless purity of his purpose. His was the glory of being the brightest manifestation of the spirit which reigned in his country; and in this way he became a source of energy, a bond of union, the centre of an enlightened people's confidence. In such a revolution as that of France, Washington would have been nothing; for that sympathy which subsisted between him and his fellow-citizens, and which was the secret of his power, would have been wanting. By an instinct which is unerring, we call Washington, with grateful reverence, the Father of his country, but not its saviour. A people which wants a saviour, which does not possess an earnest and pledge of freedom in its own heart, is not yet ready to be free.

A great question here offers itself, at which we can only glance. If a moral preparation is required for freedom, how, it is asked, can Europe ever be free? How, under the despotisms which now crush the continent, can nations grow ripe for liberty? Is it to be hoped that men will learn, in the school of slavery, the spirit and virtues which, we are told, can alone work out their deliverance? In the absolute governments of Europe, the very instruments of forming an enlightened and generous love of freedom are bent into the service of tyranny. The press is an echo of the servile doctrines of the court. The schools and seminaries of education are employed to taint the young mind with the maxims of despotism. Even Christianity is turned into a preacher of legitimacy, and its principles are desecrated by the abject teaching of unconditional submission. How, then, is the spirit of a wise and moral freedom to be generated and diffused? We have stated the difficulty in its full force; for nothing is gained by winking out of sight the tremendous obstacles with which liberal principles and institutions must contend. We have not time at present to answer the great question now proposed. We will only say that we do not despair; and we will briefly suggest what seems to us the chief expedient by which the cause of freedom, obstructed as it is, must now be advanced. In despotic countries, those men whom God has inspired with lofty sentiments and a thirst for freedom (and such are spread through all Europe) must, in their individual capacity, communicate themselves to individual minds. The cause of liberty on the continent cannot now be forwarded by the action of men and masses. But in every country there are those who feel their degradation and their wrongs, who abhor tyranny as the chief obstruction of the progress of nations, and who are willing and prepared to suffer for liberty. Let such men spread around them their own spirit, by every channel which a jealous despotism has not closed. Let them give utterance to sentiments of magnanimity in private conference, and still more by the press; for there are modes of clothing and expressing kindling truths which, it is presumed, no censorship would dare to prescribe. Let them especially teach that great truth, which is the seminal principle of a virtuous freedom, and the very foundation of morals and religion, — we mean the doctrine, that conscience, the voice of God in every heart, is to be listened to above all other guides and lords; that there is a sovereign within us, clothed with more awful powers and rights than any outward king; and that he alone is worthy the name of a man who gives himself up solemnly, deliberately, to obey this internal guide through peril and in death. This is the spirit of freedom; for no man is wholly and immutably free but he who has broken every outward yoke, that he may obey his own deliberate conscience. This is the lesson to be taught alike in republics and despotisms. As yet it has but dawned on the world. Its full application remains to be developed. They who have

been baptized, by a true experience, into this vital and all-comprehending truth, must everywhere be its propagators; and he who makes one convert of it near a despot's throne, has broken one link of that despot's chain. It is chiefly in the diffusion of this loftiness of moral sentiment that we place our hope of freedom; and we have a hope, because we know that there are those who have drunk into this truth, and are ready, when God calls, to be its martyrs. We do not despair, for there is a contagion — we would rather say, a divine power — in sublime moral principle. This is our chief trust. We have less and less hope from force and bloodshed, as the instruments of working out man's redemption from slavery. History shows us not a few princes who have gained or strengthened thrones by assassination or war. But freedom, which is another name for justice, honor, and benevolence, scorns to use the private dagger, and wields with trembling the public sword. The true conspiracy before which tyranny is to fall, is that of virtuous, elevated minds, which shall consecrate themselves to the work of awakening in men a consciousness of the rights, powers, purposes, and greatness of human nature; which shall oppose to force the heroism of intellect and conscience, and the spirit of self-sacrifice. We believe that, at this moment, there are virtue and wisdom enough to shake despotic thrones, were they as confiding as they should be in God and in their own might, and were they to pour themselves through every channel into the public mind.

We close our present labors with commending to the protection of Almighty God the cause of human freedom and improvement. We adore the wisdom and goodness of his providence, which has ordained that liberty shall be wrought out by the magnanimity, courage, and sacrifices of men. We bless him for the glorious efforts which this cause has already called forth; for the intrepid defenders who have gathered round it, and whose fame is a most precious legacy of past ages; for the toils and sufferings by which it has been upheld; for the awakening and thrilling voice which comes to us from the dungeon and scaffold, where the martyrs of liberty have pined or bled. We bless him that even tyranny has been overruled for good, by exciting a resistance which has revealed to us the strength of virtuous principle in the human soul. We beseech this Great and Good Parent, from whom all pure influences proceed, to enkindle, by his quickening breath, an unquenchable love of virtue and freedom in those favored men whom he hath enriched and signalized by eminent gifts and powers, that they may fulfil the high function of inspiring their fellow-beings with a consciousness of the birthright and destination of human nature. Wearied with violence and blood, we beseech him to subvert oppressive governments by the gentle, yet awful power of truth and virtue; by the teachings of uncorrupted Christianity; by the sovereignty of enlightened opinion; by the triumph of sentiments of magnanimity; by mild, rational, and purifying influences, which will raise the spirit of the enslaved, and which sovereigns will be unable to withstand. For this peaceful revolution we earnestly pray. If, however, after long, forbearing, and unavailing applications to justice and humanity, the friends of freedom should be summoned, by the voice of God within, and by his providence abroad, to vindicate their rights with other arms, to do a sterner work, to repel despotic force by force, may they not forget, even in this hour of provocation, the spirit which their high calling demands, Let them take the sword with awe, as those on whom a holy function is devolved. Let them regard themselves as ministers and delegates of Him whose dearest attribute is Mercy. Let them not stain their sacred cause by one cruel deed, by the infliction of one needless pang, by shedding without cause one drop of human blood.

Part II.

In a former number of our work * we reviewed the life and character of Napoleon Bonaparte. We resume the subject, not for the purpose of speaking more largely of the individual, but that we may consider more distinctly the *principle of action* which governed him, and of which he was a remarkable manifestation.

Power was the idol to which Bona-

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parte sacrificed himself. To gain supremacy and unlimited sway, to subject men to his will, was his chief, settled, unrelenting purpose. This passion drew and converted into itself the whole energy of his nature. The love of power, that common principle, explains, in a great degree, his character and life. His crimes did not spring from any impulse peculiar to himself. With all his contempt of the human race, he still belonged to it. It is true both of the brightest virtues and the blackest vices, though they seem to set apart their possessors from the rest of mankind, that the seeds of them are sown in every human breast. The man who attracts and awes us by his intellectual and moral grandeur, is only an example and anticipation of the improvements for which every mind was endowed with reason and conscience; and the worst man has become such by the perversion and excess of desires and appetites which he shares with his whole race. Napoleon had no element of character which others do not possess. It was his misery and guilt that he was usurped and absorbed by one passion; that his whole mind shot up into one growth; that his singular strength of thought and will, which, if consecrated to virtue, would have enrolled him among the benefactors of mankind, was enslaved by one lust. He is not to be gazed on as a miracle. He was a manifestation of our own nature. He teaches on a large scale what thousands teach on a narrow one. He shows us the greatness of the ruin which is wrought when the order of the mind is subverted, conscience dethroned, and a strong passion left without restraint to turn every inward and outward resource to the accomplishment of a selfish purpose.

The influence of the *love of power* on human affairs is so constant, unbounded, and tremendous, that we think this principle of our nature worthy of distinct consideration, and shall devote to it a few pages, as a fit sequel to our notice of Bonaparte.

The passion for power is one of the most universal; nor is it to be regarded as a crime in all its forms. Sweeping censures on a natural sentiment cast blame on the Creator. This principle shows itself in the very dawn of our existence. The child never exults and rejoices more than when it becomes conscious of power by overcoming difficulties or compassing new ends. All our desires and appetites lend aid and energy to this passion, for all find increase of gratification in proportion to the growth of our strength and influence. We ought to add, that this principle is fed from nobler sources. Power is a chief element of all the commanding qualities of our nature. It enters into all the higher virtues; such as magnanimity, fortitude, constancy. It enters into intellectual eminence. It is power of thought and utterance which immortalizes the products of genius. Is it strange that an attribute, through which all our passions reach their objects, and which characterizes whatever is great or admirable in man, should awaken intense desire, and be sought as one of the chief goods of life?

This principle, we have said, is not in all its forms a crime. There are, indeed, various kinds of power, which it is our duty to covet, accumulate, and hold fast. First, there is *inward* power, the most precious of all possessions; power over ourselves; power to withstand trial, to bear suffering, to front danger; power over pleasure and pain; power to follow our convictions, however resisted by menace or scorn; the power of calm reliance in seasons of darkness and storms. Again, there is a power over *outward* things; the power by which the mind triumphs over matter, presses into its service the subtilest and strongest elements, makes the winds, fire, and steam its ministers, rears the city, opens a path through the ocean, and makes the wilderness blossom as the rose. These forms of power, especially the first, are glorious distinctions of our race, nor can we prize them too highly.

There is another power, which is our principal concern in the present discussion. We mean power over our fellow-creatures. It is this which ambition chiefly covets, and which has instigated to more crime, and spread more misery, than any other cause. We are not, however, to condemn even this universally. There is a truly noble sway of man over man; one which it is our honor to seek and exert; which is earned by well-doing; which is a chief recompense of virtue. We refer to the quickening influence of a good and great mind over

other minds, by which it brings them into sympathy with itself. Far from condemning this, we are anxious to hold it forth as the purest glory which virtuous ambition can propose. The power of awakening, enlightening, elevating our fellow-creatures may, with peculiar fitness, be called divine; for there is no agency of God so beneficent and sublime as that which he exerts on rational natures, and by which he assimilates them to himself. This sway over other souls is the surest test of greatness. We admire, indeed, the energy which subdues the material creation, or develops the physical resources of a state. But it is a nobler might which calls forth the intellectual and moral resources of a people, which communicates new impulses to society, throws into circulation new and stirring thoughts, gives the mind a new consciousness of its faculties, and rouses and fortifies the will to an unconquerable purpose of well-doing. This spiritual power is worth all other. To improve man's outward condition is a secondary agency, and is chiefly important as it gives the means of inward growth. The most glorious minister of God on earth is he who speaks with a life-giving energy to other minds, breathing into them the love of truth and virtue, strengthening them to suffer in a good cause, and lifting them above the senses and the world.

We know not a more exhilarating thought than that this power is given to men; that we can not only change the face of the outward world, and by virtuous discipline improve ourselves, but that we may become springs of life and light to our fellow-beings. We are thus admitted to a fellowship with Jesus Christ, whose highest end was that he might act with a new and celestial energy on the human mind. We rejoice to think that he did not come to monopolize this divine sway, to enjoy a solitary grandeur, but to receive others, even all who should obey his religion, into the partnership of this honor and happiness. Every Christian, in proportion to his progress, acquires a measure of this divine agency. In the humblest conditions, a power goes forth from a devout and disinterested spirit, calling forth silently moral and religious sentiment, perhaps in a child, or some other friend, and teaching, without the aid of words, the loveliness and peace of sincere and single-hearted virtue. In the more enlightened classes, individuals now and then rise up, who, through a singular force and elevation of soul, obtain a sway over men's minds to which no limit can be prescribed. They speak with a voice which is heard by distant nations, and which goes down to future ages. Their names are repeated with veneration by millions; and millions read in their lives and writings a quickening testimony to the greatness of the mind, to its moral strength, to the reality of disinterested virtue. These are the true sovereigns of the earth. They share in the royalty of Jesus Christ. They have a greatness which will be more and more felt. The time is coming, its signs are visible, when this long-mistaken attribute of greatness will be seen to belong eminently, if not exclusively, to those who, by their characters, deeds, sufferings, writings, leave imperishable and ennobling traces of themselves on the human mind. Among these legitimate sovereigns of the world will be ranked the philosopher, who penetrates the secrets of the universe and of the soul; who opens new fields to the intellect: who gives it a new consciousness of its own powers, rights, and divine original; who spreads enlarged and liberal habits of thought; and who helps men to understand that an ever-growing knowledge is the patrimony destined for them by the "Father of their spirits." Among them will be ranked the statesman who, escaping a vulgar policy, rises to the discovery of the true interest of a state; who seeks without fear or favor the common good; who understands that a nation's mind is more valuable than its soil; who inspirits a people's enterprise, without making them the slaves of wealth; who is mainly anxious to originate or give stability to institutions by which society may be carried forward; who confides with a sublime constancy in justice and virtue, as the only foundation of a wise policy and of public prosperity; and, above all, who has so drunk into the spirit of Christ and of God as never to forget that his particular country is a member of the great human family, bound to all nations by a common nature, by a common interest, and by indissoluble laws of equity and charity.

Among these will be ranked, perhaps, on the highest throne, the moral and religious reformer, who truly merits that name; who rises above his times; who is moved by a holy impulse to assail vicious establishments, sustained by fierce passions and inveterate prejudices; who rescues great truths from the corruptions of ages; who, joining calm and deep thought to profound feeling, secures to religion at once enlightened and earnest conviction; who unfolds to men higher forms of virtue than they have yet attained or conceived; who gives brighter and more thrilling views of the perfection for which they were framed, and inspires a victorious faith in the perpetual progress of our nature.

There is one characteristic of this power which belongs to truly great minds, particularly deserving notice. Far from enslaving, it makes more and more free those on whom it is exercised; and in this respect it differs wholly from the vulgar sway which ambition thirsts for. It awakens a kindred power in others, calls their faculties into new life, and particularly strengthens them to follow their own deliberate convictions of truth and duty. It breathes conscious energy, self-respect, moral independence, and a scorn of every foreign yoke.

There is another power over men very different from this, — a power, not to quicken and elevate, but to crush and subdue; a power which robs men of the free use of their nature, takes them out of their own hands, and compels them to bend to another's will. This is the sway which men grasp at most eagerly, and which it is our great purpose to expose. To reign, to give laws, to clothe their own wills with omnipotence, to annihilate all other wills, to spoil the individual of that self-direction which is his most precious right, — this has ever been deemed by multitudes the highest prize for competition and conflict. The most envied men are those who have succeeded in prostrating multitudes, in subjecting whole communities, to their single will. It is the love of this power, in all its forms, which we are anxious to hold up to reprobation. If any crime should be placed by society beyond pardon, it is this.

This power has been exerted most conspicuously and perniciously by two classes of men, — the priest or minister of religion, and the civil ruler. Both rely on the same instrument, — that is, pain or terror; the first calling to his aid the fires and torments of the future world, and practising on the natural dread of invisible powers; and the latter availing himself of chains, dungeons, and gibbets in the present life. Through these terrible applications man has, in all ages and in almost every country, been made, in a greater or less degree, a slave and machine: been shackled in all his faculties, and degraded into a tool of others' wills and passions. The influence of almost every political and religious institution has been to make man abject in mind, fearful, servile, a mechanical repeater of opinions which he dares not try, and a contributor of his toil, sweat, and blood, to governments which never dreamed of the general weal as their only legitimate end. On the immense majority of men, thus wronged and enslaved, the consciousness of their own nature has not yet dawned; and the doctrine, that each has a mind, worth more than the material world, and framed to grow for ever by a self-forming, self-directing energy, is still a secret, a mystery, notwithstanding the clear annunciation of it, ages ago, by Jesus Christ. We know not a stronger proof of the intenseness and nefariousness of the love of power than the fact of its having virtually abrogated Christianity, and even turned into an engine of dominion a revelation which breathes throughout the spirit of freedom, proclaims the essential equality of the human race, and directs its most solemn denunciations against the passion for rule and empire.

That this power, which consists in force and compulsion, in the imposition on the many of the will and judgment of one or a few, is of a low order, when compared with the quickening influence over others of which we have before spoken, we need not stop to prove. But the remark is less obvious, though not less true, that it is not only inferior in kind, but in amount or degree. This may not be so easily acknowledged. He whose will is passively obeyed by a nation, or whose creed implicitly adopted by a spreading sect, may not easily believe that his power is exceeded, not

only in kind or quality, but in extent, by him who wields only the silent, subtile influence of moral and intellectual gifts. But the superiority of moral to arbitrary sway in this particular is proved by its effects. Moral power is creative; arbitrary power wastes away the spirit and force of those on whom it is exerted. And is it not a mightier work to create than to destroy? A higher energy is required to quicken than to crush; to elevate than to depress; to warm and expand than to chill and contract. Any hand, even the weakest, may take away life; another agency is required to kindle or restore it. A vulgar incendiary may destroy in an hour a magnificent structure, the labor of ages. Has he energy to be compared with the creative intellect in which this work had its origin? A fanatic of ordinary talent may send terror through a crowd: and by the craft, which is so often joined with fanaticism, may fasten on multitudes a debasing creed. Has he power to be compared with him who rescues from darkness one only of these enslaved minds, and quickens it to think justly and nobly in relation to God, duty, and immortality? The energies of a single soul, awakened, by such an influence, to the free and full use of its powers, may surpass, in their progress, the intellectual activity of a whole community, enchained and debased by fanaticism or outward force. Arbitrary power, whether civil or religious, if tried by the only fair test, that is, by its effects, seems to have more affinity with weakness than strength. It enfeebles and narrows what it acts upon. Its efficiency resembles that of darkness and cold in the natural world. True power is vivifying, productive, builds up, and gives strength. We have a noble type and manifestation of it in the sun, which calls forth and diffuses motion, life, energy, and beauty. He who succeeds in chaining men's understandings, and breaking their wills, may indeed number millions as his subjects. But a weak, puny race are the products of his sway, and they can only reach the stature and force of men by throwing off his yoke. He who, by an intellectual and moral energy, awakens kindred energy in others, touches springs of infinite might, gives impulse to faculties to which no bounds can be prescribed, begins an action which will never end. One great and kindling thought from a retired and obscure man may live when thrones are fallen, and the memory of those who filled them obliterated, and, like an undying fire, may illuminate and quicken all future generations.

We have spoken of the inferiority and worthlessness of that dominion over others which has been coveted so greedily in all ages. We should rejoice could we convey some just idea of its moral turpitude. Of all injuries and crimes, the most flagrant is chargeable on him who aims to establish dominion over his brethren. He wars with what is more precious than life. He would rob men of their chief prerogative and glory, — we mean, of self-dominion, of that empire which is given to a rational and moral being over his own soul and his own life. Such a being is framed to find honor and happiness in forming and swaying himself, in adopting as his supreme standard his convictions of truth and duty, in unfolding his powers by free exertion, in acting from a principle within, from his growing conscience. His proper and noblest attributes are self-government, self-reverence, energy of thought, energy in choosing the right and the good, energy in casting off all other dominion. He was created for empire in his own breast, and woe, woe to them who would pluck from him this sceptre! A mind, inspired by God with reason and conscience, and capable, through these endowments, of progress in truth and duty, is a sacred thing; more sacred than temples made with hands, or even than this outward universe. It is of nobler lineage than that of which human aristocracy makes its boast. It bears the lineaments of a divine Parent. It has not only a physical, but moral connection with the Supreme Being. Through its self-determining power, it is accountable for its deeds, and for whatever it becomes. Responsibility — that which above all things makes existence solemn — is laid upon it. Its great end is to conform itself, by its own energy, and by spiritual succors which its own prayers and faithfulness secure, to that perfection of wisdom and goodness of which God is the original and source, which shines upon us from the whole outward world, but of which the intelligent soul is a

truer recipient and a brighter image, even than the sun with all his splendors. From these views we learn that no outrage, no injury, can equal that which is perpetrated by him who would break down and subjugate the human mind; who would rob men of self-reverence; who would bring them to stand more in awe of outward authority than of reason and conscience in their own souls; who would make himself a standard and law for his race, and shape, by force or terror, the free spirits of others after his own judgment and will.

All excellence, whether intellectual or moral, involves, as its essential elements, freedom, energy, and moral independence, so that the invader of these, whether from the throne or the pulpit, invades the most sacred interest of the human race. Intellectual excellence implies and requires these. This does not consist in passive assent even to the highest truths; or in the most extensive stores of knowledge acquired by an implicit faith, and lodged in the inert memory. It lies in force, freshness, and independence of thought; and is most conspicuously manifested by him who, loving truth supremely, seeks it resolutely, follows the light without fear, and modifies the views of others by the patient, strenuous exercise of his own faculties. To a man thus intellectually free, truth is not, what it is to passive multitudes, a foreign substance, dormant, lifeless, fruitless, but penetrating, prolific, full of vitality, and ministering to the health and expansion of the soul. And what we have said of intellectual excellence is still more true of moral. This has its foundation and root in freedom, and cannot exist a moment without it. The very idea of virtue is, that it is a free act, the product or result of the mind's self-determining power. It is not good feeling, infused by nature or caught by sympathy; nor is it good conduct into which we have slidden through imitation, or which has been forced upon us by another's will. We ourselves are its authors in a high and peculiar sense. We indeed depend on God for virtue; for our capacity of moral action is wholly his gift and inspiration, and without his perpetual aid this capacity would avail nothing. But his aid is not compulsion. He respects, he cannot violate that moral freedom which is his richest gift. To the individual, the decision of his own character is left. He has more than kingly power in his own soul. Let him never resign it. Let none dare to interfere with it. Virtue is self-dominion, or, what is the same thing, it is self-subjection to the principle of duty, that highest law in the soul. If these views of intellectual and moral excellence be just, then to invade men's freedom is to aim the deadliest blow at their honor and happiness; and their worst foe is he who fetters their reason, who makes his will their law, who makes them tools, echoes, copies of himself.

Perhaps it may be objected to the representation of virtue as consisting in self-dominion, that the Scriptures speak of it as consisting in obedience to God. But these are perfectly compatible and harmonious views; for genuine obedience to God is the free choice and adoption of a law, the great principles of which our own minds approve, and our own consciences bind on us; which is not an arbitrary injunction, but an emanation and expression of the divine Mind; and which is intended throughout to give energy, dignity, and enlargement to our best powers. He, and he only, obeys God virtuously and acceptably, who reverences right, not power; who has chosen rectitude as his supreme rule; who sees and reveres in God the fulness and brightness of moral excellence, and who sees in obedience the progress and perfection of his own nature. That subjection to the Deity, which, we fear, is too common, in which the mind surrenders itself to mere power and will, is any thing but virtue. We fear that it is disloyalty to that moral principle which is ever to be reverenced as God's vicegerent in the rational soul.

Perhaps some may fear that, in our zeal for the freedom and independence of the individual mind, we unsettle government, and almost imply that it is a wrong. Far from it. We hold government to be an essential means of our intellectual and moral education, and would strengthen it by pointing out its legitimate functions. Government, as far as it is rightful, is the guardian and friend of freedom, so that in exalting the one we enforce the other. The highest aim of all authority is to confer liberty. This is true of domestic rule. The great, we may say the single, object

of parental government, of a wise and virtuous education, is to give the child the fullest use of his own powers; to give him inward force; to train him up to govern himself. The same is true of the authority of Jesus Christ. He came, indeed, to rule mankind; but to rule them, not by arbitrary statutes, not by force and menace, not by mere will, but by setting before them, in precept and life, those everlasting rules of rectitude which heaven obeys, and of which every soul contains the living germs. He came to exert a moral power; to reign by the manifestation of celestial virtues; to awaken the energy of holy purpose in the free mind. He came to publish liberty to the captives; to open the prison door; to break the power of the passions; to break the yoke of a ceremonial religion which had been imposed in the childhood of the race; to exalt us to a manly homage and obedience of our Creator. Of civil government, too, the great end is to secure freedom. Its proper and highest function is, to watch over the liberties of each and all, and to open to a community the widest field for all its powers. Its very chains and prisons have the general freedom for their aim. They are just, only when used to curb oppression and wrong: to disarm him who has a tyrant's heart, if not a tyrant's power, who wars against others' rights, who, by invading property or life, would substitute force for the reign of equal laws. Freedom, we repeat it, is the end of government. To exalt men to self-rule is the end of all other rule; and he who would fasten on them his arbitrary will is their worst foe.

We have aimed to show the guilt of the love of power and dominion, by showing the ruin which it brings on the mind, by enlarging on the preciousness of that inward freedom which it invades and destroys. To us, this view is the most impressive; but the guilt of this passion may also be discerned, and by some more clearly, in its outward influences, — in the desolation, bloodshed, and woe of which it is the perpetual cause. We owe to it almost all the miseries of war. To spread the sway of one or a few, thousands and millions have been turned into machines under the name of soldiers, armed with instruments of destruction, and then sent to reduce others to their own lot by fear and pain, by fire and sword, by butchery and pillage. And is it light guilt to array man against his brother; to make murder the trade of thousands; to drench the earth with human blood; to turn it into a desert; to scatter families like chaff; to make mothers widows, and children orphans; and to do all this for the purpose of spreading a still gloomier desolation, for the purpose of subjugating men's souls, turning them into base parasites, extorting from them a degrading homage, humbling them in their own eyes, and breaking them to servility as the chief duty of life? When the passion for power succeeds, as it generally has done, in establishing despotism, it seems to make even civilization a doubtful good. Whilst the monarch and his court are abandoned to a wasteful luxury, the peasantry, rooted to the soil and doomed to a perpetual round of labors, are raised but little above the brute. There are parts of Europe, Christian Europe, in which the peasant, through whose sweat kings and nobles riot in plenty, seems to enjoy less, on the whole, than the untamed Indian of our forests. Chained to one spot, living on the cheapest vegetables, sometimes unable to buy salt to season his coarse fare, seldom or never tasting animal food, having for his shelter a mud-walled hut floored with earth or stone, and subjected equally with the brute to the rule of a superior, he seems to us to partake less of animal, intellectual, and moral pleasures than the free wanderer of the woods, whose steps no man fetters; whose wigwam no tyrant violates; whose chief toil is hunting, that noblest of sports; who feasts on the deer, that most luxurious of viands: to whom streams, as well as woods, pay tribute; whose adventurous life gives sagacity; and in whom peril nourishes courage and self-command. We are no advocates for savage life. We know that its boasted freedom is a delusion. The single fact that human nature in this wild state makes no progress, is proof enough that it wants true liberty. We mean only to say that man, in the hands of despotism, is sometimes degraded below the savage; that it were better for him to be lawless, than to live under lawless sway.

It is the part of Christians to look on

the passion for power and dominion with strong abhorrence; for it is singularly hostile to the genius of their religion. Jesus Christ always condemned it. One of the striking marks of his moral greatness, and of the originality of his character, was, that he held no fellowship and made no compromise with this universal spirit of his age, but withstood it in every form. He found the Jews intoxicating themselves with dreams of empire. Of the prophecies relating to the Messiah, the most familiar and dear to them were those which announced him as a conqueror, and which were construed by their worldliness into a promise of triumphs to the people from whom he was to spring. Even the chosen disciples of Jesus looked to him for this good. "To sit on his right hand and on his left," or, in other words, to hold the most commanding station in his kingdom, was not only their lurking wish, but their open and importunate request. But there was no passion on which Jesus frowned more severely than on this. He taught that, to be great in his kingdom, men must serve, instead of ruling, their brethren. He placed among them a child as an emblem of the humility of his religion. His most terrible rebukes fell on the lordly, aspiring Pharisee. In his own person, he was mild and condescending, exacting no personal service, living with his disciples as a friend, sharing their wants, sleeping in their fishing-boat, and even washing their feet: and in all this he expressly proposed himself to them as a pattern, knowing well that the last triumph of disinterestedness is to forget our own superiority in our sympathy, solicitude, tenderness, respect, and self-denying zeal for those who are below us. We cannot, indeed, wonder that the lust of power should be encountered by the sternest rebukes and menace of Christianity, because it wages open war with the great end of this religion, which is the elevation of the human mind. No corruption of this religion is more palpable and more enormous than that which turns it into an instrument of dominion, and which makes it teach that man's primary duty is to give himself a passive material into the hands of his minister, priest, or king.

The subject which we now discuss is one in which all nations have an interest, and especially our own; and we should fail of our main purpose were we not to lead our readers to apply it to ourselves. The passion for ruling, though most completely developed in despotisms, is confined to no forms of government. It is the chief peril of free states, the natural enemy of free institutions. It agitates our own country, and still throws an uncertainty over the great experiment we are making here in behalf of liberty. We will try, then, in a few words, to expose its influences and dangers, and to abate that zeal with which a participation in office and power is sought among ourselves.

It is the distinction of republican institutions, that whilst they compel the passion for power to moderate its pretensions, and to satisfy itself with more limited gratifications, they tend to spread it more widely through the community, and to make it a universal principle. The doors of office being open to all, crowds burn to rush in. A thousand hands are stretched out to grasp the reins which are denied to none. Perhaps, in this boasted and boasting land of liberty, not a few, if called to state the chief good of a republic, would place it in this, that every man is eligible to every office, and that the highest places of power and trust are prizes for universal competition. The superiority attributed by many to our institutions is, not that they secure the greatest freedom, but give every man a chance of ruling; not that they reduce the power of government within the narrowest limits which the safety of the state admits, but throw it into as many hands as possible. The despot's great crime is thought to be that he keeps the delight of dominion to himself, that he makes a monopoly of it, whilst our more generous institutions, by breaking it into parcels, and inviting the multitude to scramble for it, spread this joy more widely. The result is, that political ambition infects our country, and generates a feverish restlessness and discontent, which, to the monarchist, may seem more than a balance for our forms of liberty. The spirit of intrigue, which in absolute governments is confined to courts, walks abroad through the land; and, as individuals can accomplish no political purposes single-handed, they band themselves into parties, ostensibly framed for pub-

lic ends, but aiming only at the acquisition of power. The nominal sovereign, that is, the people, like all other sovereigns, is courted and flattered, and told that it can do no wrong. Its pride is pampered, its passions inflamed, its prejudices made inveterate. Such are the processes by which other republics have been subverted, and he must be blind who cannot trace them among ourselves. We mean not to exaggerate our dangers. We rejoice to know that the improvements of society oppose many checks to the love of power. But every wise man who sees its workings must dread it as our chief foe.

This passion derives strength and vehemence in our country from the common idea that political power is the highest prize which society has to offer. We know not a more general delusion, nor is it the least dangerous. Instilled as it is in our youth, it gives infinite excitement to political ambition. It turns the active talent of the country to public station as the supreme good, and makes it restless, intriguing, and unprincipled. It calls out hosts of selfish competitors for comparatively few places, and encourages a bold, unblushing pursuit of personal elevation, which a just moral sense and self-respect in the community would frown upon and cover with shame. This prejudice has come down from past ages, and is one of their worst bequests. To govern others has always been thought the highest function on earth. We have a remarkable proof of the strength and pernicious influence of this persuasion in the manner in which history has been written. Who fill the page of history? Political and military leaders, who have lived for one end,—to subdue and govern their fellow-beings. These occupy the foreground, and the people, the human race, dwindle into insignificance, and are almost lost behind their masters. The proper and noblest object of history is to record the vicissitudes of society, its spirit in different ages, the causes which have determined its progress and decline, and especially the manifestations and growth of its highest attributes and interests of intelligence, of the religious principle, of moral sentiment, of the elegant and useful arts, of the triumphs of man over nature and himself. Instead of this, we have records of men in power, often weak, oftener wicked, who did little or nothing for the advancement of their age, who were in no sense its representatives, whom the accident of birth perhaps raised to influence. We have the quarrels of courtiers, the intrigues of cabinets, sieges and battles, royal births and deaths, and the secrets of a palace, that sink of lewdness and corruption. These are the staples of history. The inventions of printing, of gunpowder, and the mariner's compass, were too mean affairs for history to trace. She was bowing before kings and warriors. She had volumes for the plots and quarrels of Leicester and Essex in the reign of Elizabeth, but not a page for Shakspeare; and if Bacon had not filled an office, she would hardly have recorded his name, in her anxiety to preserve the deeds and sayings of that Solomon of his age, James the First.

We have spoken of the supreme importance which is attached to rulers and government, as a prejudice; and we think that something may be done towards abating the passion for power by placing this thought in a clearer light. It seems to us not very difficult to show, that to govern men is not as high a sphere of action as has been commonly supposed, and that those who have obtained this dignity have usurped a place beyond their due in history and men's minds. We apprehend, indeed, that we are not alone in this opinion; that a change of sentiment on this subject has commenced and must go on; that men are learning that there are higher sources of happiness and more important agents in human affairs than political rule. It is one mark of the progress of society that it brings down the public man and raises the private one. It throws power into the hands of untitled individuals, and spreads it through all orders of the community. It multiplies and distributes freely means of extensive influence, and opens new channels by which the gifted mind, in whatever rank or condition, may communicate itself far and wide. Through the diffusion of education and printing, a private man may now speak to multitudes, incomparably more numerous than ancient or modern eloquence ever electrified in the popular assembly or the hall of legislation. By these instruments, truth is asserting her sovereignty over nations, without the help of

rank, office, or sword; and her faithful ministers will become more and more the lawgivers of the world.

We mean not to deny, we steadily affirm, that government is a great good, and essential to human happiness; but it does its good chiefly by a negative influence, by repressing injustice and crime, by securing property from invasion, and thus removing obstructions to the free exercise of human powers. It confers little positive benefit. Its office is not to confer happiness, but to give men opportunity to work out happiness for themselves. Government resembles the wall which surrounds our lands, — a needful protection, but rearing no harvests, ripening no fruits. It is the individual who must choose whether the enclosure shall be a paradise or a waste. How little positive good can government confer! It does not till our fields, build our houses, weave the ties which bind us to our families, give disinterestedness to the heart, or energy to the intellect and will. All our great interests are left to ourselves; and governments, when they have interfered with them, have obstructed much more than advanced them. For example, they have taken religion into their keeping only to disfigure it. So education, in their hands, has generally become a propagator of servile maxims, and an upholder of antiquated errors. In like manner they have paralyzed trade by their nursing care, and multiplied poverty by expedients for its relief. Government has almost always been a barrier against which intellect has had to struggle; and society has made its chief progress by the minds of private individuals who have outstripped their rulers, and gradually shamed them into truth and wisdom.

Virtue and intelligence are the great interests of a community, including all others, and worth all others; and the noblest agency is that by which they are advanced. Now, we apprehend that political power is not the most effectual instrument for their promotion, and accordingly we doubt whether government is the only or highest sphere for superior minds. Virtue, from its very nature, cannot be a product of what may be called the direct operation of government; that is, of legislation. Laws may repress crime. Their office is to erect prisons for violence and fraud. But moral and religious worth, dignity of character, loftiness of sentiment, all that makes man a blessing to himself and society, lies beyond their province. Virtue is of the soul, where laws cannot penetrate. Excellence is something too refined, spiritual, celestial, to be produced by the coarse machinery of government. Human legislation addresses itself to self-love, and works by outward force. Its chief instrument is punishment. It cannot touch the springs of virtuous feelings, of great and good deeds. Accordingly, rulers, with all their imagined omnipotence, do not dream of enjoining by statute, philanthropy, gratitude, devout sentiment, magnanimity, and purity of thought. Virtue is too high a concern for government. It is an inspiration of God, not a creature of law; and the agents whom God chiefly honors in its promotion are those who, through experience as well as meditation, have risen to generous conceptions of it, and who show it forth, not in empty eulogies, but in the language of deep conviction and in lives of purity.

Government, then, does little to advance the chief interest of human nature by its direct agency; and what shall we say of its indirect? Here we wish not to offend; but we must be allowed to use that plainness of speech which becomes Christians and freemen. We do fear, then, that the indirect influence of government is on the whole adverse to virtue; and, in saying this, we do not speak of other countries, or of different political institutions from our own. We do not mean to say, what all around us would echo, that monarchy corrupts a state, that the air of a court reeks with infection, and taints the higher classes with a licentiousness which descends to their inferiors. We speak of government at home; and we ask wise men to say whether it ministers most to vice or virtue. We fear that here, as elsewhere, political power is of corrupting tendency; and that, generally speaking, public men are not the most effectual teachers of truth, disinterestedness, and incorruptible integrity to the people. An error prevails in relation to political concerns, which necessarily makes civil institutions de-

moralizing. It is deeply rooted, — the growth of ages. We refer to the belief that public men are absolved in a measure from the everlasting and immutable obligations of morality; that political power is a prize which justifies arts and compliances that would be scorned in private life; that management, intrigue, hollow pretensions, and appeals to base passions deserve slight rebuke when employed to compass political ends. Accordingly, the laws of truth, justice, and philanthropy have seldom been applied to public as to private concerns. Even those individuals who have come to frown indignantly on the machinations, the office-seeking, and the sacrifices to popularity, which disgrace our internal condition, are disposed to acquiesce in a crooked or ungenerous policy towards foreign nations, by which great advantages may accrue to their own country. Now the great truth, on which the cause of virtue rests, is, that rectitude is an eternal, unalterable, and universal law, binding at once heaven and earth, the perfection of God's character, and the harmony and happiness of the rational creation; and in proportion as political institutions unsettle this great conviction, — in proportion as they teach that truth, justice, and philanthropy are local, partial obligations, claiming homage from the weak, but shrinking before the powerful, — in proportion as they thus insult the awful and inviolable majesty of the eternal law, — in the same proportion they undermine the very foundation of a people's virtue.

In regard to the other great interest of the community, its intelligence, government may do much good by a direct influence; that is, by instituting schools or appropriating revenue for the instruction of the poorer classes. Whether it would do wisely in assuming to itself, or in taking from individuals the provision and care of higher literary institutions, is a question not easily determined. But no one will doubt that it is a noble function to assist and develop the intellect in those classes of the community whose hard condition exposes them to a merely animal existence. Still, the agency of government in regard to knowledge is necessarily superficial and narrow. The great sources of intellectual power and progress to a people are its strong and original thinkers, be they found where they may. Government cannot, and does not, extend the bounds of knowledge; cannot make experiments in the laboratory, explore the laws of animal or vegetable nature, or establish the principles of criticism, morals, and religion. The energy which is to carry forward the intellect of a people belongs chiefly to private individuals, who devote themselves to lonely thought, who worship truth, who originate the views demanded by their age, who help us to throw off the yoke of established prejudices, who improve old modes of education or invent better. It is true that great men at the head of affairs may, and often do, contribute much to the growth of a nation's mind. But it too often happens that their station obstructs rather than aids their usefulness. Their connection with a party, and the habit of viewing subjects in reference to personal aggrandizement, too often obscure the noblest intellects, and convert into patrons of narrow views and temporary interests those who, in other conditions, would have been the lights of their age, and the propagators of everlasting truth. From these views of the limited influence of government on the most precious interests of society, we learn that political power is not the noblest power, and that, in the progress of intelligence, it will cease to be coveted as the chief and most honorable distinction on earth.

If we pass now to the consideration of that interest over which government is expected chiefly to watch, and on which it is most competent to act with power, we shall not arrive at a result very different from what we have just expressed. We refer to property, or wealth. That the influence of political institutions on this great concern is important, inestimable, we mean not to deny. But, as we have already suggested, it is chiefly negative. Government enriches a people by removing obstructions to their powers, by defending them from wrong, and thus giving them opportunity to enrich themselves. Government is not the spring of the wealth of nations, but their own sagacity, industry, enterprise, and force of character. To leave a people to themselves is generally the best service their rulers can render. Time was

when sovereigns fixed prices and wages, regulated industry and expense, and imagined that a nation would starve and perish if it were not guided and guarded like an infant. But we have learned that men are their own best guardians, that property is safest under its owner's care, and that, generally speaking, even great enterprises can better be accomplished by the voluntary association of individuals than by the state. Indeed, we are met at every stage of this discussion by the truth, that political power is a weak engine compared with *individual* intelligence, virtue and effort; and we are the more anxious to enforce this truth, because, through an extravagant estimate of government, men are apt to expect from it what they must do for themselves, and to throw upon it the blame which belongs to their own feebleness and improvidence. The great hope of society is individual character. Civilization and political institutions are themselves sources of not a few evils, which nothing but the intellectual and moral energy of the private citizen can avert or relieve. Such, for example, are the monstrous inequalities of property, the sad contrasts of condition, which disfigure a large city; which laws create and cannot remove; which can only be mitigated and diminished by a principle of moral restraint in the poorer classes, and by a wise beneficence in the rich. The great lesson for men to learn is, that their happiness is in their own hands; that it is to be wrought out by their own faithfulness to God and conscience; that no outward institutions can supply the place of inward principle, of moral energy, whilst this can go far to supply the place of almost every outward aid.

Our remarks will show that our estimate of political institutions is more moderate than the prevalent one, and that we regard the power, for which ambition has woven so many plots and shed so much blood, as destined to occupy a more and more narrow space among the means of usefulness and distinction. There is, however, one branch of government which we hold in high veneration, which we account an unspeakable blessing, and which, for the world, we would not say a word to disparage; and we are the more disposed to speak of it because its relative importance seems to us little understood. We refer to the judiciary, — a department worth all others in the state. Whilst politicians expend their zeal on transient interests, which perhaps derive their chief importance from their connection with a party, it is the province of the judge to apply those solemn and universal laws of rectitude on which the security, industry, and prosperity of the individual and the state essentially depend. From his tribunal, as from a sacred oracle, go forth the responses of justice. To us there is nothing in the whole fabric of civil institutions so interesting and imposing as this impartial and authoritative exposition of the principles of moral legislation. The administration of justice in this country, where the judge, without a guard, without a soldier, without pomp, decides upon the dearest interests of the citizen, trusting chiefly to the moral sentiment of the community for the execution of his decrees, is the most beautiful and encouraging aspect under which our government can be viewed. We repeat it, there is nothing in public affairs so venerable as the voice of Justice, speaking through her delegated ministers, reaching and subduing the high as well as the low, setting a defence around the splendid mansion of wealth and the lowly hut of poverty, repressing wrong, vindicating innocence, humbling the oppressor, and publishing the rights of human nature to every human being. We confess that we often turn with pain and humiliation from the hall of Congress, where we see the legislator forgetting the majesty of his function, forgetting his relation to a vast and growing community, and sacrificing to his party or to himself the public weal; and it comforts us to turn to the court of justice, where the dispenser of the laws, shutting his ear against all solicitations of friendship or interest, dissolving for a time every private tie, forgetting public opinion, and withstanding public feeling, asks only what is RIGHT. To our courts, the resorts and refuge of weakness and innocence, we look with hope and joy. We boast, with a virtuous pride, that no breath of corruption has as yet tainted their pure air. To this department of government we cannot ascribe too much importance. Over this we cannot watch too jealously. Every encroachment on

its independence we should resent, and repel, as the chief wrong our country can sustain. Woe, woe to the impious hand which would shake this most sacred and precious column of the social edifice!

In the remarks which we have now submitted to our readers, we have treated of great topics, if not worthily, yet, we trust, with a pure purpose. We have aimed to expose the passion for dominion, the desire of ruling mankind. We have labored to show the superiority of moral power and influence to that sway which has for ages been seized with eager and bloody hands. We have labored to hold up to unmeasured reprobation him who would establish an empire of brute force over rational beings. We have labored to hold forth, as the enemy of his race, the man who, in any way, would fetter the human mind, and subject other wills to his own. In a word, we have desired to awaken others and ourselves to a just self-reverence, to the free use and expansion of our highest powers, and especially to that moral force, that energy of holy, virtuous purpose, without which we are slaves amidst the freest institutions. Better gifts than these we cannot supplicate from God; nor can we consecrate our lives to nobler acquisitions.

REMARKS ON THE CHARACTER AND WRITINGS OF FÉNELON.

["Selections from the Writings of Fénelon; with an Appendix, containing a Memoir of his Life." By a Lady. Boston: Hilliard, Gray, Little, and Wilkins. 1829.]

WE perform a very gratifying duty in introducing and recommending to our readers the book which stands at the head of this article. An attractive and quickening work on practical religion we regard as a valuable accession to our literature. Indeed any thing written with power on Christian morals and theology is most welcome. It is too true, and a sad truth, that religious books are pre-eminently dull. If we wished to impoverish a man's intellect, we could devise few means more effectual than to confine him to what is called a course of theological reading. The very subject to which, above all others, the writer should bring his whole strength of thought and feeling, which allies itself to our noblest faculties, to which reason, imagination, taste, and genius should consecrate their noblest efforts, is of all subjects treated most weakly, tamely, and with least attraction. Of course there are splendid exceptions, but we speak of the immense majority of theological books. It is wonderful how men can think and write upon religion to so little effect. That a theme so vast, so sublime as Christianity, embracing God and man, earth and heaven, time and eternity, connected intimately with all human history, deriving lights from all human experience, admitting application to the whole of human life, and proposing as its great end the everlasting progress of the soul, — that such a subject should be treated so monotonously as to be proverbially dull, that its professed explorers should be able to plant their footsteps so exactly in the track of their predecessors, that the boundlessness of the field should so seldom tempt an adventurous spirit from the beaten way, is wonderful, and might seem a miracle to a man unacquainted with the vassalage which has broken down the mind in the department of religion. It is true that those who write on this topic are accustomed to call it sublime; but they make its sublimity cold and barren, like that of mountain-tops wrapped in everlasting snows. We write this, not in severity, but in sorrow of heart; for we despair of any great progress of the human character or of society, until the energies of the mind shall be bent, as they seldom have been, on those most important subjects and interests of the human mind, morals and religion.

As a striking proof of the poverty of religious literature, and of the general

barrenness of the intellect when employed in this field, we may refer to the small amount of original and productive thought in the English Church since the days of Barrow and Taylor. Could our voice be heard in England, we would ask impartial and gifted men, more familiar with their country's history than ourselves, to solve the problem, how a Protestant Establishment, so munificently endowed with the means of improvement, should have done so little in so long a period for Christianity, should have produced so few books to interest the higher order of minds. Let not these remarks be misunderstood, as if we were wanting in respect and gratitude to a church which, with all its defects, has been the bulwark of Protestantism, which has been illustrated by the piety and virtues of such men as Bishops Wilson, Berkeley, and Heber, and in which have sprung up so many institutions consecrated to humanity and to the diffusion of the Christian faith. We mean not to deny it the honor of having fostered talent in various forms and directions. Among the English clergy we find profound and elegant scholars; we find the names of those giants in ancient learning, Bentley and Parr, and a crowd of proficients in polite literature, of whom Hurd and Jortin are honorable representatives. We speak only of the deficiency of their contributions to moral and religious science. With the exception of Clarke and Butler, we could not easily name any of the Establishment, since the time above specified, who have decidedly carried forward the human intellect. The latter of these is indeed a great name, notwithstanding the alleged obscurities of his style, and worthy to be enrolled among the master-spirits of the human race. In regard to commentators, whose function, as commonly executed, holds a second rank in theology, the English Church, since the time of Hammond, has produced none of much value, except Bishop Pearce. We presume that she will not lay claim to the heretical Locke, who carried into the interpretation of the Scriptures the same force of thought as into the philosophy of the mind; or to Whitby, whose strenuous Arminianism, as Orthodoxy would reproachingly say, tapered off into that most suspicious form of Christianity, Unitarianism. We have not yet named two of the most illustrious intellectual chiefs of the church, Warburton and Horsley. Their great powers we most readily own; but Warburton is generally acknowledged to have wasted his mind, and has left no impression of himself on later times; whilst Horsley, though he has given us striking, if not judicious, sermons, in a style of unusual vigor, cannot be said to have communicated in any respect a new impulse to thought, and in Biblical criticism, to which he was zealously devoted, he is one of the last authorities on which a sound mind would lean. To Bishops Lowth and Sherlock we cheerfully acknowledge our obligations; and we question whether the latter has even yet received his due praise. We have not forgotten, though we have not named, Tillotson, Secker, and Porteus. They are all worthy of remembrance, especially Secker, the clear and wise expounder of Christian ethics; but they added little or nothing to the stock which they received. It may be thought that we have not been just to the Establishment in passing over Paley. He has our sincere admiration. On one great topic, which indeed has been worthily treated by many of the clergy, — we mean that of Christian evidence, — he has shed new light. By felicity of arrangement and illustration, he has given an air of novelty to old arguments, whilst he has strengthened his cause by important original proofs. His "Horæ Paulinæ" is one of the few books destined to live. Paley saw what he did see through an atmosphere of light. He seized on the strong points of his subject with an intuitive sagacity, and has given his clear, bright thoughts in a style which has made them the property of his readers almost as perfectly as they were his own. In what, then, did he fail? We have said that he was characterized by the distinctness of his vision. He was not, we think, equally remarkable for its extent. He was popular, rather than philosophical. He was deficient in that intellectual thirst which is a chief element of the philosophical spirit. He had no irrepressible desire to sound the depths of his own nature, or to ascend to wide and all-reconciling views of the works and ways of God. Moral philosophy he carried backward; nor had he higher claims in religious than in

ethical science. His sermons are worthy of all praise, not indeed for their power over the heart, but for their plain and strong expositions of duty, and their awakening appeals to the conscience.

We leave this topic with observing that, in the noblest branch of history, we mean Christian or ecclesiastical history, the English Church has not furnished a single distinguished name. We have one mournful and decisive proof of this deficiency. The vast majority of English readers learn what they know of the progress and fortunes of their religion from its foe and insulter, — from Gibbon, the apostle of unbelief. The history of Christianity, the most important and sublime theme in this province of literature, has as yet found no writer to do it justice, none to be compared with the great names in civil history. The mightiest revolution in the records of our race remains to be worthily told. We doubt, indeed, whether the true character, style, and extent of the work which is needed are as yet comprehended. That the same rigorous impartiality, the same spirit of philosophical research into causes and effects, is to be carried into religious as into civil history, is imperfectly understood. The records of particular sects and churches, instead of exhausting this great subject, are perhaps subordinate parts. We want to know the great conflict between Christianity and Heathenism, and the action and reaction of these systems on one another. We want to know the influences of Christianity on society, politics, manners, philosophy, and literature, and the modifications which it has received in return from all these mighty agents. We know not where history can find a nobler field for its graphic powers than in the chivalrous ages of Christianity; nor can it find, in its whole range over the past, a subject so fitted as the spread and fortunes of this religion to its great end, which is, to throw light on the nature and powers of man, and to carry us deep into the human soul. When is this greatest and most lamented chasm in our literature to be supplied?

We have cited the English Church as a proof of the unproductiveness of the intellect in religion, and of the barrenness of theological literature. Had we time, we might find corroborations in other sects. In truth, a paralyzing influence has been working mightily for ages in the Christian world, and we ought not to wonder at its results. Free action has been denied to the mind, and freedom is an essential condition of growth and power. A fettered limb moves slowly and operates feebly. The spirit pines away in a prison; and yet to rear prison-walls round the mind has been the chief toil of ages. The mischiefs of this intellectual bondage are as yet, we conceive, but imperfectly known, and need to be set forth with a new eloquence. If, as we believe, progress be the supreme law of the soul and the very aim of its creation, then no wrong can be inflicted on it so grievous as to bind it down everlastingly to a fixed, unvarying creed, especially if this creed was framed in an age of darkness, crime, and political and religious strife. This tyranny is pre-eminently treason against human nature. If growth be the supreme law and purpose of the mind, then the very truth, which was suited to one age, may, if made the limit of future ones, become a positive evil; just as the garment, in which childhood sports with ease and joy, would irritate and deform the enlarging frame. God, having framed the soul for expansion, has placed it in the midst of an unlimited universe to receive fresh impulses and impressions without end; and man, "dressed in a little brief authority," would sever it from this sublime connection, and would shape it after his own ignorance or narrow views. The effects are as necessary as they are mournful. The mind, in proportion as it is cut off from free communication with nature, with revelation, with God, with itself, loses its life, just as the body droops when debarred from the fresh air and the cheering light of heaven. Its vision is contracted, its energies blighted, its movement constrained. It finds health only in action. It is perfect only in as far as it is self-formed. Let us not be misapprehended. We mean not to deny that the mind needs the aid of human instruction from the cradle to the grave; but this it needs as a material to act upon, and not as a lesson to be mechanically learned. The great aim of instruction should be to give the mind the consciousness and free use of its own powers. The less of instruction

the better, if it only propose to engender a slavish dependence and an inert faith. The soul often owes its best acquisitions to itself. They come to it from glimpses of its own nature which it cannot trace to human teaching, from the whispers of a divine voice, from stirrings and aspirations of its own unfolding and unbounded energies, from the indistinct dawning of new truths, or from the sudden brightening of old truths, which, if left to act freely, work a mighty revolution within. Against these inspirations, if so they may be called, which belong to the individual, and which are perpetually bursting the limits of received ideas, the spirit of religious tyranny wages its chief and most unrelenting war. It dreads nothing so much as a mind in which these diviner motions manifest themselves in power. That it should have so succeeded in checking and stifling them, is one of the very mournful reflections forced on us by human history. We have here one great cause of the sterility of theological literature. Religion, by being imposed as a yoke, has subdued the faculties which it was meant to quicken; and, what is most worthy of remark, like all other yokes, it has often excited a mad resistance, which has sought compensation for past restraints in licentiousness, and disgraced the holy name of freedom by attaching it to impiety and shameless excess.

A great subject has led us far from our author. We return to him with pleasure. We welcome, as we have said, a book from Fénelon; and we do so because, if not a profound, he was an original thinker, and because, though a Catholic, he was essentially free. He wrote from his own mind, and seldom has a purer mind tabernacled in flesh. He professed to believe in an infallible church; but he listened habitually to the voice of God within him, and speaks of this in language so strong as to have given the Quakers some plea for ranking him among themselves. So little did he confine himself to established notions, that he drew upon himself the censures of his church, and, like some other Christians whom we could name, has even been charged with a refined Deism. His works have the great charm of coming fresh from the soul. He wrote from experience, and hence, though he often speaks a language which must seem almost a foreign one to men of the world, yet he always speaks in a tone of reality. That he has excesses we mean not to deny; but they are of a kind which we regard with more than indulgence, almost with admiration. Common fanaticism we cannot away with; for it is essentially vulgar, the working of animal passions, sometimes of sexual love, and oftener of earthly ambition. But when a pure mind errs, by aspiring after a disinterestedness and purity not granted to our present infant state, we almost reverence its errors: and, still more, we recognize in them an essential truth. They only anticipate and claim too speedily the good for which man was made. They are the misapprehensions of the inspired prophet, who hopes to see in his own day what he was appointed to promise to remoter ages.

Fénelon saw far into the human heart, and especially into the lurkings of self-love. He looked with a piercing eye through the disguises of sin. But he knew sin, not, as most men do, by bitter experience of its power, so much as by his knowledge and experience of virtue. Deformity was revealed to him by his refined perceptions and intense love of moral beauty. The light, which he carried with him into the dark corners of the human heart, and by which he laid open its most hidden guilt, was that of celestial goodness. Hence, though the severest of censors, he is the most pitying. Not a tone of asperity escapes him. He looks on human error with an angel's tenderness, with tears which an angel might shed, and thus reconciles and binds us to our race, at the very moment of revealing its corruptions.

That Fénelon's views of human nature were dark, too dark, we learn from almost every page of his writings; and at this we cannot wonder. He was early thrown into the very court from which Rochefoucauld drew his celebrated Maxims, perhaps the spot above all others on the face of the earth distinguished and disgraced by selfishness, hypocrisy, and intrigue. When we think of Fénelon in the palace of Louis the Fourteenth, it reminds us of a seraph sent on a divine commission into the abodes of the lost; and when we recollect that

in that atmosphere he composed his "Telemachus," we doubt whether the records of the world furnish stronger evidence of the power of a divine virtue to turn temptation into glory and strength, and to make even crowned and prosperous vice a means of triumph and exaltation. Another cause of Fénelon's unjust views of human life may be found, we think, in his profession. All professions tend to narrow and obscure the intellect, and none more than that of a priest. We know not, indeed, a nobler or more useful function than that of the Christian minister; but superstitious notions and an imagined sanctity have severed him more or less from his race, especially in a church which dooms him to celibacy, and from this unnatural, insulated position it is impossible for him to judge justly of his kind. We think, too, that Fénelon was led astray by a very common error of exalted minds. He applied too rigorous and unvarying a standard to the multitude. He leaned to the error of expecting the strength of manhood in the child, the harvest in seed-time. On this subject, above all others, we feel that we should speak cautiously. We know that there is a lenity towards human deficiencies full of danger; but there is, too, a severity far more common, and perhaps more ruinous. Human nature, as ordinarily exhibited, merits rebuke; but whoever considers the sore trials, the thick darkness, the impetuous will, the strong passions, under which man commences his moral probation, will temper rebuke with pity and hope. There is a wisdom, perhaps the rarest and sublimest attainment of the intellect, which is at once liberal and severe, indulgent and unbending; which makes merciful and equitable allowance for the innocent infirmities, the necessary errors, the obstructions and temptations of human beings, and at the same time asserts the majesty of virtue, strengthens the sense of accountableness, binds on us self-denial, and points upward, with a never-ceasing importunity, to moral perfection, as the great aim and only happiness of the human soul. We will not say that Fénelon was a stranger to this broad, comprehensive wisdom, but we cannot name it as his chief distinction.

We have said that we welcome the book under consideration because it came from so pure and gifted a mind. We add, that we do not welcome it the less for coming from a Catholic. Perhaps we prize it the more; for we wish that Protestantism may grow wiser and more tolerant, and we know not a better teacher of these lessons than the character of Fénelon. Such a man is enough to place within the pale of our charity the whole body to which he belonged. His virtue is broad enough to shield his whole church from that unmeasured, undistinguishing reprobation with which Protestant zeal has too often assailed it. Whoever remembers that the Catholic communion numbers in its ranks more than one hundred millions of souls, probably more than all other Christian churches together, must shudder at the sentence of proscription which has sometimes been passed on this immense portion of human beings. It is time that greater justice were done to this ancient and wide-spread community. The Catholic Church has produced some of the greatest and best men that ever lived, and this is proof enough of its possessing all the means of salvation. Who that hears the tone of contempt in which it is sometimes named, would suspect that Charlemagne, Alfred, Raphael, Michael Angelo, Tasso, Bossuet, Pascal, Des Cartes, were Catholics? Some of the greatest names in arts and arms, on the throne and in the pulpit, were worn by Catholics. To come down to our own times, has not the metropolis of New England witnessed a sublime example of Christian virtue in a Catholic bishop? Who among our religious teachers would solicit a comparison between himself and the devoted Cheverus? This good man, whose virtues and talents have now raised him to high dignities in church and state, who now wears in his own country the joint honors of an archbishop and a peer lived in the midst of us, devoting his days and nights, and his whole heart, to the service of a poor and uneducated congregation. We saw him declining in a great degree the society of the cultivated and refined, that he might be the friend of the ignorant and friendless; leaving the circles of polished life, which he would have graced, for the meanest hovels; bearing, with a father's sympathy, the burdens and sorrows of his large spiritual family; charging himself alike with their tem-

poral and spiritual concerns; and never discovering, by the faintest indication, that he felt his fine mind degraded by his seemingly humble office. This good man, bent on his errands of mercy, was seen in our streets under the most burning sun of summer, and the fiercest storms of winter, as if armed against the elements by the power of charity. He has left us, but not to be forgotten. He enjoys among us what to such a man must be dearer than fame. His name is cherished where the great of this world are unknown. It is pronounced with blessings, with grateful tears, with sighs for his return, in many an abode of sorrow and want; and how can we shut our hearts against this proof of the power of the Catholic religion to form good and great men?

These remarks, we trust, will not be perverted. None will suspect us of Catholic partialities. Of all Protestants, we have fewest sympathies with the Romish Church. We go farther than our brethren in rejecting her mysteries, those monuments of human weakness; and as to her claims to infallibility, we repel them with an indignation not to be understood by sects which, calling themselves Protestant, renounce in words, but assert in practice, a Popish immunity from error, a Popish control over the faith of their brethren. To us, the spiritual tyranny of Popery is as detestable as oriental despotism. When we look back on the history of Papal Rome, we see her, in the days of her power, stained with the blood of martyrs, gorged with rapine, drunk with luxury and crime. But what then? Is it righteous to involve a whole church in guilt which, after all, belongs to a powerful few? Is it righteous to forget that Protestantism, too, has blood on her robes? Is it righteous to forget that time, the greatest of reformers, has exerted his silent, purifying power on the Catholic as well as on ourselves? Shall we refuse to see, and to own with joy, that Christianity, even under Papal corruptions, puts forth a divine power? that men cannot wholly spoil it of its celestial efficacy? that, even under its most disastrous eclipse, it still sheds beams to guide the soul to heaven? that there exists in human nature, when loyal to conscience, a power to neutralize error, and to select and incorporate with itself what is pure and ennobling in the most incongruous system? Shall we shut our eyes on the fact that among the clergy of the Romish Church have risen up illustrious imitators of that magnanimous Apostle before whom Felix trembled; men who, in the presence of nobles and kings, have bowed to God alone, have challenged for his law uncompromising homage, and rebuked, in virtue's own undaunted tone, triumphant guilt? Shall we shut our eyes on the fact that from the bosom of this corrupt church have gone forth missionaries to the east and the west, whose toils and martyrdom will not be dimmed by comparison with what is most splendid in Protestant self-sacrifice? We repeat it, not boastingly, but from deep conviction, that we are exceeded by no sect in earnestness of desire for the subversion of the usurped power of the Catholic Church, of its false doctrines, and of its childish ceremonies so often substituted for inward virtue. We believe that these have wrought, and still work, great evil. Still we see, and delight to see, among those who adhere to them, the best attributes of men and Christians. Still we are accustomed to refresh our piety by books which Catholics have written. Still we find one of our highest gratifications in those works of art in which Catholic genius has embodied its sublime and touching conceptions of the form and countenance of Jesus, has made us awed witnesses of his miracles and cross, companions of his apostles, and admirers, with a tender reverence, of the meek, celestial beauty of his sainted mother. With these impressions, and this experience, we cannot but lift up our voices against Protestant as well as Papal intolerance. We would purify Protestantism from the worst stain and crime of Rome, — her cruel bigotry, her nefarious spirit of exclusion.

It would give us pleasure to enlarge on the character of Fénelon, had we not proposed to ourselves another and still more important object in this review. But, in truth, this grateful duty has been so faithfully performed in the Memoir added to the Selections, that our readers will have no cause to complain of our declining it. This sketch of Fénelon overflows with fervent yet discriminating admiration, and gives utterance to affectionate reverence with a calmness which wins our confidence. It is not easy to

make extracts where the whole is so interesting. But as some of our readers may know Fénelon only by name, and as we wish all to know and love him, we insert a few passages: —

"Fénelon, by mixing with all ranks and conditions, by associating with the unfortunate and the sorrowful, by assisting the weak, and by that union of mildness, of energy, and of benevolence, which adapts itself to every character, and to every situation, acquired the knowledge of the moral and physical ills which afflict human nature. It was by this habitual and immediate communication with all classes of society that he obtained the melancholy conviction of the miseries which distress the greater part of mankind; and to the profound impression of this truth, through his whole life, we must ascribe that tender commiseration for the unfortunate which he manifests in all his writings, and which he displayed still more powerfully in all his actions." —*pp.* 263, 264.

"In the course of his walks, he would often join the peasants, sit down with them on the grass, talk with them, and console them. He visited them in their cottages, seated himself at table with them, and partook of their humble meals. By such kindness and familiarity, he won their affections, and gained access to their minds. As they loved him as a father and friend, they delighted to listen to his instructions, and to submit to his guidance. Long after his death the old people who had the happiness of seeing him on these occasions, spoke of him with the most tender reverence. 'There,' they would say, 'is the chair on which our good archbishop used to sit in the midst of us; we shall see him no more,' and then their tears would flow.

"The diocese of Cambrai was often the theatre of war, and experienced the cruel ravages of retreating and conquering armies. But an extraordinary respect was paid to Fénelon by the invaders of France. The English, the Germans, and the Dutch rivalled the inhabitants of Cambrai in their veneration for the archbishop. All distinctions of religion and sect, all feelings of hatred and jealousy that divided the nations, seemed to disappear in the presence of Fénelon. Military escorts were offered him for his personal security, but these he declined, and traversed the countries desolated by war to visit his flock, trusting in the protection of God. In these visits, his way was marked by alms and benefactions. While he was among them, the people seemed to enjoy peace in the midst of war.

"He brought together into his palace the wretched inhabitants of the country, whom the war had driven from their homes, and took care of them, and fed them at his own table. Seeing one day that one of these peasants ate nothing, he asked him the reason of his abstinence. 'Alas! my lord,' said the poor man, 'in making my escape from my cottage, I had not time to bring off my cow, which was the support of my family. The enemy will drive her away, and I shall never find another so good.' Fénelon, availing himself of his privilege of safe conduct, immediately set out, accompanied by a single servant, and drove the cow back himself to the peasant.

"'This,' said Cardinal Maury, 'is perhaps the finest act of Fénelon's life.' He adds, 'Alas! for the man who reads it without being affected.' Another anecdote, showing his tenderness to the poor, is thus related of him. A literary man, whose library was destroyed by fire, has been deservedly admired for saying, 'I should have profited but little by my books, if they had not taught me how to bear the loss of them.' The remark of Fénelon, who lost his in a similar way, is still more simple and touching. 'I would much rather they were burned than the cottage of a poor peasant.'

"The virtues of Fénelon give his history the air of romance; but his name will never die. Transports of joy were heard at Cambrai when his ashes were discovered, which it was thought had been scattered by the tempest of the Revolution; and to this moment the Flemings call him 'The Good Archbishop.'" —*pp.* 274, 275.

The Memoir closes in this touching strain: —

"When we speak of the death of Fénelon, we realize the truth of what we all acknowledge, though few feel, that the good man never dies; that, to use the words of one of our eloquent divines, 'death was but a circumstance in his being.' We may say, as we read his writings, that we are conscious of his immortality; he is with us; his spirit is around us; it enters into and takes possession of our souls. He is at this time, as he was when living in his diocese, the familiar friend of the poor and the sorrowful, the bold reprover of vice, and the gentle guide of the wanderer; he still says to all, in the words of his divine Master, 'Come to me, all ye that are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.'

"In the houses of the unlearned, where the names of Louis the Fourteenth and Bossuet have never entered, except as connected with Fénelon's, where not a word of his native tongue would be understood, his spirit has entered as a minister of love and wisdom, and a well-worn translation of his

'Reflections,' with a short memoir of his life, is laid upon the precious word of God. What has thus immortalized Fénelon? For what is he thus cherished in our hearts? Is it his learning? his celebrity? his eloquence? No. It is the spirit of Christian love, the spirit of the Saviour of mankind, that is poured forth from all his writings; of that love that conquers self, that binds us to our neighbor, that raises us to God. This is Fénelon's power, it is this that touches our souls. We feel that he has entered into the full meaning of that sublime passage in St. John, and made it the motto of his life: 'Beloved, let us love one another; for love is of God; and every one that loveth, is born of God, and knoweth God. He that loveth not, knoweth not God; for God is love."—*pp.* 282, 283.

The translator has received and will receive the thanks of many readers for giving them an opportunity of holding communion with the mind of Fénelon. Her selections are judicious, and she has caught much of that simplicity which is the charm of Fénelon's style. A want of coherence in the thoughts may sometimes be observed; and this, we suppose, is to be ascribed in part to the author, whose writings seem to be natural breathings of the soul, rather than elaborate works of art; but still more to the translator, whose delicate task of selecting only what would suit and edify the Protestant mind, must have compelled her to make omissions and sudden transitions, not very favorable to order and connection.

We now come to our principal object. We propose to examine the most distinguishing views, or system of Fénelon. We say, his "system;" for, though he seems to write from immediate impulse, his works possess that unity which belongs to the productions of all superior minds. However he may appear to give his thoughts without elaboration or method, yet one spirit pervades them. We hear everywhere the same mild and penetrating voice, and feel ourselves always in the presence of the same strongly marked mind. What, then, were Fénelon's most characteristic views? It may be well to observe that our principal aim in this inquiry is to secure our readers against what we deem exceptionable in his system. We believe, as we have said, that he is not free from excess. He is sometimes unguarded, sometimes extravagant. He needs to be read with caution, as do all who write from their own deeply excited minds. He needs to be received with deductions and explanations; and to furnish these is our present aim. We fear that the very excellences of Fénelon may shield his errors. Admiration prepares the mind for belief; and the moral and religious sensibility of the reader may lay him open to impressions which, whilst they leave his purity unstained, may engender causeless solicitudes, and repress a just and cheerful interest in the ordinary pleasures and labors of life.

What, then, are Fénelon's characteristic views? We begin with his views of God, which very much determine and color a religious system; and these are simple and affecting. He seems to regard God but in one light, to think of him but in one character. God always comes to him as the Father, as the pitying and purifying friend of the soul. This spiritual relation of the Supreme Being is, in the book before us, his all-comprehending, all-absorbing attribute. Our author constantly sets before us God as dwelling in the human mind, and dwelling there to reprove its guilt, to speak to it with a still voice, to kindle a celestial ray in its darkness, to distil upon it his grace, to call forth its love towards himself, and to bow it, by a gentle, rational sway, to chosen, cheerful, entire subjection to his pure and righteous will. Fénelon had fully received the Christian doctrine of God. He believed in him as the Universal Father, as loving every soul, loving the guiltiest soul, and striving with it to reclaim it to himself. This interest of the Creator in the lost and darkened mind is the thought which predominates in the writings of this excellent man. God's care of the outward world, of men's outward interests, of the concerns of nations, seems scarcely to enter his mind. It is of God, present to the soul as a reprover, enlightener, purifier, and guide to perfection, that he loves to speak, and he speaks with a depth of conviction and tenderness to which one would think every reader must respond.

We have seen the predominant view of the Supreme Being in the writings which we are examining. He is a spiritual Father, seeking the perfection

of every soul which he has made. Another great question, carrying us still more deeply into Fénelon's mind, now presents itself. In what did he suppose this perfection of the human soul to consist? His views on this subject may be expressed in two words, — self-crucifixion and love to God. Through these human perfection is to be sought. In these, and especially in the last, it consists. According to Fénelon, we are placed between two mighty attractions, self and God; and the only important question for every human being is, to which of these hostile powers he will determine or surrender his mind? His phraseology on this subject is various, and indeed his writings are, in a great measure, expansions of this single view. He lays open the perpetual collisions between the principle of selfishness and the principle of religious love, and calls us with his whole strength of persuasion to sacrifice the first, to cherish and enthrone the last. This is his great aim. This he urges in a diversity of forms, some of which may be repeated, as helps to a better apprehension of his doctrine. Thus he calls us "to die to ourselves and to live to God;" "to renounce our own wills and to choose the will of God as our only rule;" "to renounce our own glory and to seek the glory of God;" "to distrust ourselves and to put our whole trust in God;" "to forget ourselves and to give our thoughts to God;" "to renounce ease and to labor for God;" "to sacrifice pleasure and to suffer for God;" "to silence our own passions and to listen to the voice of God;" "to crucify self-love and to substitute for it the love of God;" "to surrender our plans and to leave all things to God." These passages give us Fénelon's theory of perfection. Self, as he teaches, is the great barrier between the soul and its Maker, and self is to vanish more and more from our thoughts, desires, hopes, trust, and complacency, and God to become all in all. Our own interests, pleasures, plans, advancement, all are to be swallowed up in an entire and unreserved devotion to the will of God.

Such is the doctrine of Fénelon, and it is essentially just. Self-crucifixion or self-sacrifice, and love to God, including love to his creatures, are the chief elements of moral perfection. The pure and noble mind of Fénelon recognized as by instinct, and separated from all inferior adjuncts, these essential constituents or attributes of Christian virtue; and there are passages in which he sets before us their deep and silent workings in the heart, and their beautiful manifestations in the life, with a delicacy, power, and truth which can hardly be surpassed.

Still we think that Fénelon's exposition of his views is open to objection. We think that his phraseology, notwithstanding its apparent simplicity, is often obscure; that he has not set the due bounds to his doctrines; and especially that refined minds, thirsting for perfection, may be led astray by his peculiar mode of exhibiting it. Our objections we will now state more fully.

We have said that self-crucifixion and love to God are, in Fénelon's system, the two chief constituents or elements of virtue and perfection. To these we will give separate attention, although, in truth, they often coalesce, and always imply one another. We begin with self-crucifixion, or what is often called self-sacrifice, and on this we chiefly differ from the expositions of our author. Perhaps the word *self* occurs more frequently than any other in Fénelon's writings, and he is particularly inclined to place it in contrast with and in opposition to God. According to his common teaching, God and self are hostile influences, having nothing in common, — the one, the concentration of all evil, the other of all good. Self is the principle and the seat of all guilt and misery. He is never weary of pouring reproach on self, and, generally speaking, sets no limits to the duty of putting it to a painful death. Now, language like this has led men to very injurious modes of regarding themselves and their own nature, and made them forgetful of what they owe to themselves. It has thrown a cloud over man's condition and prospects. It has led to self-contempt, a vice as pernicious as pride. A man, when told perpetually to crucify *himself*, is apt to include under this word his whole nature, and we fear that, under this teaching, our nature is repressed, its growth stinted, its free movements chained, and of course its beauty, grace, and power impaired. We mean not to charge on Fénelon the error of which

we have spoken, or to hold him responsible for its effects. But we do think that it finds shelter under his phraseology, and we deem it so great, so pernicious, as to need a faithful exposition. Men err in nothing more than in disparaging and wronging their own nature. None are just to themselves. The truth on this great subject is indeed so obscured, that it may startle as a paradox. A human being, justly viewed, instead of being bound to general self-crucifixion, cannot reverence and cherish himself too much. This position, we know, is strong. But strong language is needed to encounter strong delusion. We would teach that great limitations must be set to the duty of renouncing or denying ourselves, and that no self-crucifixion is virtuous but that which concurs with, and promotes, self-respect. We will unfold our meaning, beginning with positions which we presume will be controverted by none.

If we first regard man's highest nature, we shall see at once that to crucify or renounce this, so far from being a duty, would be a crime. The mind, which is our chief distinction, can never be spoken or thought of too reverently. It is God's highest work, his mirror and representative. Its superiority to the outward universe is mournfully overlooked, and is yet most true. This pre-eminence we ascribe to the mind, not merely because it can comprehend the universe which cannot comprehend itself, but for still higher reasons. We believe that the human mind is akin to that intellectual energy which gave birth to nature, and consequently that it contains within itself the seminal and prolific principles from which nature sprung. We believe, too, that the highest purpose of the universe is to furnish materials, scope, and excitements to the mind, in the work of assimilating itself to the Infinite Spirit; that is, to minister to a progress within us which nothing without us can rival. So transcendent is the mind. No praise can equal God's goodness in creating us after his own spiritual likeness. No imagination can conceive of the greatness of the gift of a rational and moral existence. Far from crucifying this, to unfold it must ever be the chief duty and end of our being, and the noblest tribute we can render to its Author.

We have spoken of the mind, that highest part of ourselves, and of the guilt we should incur by crucifying or renouncing it. But the duty of self-crucifixion requires still greater limitations. Taking human nature as consisting of a body as well as mind, as including animal desire, as framed to receive pleasure through the eye and ear and all the organs of sense, in this larger view, we cannot give it up to the immolation which is sometimes urged. We see in the mixed constitution of man a beautiful whole. We see in the lowest as well as highest capacity an important use: and in every sense an inlet of pleasure not to be disdained. Still more, we believe that he in whom the physical nature is unfolded most entirely and harmoniously, who unites to greatest strength of limbs the greatest acuteness of the senses, may, if he will, derive important aids to the intellect and moral powers from these felicities of his outward frame. We believe, too, that, by a beautiful reaction, the mind, in proportion to its culture and moral elevation, gives vigor and grace to the body, and enlarges its sphere of action and enjoyment. Thus, human nature, viewed as a whole, as a union of the worlds of matter and mind, is a work worthy of a divine author, and its universal development, not its general crucifixion, is the lesson of wisdom and virtue.

We go still farther. The desire of our own individual interest, pleasure, good, the principle which is ordinarily denominated self-love or self-regard, is not to be warred against and destroyed. The tendency of this to excess is indeed our chief moral danger. Self-partiality, in some form or other, enters into and constitutes chiefly, if not wholly, every sin. But excess is not essential to self-regard, and this principle of our nature is the last which could be spared. Nothing is plainer than that to every being his own welfare is more specially committed than that of any other, and that a special sensibility to it is imperiously demanded by his present state. He alone knows his own wants and perils, and the hourly, perpetual claims of his particular lot; and were he to discard the care of himself for a day, he would inevitably perish. It is a remark of great importance, that the moral danger to which we are exposed by self-love,

arises from the very indispensableness of this principle, from the necessity of its perpetual exercise; for, according to a known law of the mind, every passion, unless carefully restrained, gains strength by frequency of excitement and action. The tendency of self-love to excess results from its very importance, or from the need in which we stand of its unceasing agency, and is therefore no reason for its extermination, and no reproach on human nature. This tendency, however, does exist. It is strong. It is fearful. It is our chief peril. It is the precipice, on the edge of which we always tread. It is the great appointed trial of our moral nature. To this tendency, unresisted, tamely obeyed, we owe the chief guilt and misery of the present state, the extinction of charity, a moral death more terrible than all the calamities of life. This truth Fénelon felt and taught as few have done, and in his powerful warnings against this peril the chief value of his writings lies. He treats with admirable acuteness the windings of self-partiality, shows how it mixes with the best motives, and how it feeds upon, and so consumes, our very virtues. All this is true. Still, self-love is an essential part of our nature, and must not and cannot be renounced.

The strong tendency of this principle to excess, of which we have now spoken, explains the strong language in which Fénelon and others have pointed out our danger from this part of our constitution. But it has also given rise to exaggerated views and modes of expression, which have contributed, perhaps, as much as any cause, to the universal want of a just self-respect. Self-love, from its proneness to excess and its constant movements, has naturally been the object of greater attention than any other principle of action; and men, regarding it not so much in its ordinary operations as in its encroachments and its triumphs over other sentiments, have come to consider it as the chief constituent of human nature. Philosophers, "falsely so called," have labored to resolve into it all our affections, to make it the sole spring of life, so that the whole mind, according to their doctrine, may be considered as one energy of self-love. If to these remarks we add that this principle, as its name imports, has self or the individual for its object, we have the explanation of a very important fact in the present discussion. We learn how it is that self-love has come to be called by the name of *self*, as if it constituted the whole individual, and to be considered as entering into and forming human nature as no other principle does. A man's self-love, especially when unrestrained, is thus thought to be and is spoken of as himself; and hence the duty of crucifying or renouncing himself has naturally been urged by Fénelon, and a host of writers, in the broadest and most unqualified terms.

Now, it is not true that self-love is our only principle, or that it constitutes ourselves any more than other principles, and the wrong done to our nature by such modes of speech needs to be resisted. Our nature has other elements or constituents, and vastly higher ones, to which self-love was meant to minister, and which are at war with its excesses. For example, we have reason, or intellectual energy, given us for the pursuit and acquisition of truth; and this is essentially a disinterested principle; for truth, which is its object, is of a universal, impartial nature. The great province of the intellectual faculty is to acquaint the individual with the laws and order of the divine system, — a system which spreads infinitely beyond himself, of which he forms a very small part, which embraces innumerable beings equally favored by God, and which proposes, as its sublime and beneficent end, the ever-growing good of the whole. Again, human nature has a variety of affections, corresponding to our domestic and most common relations; affections which in multitudes overpower self-love, which make others the chief objects of our care, which nerve the arm for ever-recurring toil by day, and strengthen the wearied frame to forego the slumbers of night. Then there belongs to every man the general sentiment of humanity, which responds to all human sufferings, to a stranger's tears and groans, and often prompts to great sacrifices for his relief. Above all, there is the moral principle, that which should especially be called a man's self, for it is clothed with a kingly authority over his whole nature, and was plainly given to bear sway over every desire. This is eminently a disinterested principle. Its very essence

is impartiality. It has no respect of persons. It is the principle of justice, taking the rights of all under its protection, and frowning on the least wrong, however largely it may serve ourselves. This moral nature especially delights in, and enjoins, a universal charity, and makes the heart thrill with exulting joy at the sight or hearing of magnanimous deeds, of perils fronted, and death endured, in the cause of humanity. Now, these various principles, and especially the last, are as truly ourselves as self-love. When a man thinks of himself, these ought to occur to him as his chief attributes. He can hardly injure himself more than by excluding these from his conception of himself, and by making self-love the great constituent of his nature.

We have urged these remarks on the narrow sense often given to the word *self*, because we are persuaded that it leads to degrading ideas of human nature, and to the pernicious notion that we practise a virtuous self-sacrifice in holding it in contempt. We would have it understood that high faculties form this despised self as truly as low desires; and we would add that, when these are faithfully unfolded, this self takes rank among the noblest beings in the universe. To illustrate this thought, we ask the reader's attention to an important but much-neglected view of virtue and religion. These are commonly spoken of in an abstract manner, as if they were distinct from ourselves, as if they were foreign existences, which enter the human mind, and dwell there in a kind of separation from itself. Now, religion and virtue, wherever they exist, are the mind itself, and nothing else. They are human nature, and nothing else. A good man's piety and virtue are not distinct possessions; they are himself, and all the glory which belongs to them belongs to himself. What is religion? Not a foreign inhabitant, not something alien to our nature, which comes and takes up its abode in the soul. It is the soul itself, lifting itself up to its Maker. What is virtue? It is the soul listening to, and revering, and obeying a law which belongs to its very essence, — the law of duty. We sometimes smile when we hear men decrying human nature, and in the same breathing exalting religion to the skies; as if religion were any thing more than human nature acting in obedience to its chief law. Religion and virtue, as far as we possess them, are ourselves; and the homage which is paid to these attributes is in truth a tribute to the soul of man. Self-crucifixion, then, should it exclude self-reverence, would be any thing but virtue.

We would briefly suggest another train of thought leading to the same result. Self-crucifixion, or self-renunciation, is a work, and a work requires an agent. By whom, then, is it accomplished? We answer, by the man himself who is the subject of it. It is he who is summoned to the effort. He is called by a voice within, and by the law of God, to put forth power over himself, to rule his own spirit, to subdue every passion. Now, this inward power, which self-crucifixion supposes and demands, is the most signal proof of a high nature which can be given. It is the most illustrious power which God confers. It is a sovereignty worth more than that over outward nature. It is the chief constituent of the noblest order of virtues; and its greatness, of course, demonstrates the greatness of the human mind, which is perpetually bound and summoned to put it forth. But this is not all. Self-crucifixion has an object, an end; and what is it? Its great end is to give liberty and energy to our nature. Its aim is, not to break down the soul, but to curb those lusts and passions "which war against the soul," that the moral and intellectual faculties may rise into new life, and may manifest their divine original. Self-crucifixion, justly viewed, is the suppression of the passions, that the power and progress of thought, and conscience, and pure love may be unrestrained. It is the destruction of the brute, that the angel may unfold itself within. It is founded on our godlike capacities, and the expansion and glory of these is its end. Thus the very duty, which by some is identified with self-contempt, implies and imposes self-reverence. It is the belief and the choice of perfection as our inheritance and our end.

We have thus shown under what great limitations self-crucifixion, or self-renunciation, is to be understood, and how remote it is from self-contempt. Our purpose was, after closing this dis-

cussion, to give a rational interpretation of the phrases in which Fénelon has enjoined this duty. But our limits allow us just to glance at one or two of these. Perhaps he calls upon us to do nothing so often as "to renounce our own wills." This is a favorite phrase; and what does it imply? that we are to cease to will? Nothing less. The truth is, that the human will is never so strenuous as in this act which is called the renunciation of itself, and by nothing does it more build up its own energy. The phrase means that we should sacrifice inclination at the least suggestion of duty. But who does not know that the mind never puts forth such strength of purpose or will as in overcoming desire? And what is the highest end and benefit of this warfare with desire? It is that the mind may accumulate force of moral purpose, that the will may more sternly, unconquerably resolve on the hardest duties and sublimest virtues to which God may call us.

Once more: we are again and again exhorted by Fénelon to "forget ourselves." And what means this? Self-oblivion, literally understood, is an impossibility. We may as easily annihilate our being as our self-consciousness. Self-remembrance is in truth a duty, needful to the safety of every hour, and especially necessary to the great work of life, which is the conforming of ourselves — of our whole nature — to the will of God. There is no danger of our thinking of ourselves too much if we will think justly; that is, if we will view ourselves as what we are, as moral beings, accountable to a Divine Lawgiver, framed to delight in and to seek virtue, framed for an ever-spreading philanthropy, called to sympathize with and to suffer for others, and, through this path, to ascend to our Original. There are, however, senses in which we cannot too much forget ourselves. Our improvements, of whatever kind, our good deeds, our virtues, whenever they are seized upon and magnified by self-love, or so recalled as to lift us above others, and to stifle that sense of deficiency and thirst for progress by which alone we can be carried forward, these we cannot too earnestly drive from our thoughts. Our distinctions, whether of mind, body, or condition, when they minister to vanity or pride, when they weaken the consciousness of a common nature with the human race, narrow our sympathies, or deprave our judgments, these we cannot be too solicitous to forget. Our pleasures, when they are so exaggerated by the imagination as to distract and overwhelm the sense of duty, should be forced to quit their grasp on our minds. Such parts or constituents of ourselves we are to forget. Our moral, intellectual, immortal nature we cannot remember too much. Under the consciousness of it we are always to live.

According to the views now given, self-crucifixion is the subjection or sacrifice of the inferior to the higher principles of our nature. It is the practical recognition of the supremacy and dignity of our rational and moral powers. No duty involves a more reverential view and care of ourselves. We have been the more solicitous to give this view of self-renunciation, because its true spirit is often mistaken, because it is often so set forth as to degrade instead of exalting the mind. In truth, we feel more and more the importance of bringing men to juster conceptions of the inward gifts with which God has enriched them. We desire nothing so much as to open their eyes to their own spiritual possessions. We feel, indeed, the difficulties of the subject. We know that we have to combat with a secret incredulity in many minds. We know that the clearest expositions will be imperfectly understood by those who have nothing in their experience to interpret what we utter. The mind, we are aware, can be clearly revealed to itself only by its own progress. Its capacities of thought, of action, of endurance, of triumphing over pleasure and pain, of identifying itself with other beings, of seeking truth without prejudice and without fear, of uniting itself with God, of sacrificing life to duty, — these immortal energies can only be felt to be real, and duly honored, by those in whom they are gradually and steadily unfolded. Still we do not despair of meeting some response, though faint, in multitudes. Such a spirit as God has breathed into men cannot easily exist without giving some signs of its divine original. In most men, there are some revelations of their own nature, some beams of a light which be-

longs not to the earth, some sympathies with what is good and great in character, some perceptions of beauty, some gushings from the deep fountain of love in the soul, some thirstings for a purer happiness, some experience of the peculiar joy of a disinterested deed, some dim conceptions at least of their intimate relations to God. Most men understand through experience these testimonies to the secret wealth and immortal destination of the soul: whilst in not a few such a measure of intellectual and moral power has been called forth that nothing is needed but a wise direction of their thoughts upon themselves to open to them the magnificent prospect of their own spiritual energy and of the unbounded good into which it may be unfolded. For such we have written. We regard nothing so important to a human being as the knowledge of his own mind, and of its intimate connection with the infinite Mind. Faith in what man contains as a germ in his own breast, faith in what he may become, in what he was framed to be, in that state of power, light, purity, joy, to which Jesus Christ came to exalt him, this faith seems to us the quickening, saving, renovating principle which God sent his Son to revive in the soul, and happy are they who can spread its empire in the world.

We have finished our remarks on the first element of perfection, according to Fénelon, — self-crucifixion. We proceed to the second, love to God. On this topic we intended to enlarge, but have left ourselves little room. We are happy to say that we have less to object to Fénelon's expositions under this head than under the former. Of the grandeur and the happiness of this principle he speaks truly, worthily, in the penetrating language of calm and deep conviction. In one particular we think him defective. He has not stated, and in truth very few do state, with sufficient strength and precision, the moral foundation and the moral nature of religion. He has not taught with sufficient clearness the great truth that love to God is, from beginning to end, the love of virtue. He did not sufficiently feel that religion is the expansion and most perfect form of the moral faculty of man. He sometimes teaches that, to do God's will, we must renounce ourselves and silence reason; as if the divine will were not in accordance with our faculties; as if it were something dark and mysterious; as if, to follow it, we must quench the light of our own minds. Now, the truth is, that the divine will is in harmony with our nature. It is God's approbation and injunction of that moral rectitude, of which the great lines are written on the human soul, and to which reason and conscience, even when they fail to secure obedience, do yet secretly and in no small degree respond. The human mind and the divine law are not distinct and disconnected things. If man were not a law to himself, he could not receive the revelation of a law from heaven. Were not the principle of duty an essential part of his mind, he could be bound to no obedience. Religion has its foundation in our moral nature, and is indeed its most enlarged and glorious form, and we lament that this great truth does not shine more brightly in the pages of Fénelon. We intended to give to it a particular discussion: but as we cannot do it justice in the present article, we prefer to dismiss it, and to offer a few miscellaneous remarks on that sentiment of love towards God on which our author so perpetually insists.

We are aware that to some men Fénelon may seem an enthusiast. Some may doubt or deny the possibility of that strong, deep, supreme affection towards the Supreme Being with which Fénelon's book overflows. We wonder at this scepticism. We know no property of human nature more undoubted than its capacity and fulness of affection. We see its love overflowing in its domestic connections, in friendships, and especially in its interest in beings separated by oceans and the lapse of ages. Let it not be said that the affections to which we here refer have fellow-beings for their objects, and do not therefore prove our capacity of religious attachment. The truth is, that one spirit runs through all our affections, as far as they are pure; and love to mankind, directed aright, is the germ and element of love to the Divinity. Whatever is excellent and venerable in human beings is of God, and in attaching ourselves to it we are preparing our hearts for its Author. Whoever sees and recognizes the moral dignity of impartial justice and disinter-

ested goodness in his fellow-creatures, has begun to pay homage to the attributes of God. The first emotion awakened in the soul — we mean filial attachment — is the dawning of love to our Father in heaven. Our deep interest in the history of good and great men, our veneration towards enlightened legislators, our sympathy with philanthropists, our delight in mighty efforts of intellect consecrated to a good cause, — all these sentiments prove our capacity of an affectionate reverence to God; for He is at once the inspirer and the model of this intellectual and moral grandeur in his creatures. We even think that our love of nature has an affinity with the love of God, and was meant as a preparation for it; for the harmonies of nature are only his wisdom made visible; the heavens, so sublime, are a revelation of his immensity; and the beauty of creation images to us his overflowing love and blessedness. To us, hardly any thing seems plainer than that the soul was made for God. Not only its human affections guide it to him; not only its deeps wants, its dangers, and helplessness, guide it to him; there are still higher indications of the end for which it was made. It has a capacity of more than human love, a principle or power of adoration, which cannot bound itself to finite natures, which carries up the thoughts above the visible universe, and which, in approaching God, rises into a solemn transport, a mingled awe and joy, prophetic of a higher life; and a brighter signature of our end and happiness cannot be conceived.

We are aware that it may be objected that many and great obstructions to a supreme love of God belong to our very constitution and condition, and that these go far to disprove the doctrine of our being framed for religion as our chief good. But this argument does not move us. We learn from every survey of man's nature and history that he is ordained to approach the end of his creation through many and great obstructions; that effort is the immutable law of his being; that a good, in proportion to its grandeur, is encompassed with hardship. The obstructions to religion are not greater than those to knowledge; and accordingly history gives as dark views of human ignorance as of human guilt. Yet who, on this ground, denies that man was formed for knowledge, that progress in truth is the path of nature, and that he has impulses which are to carry forward his intellectual powers without end? It is God's pleasure, in his provisions for the mind as well as for the body, to give us in a rude state the materials of good, and to leave us to frame from them, amidst much conflict, a character of moral and religious excellence; and in this ordination we see his wise benevolence; for by this we may rise to the unutterable happiness of a free and moral union with our Creator. We ought to add, that the obstructions to the love of God do not lie wholly in ourselves. Perhaps the greatest is a false theology. This interposes thick clouds between the soul and its Maker. It darkens and dishonors God and his works, and leaves nothing to sustain our trust and love.

The motives which are most commonly urged for cherishing supreme affection towards God are drawn from our frailty and weakness, and from our need of more than human succor in the trials of life and in the pains of death. But religion has a still higher claim. It answers to the deepest want of human nature. We refer to our want of some being or beings to whom we may give our hearts, whom we may love more than ourselves, for whom we may live and be ready to die, and whose character responds to that idea of perfection which, however dim and undefined, is an essential element of every human soul. We cannot be happy beyond our love. At the same time, love may prove our chief woe, if bestowed unwisely, disproportionately, and on unworthy objects; if confined to beings of imperfect virtue, with whose feelings we cannot always innocently sympathize, whose interests we cannot always righteously promote, who narrow us to themselves instead of breathing universal charity, who are frail, mutable, exposed to suffering, pain, and death. To secure a growing happiness and a spotless virtue, we need for the heart a being worthy of its whole treasure of love, to whom we may consecrate our whole existence, in approaching whom we enter an atmosphere of purity and brightness, in sympathizing with whom we cherish only noble sentiments, in devoting ourselves to whom we espouse great and enduring interests.

in whose character we find the spring of an ever-enlarging philanthropy, and by attachment to whom all our other attachments are hallowed, protected, and supplied with tender and sublime consolations under bereavement and blighted hope. Such a being is God.

The word which Fénelon has most frequently used to express the happiness to which the mind ascends by a supreme love of God, is "peace," perhaps the most expressive which language affords. We fear, however, that its full import is not always received. There is a twofold peace. The first is negative. It is relief from disquiet and corroding care. It is repose after conflict and storms. But there is another and a higher peace, to which this is but the prelude, "a peace of God which passeth all understanding," and properly called "the kingdom of heaven within us." This state is any thing but negative. It is the highest and most strenuous action of the soul, but an entirely harmonious action, in which all our powers and affections are blended in a beautiful proportion, and sustain and perfect one another. It is more than silence after storms. It is as the concord of all melodious sounds. Has the reader never known a season when, in the fullest flow of thought and feeling, in the universal action of the soul, an inward calm, profound as midnight silence, yet bright as the still summer noon, full of joy, but unbroken by one throb of tumultuous passion, has been breathed through his spirit, and given him a glimpse and presage of the serenity of a happier world? Of this character is the peace of religion. It is a conscious harmony with God and the creation, an alliance of love with all beings, a sympathy with all that is pure and happy, a surrender of every separate will and interest, a participation of the spirit and life of the universe, an entire concord of purpose with its infinite Original. This is peace, and the true happiness of man; and we think that human nature has never entirely lost sight of this its great end. It has always sighed for a repose, in which energy of thought and will might be tempered with an all-pervading tranquillity. We seem to discover aspirations after this good, a dim consciousness of it, in all ages of the world. We think we see it in those systems of Oriental and Grecian philosophy which proposed, as the consummation of present virtue, a release from all disquiet, and an intimate union and harmony with the divine Mind. We even think that we trace this consciousness, this aspiration, in the works of ancient art which time has spared to us, in which the sculptor, aiming to embody his deepest thoughts of human perfection, has joined, with the fulness of life and strength, a repose, which breathes into the spectator an admiration as calm as it is exalted. Man, we believe, never wholly loses the sentiment of his true good. There are yearnings, sighings, which he does not himself comprehend, which break forth alike in his prosperous and adverse seasons, which betray a deep, indestructible faith in a good that he has not found, and which, in proportion as they grow distinct, rise to God, and concentrate the soul in him, as at once its life and rest, the fountain at once of energy and of peace.

In the remarks which have now been suggested by the writings of Fénelon, we have aimed to free religion from exaggerations which, we fear, weaken its influence over reasonable men, and at the same time to illustrate its dignity and happiness. We want time, or we should enlarge on the importance of this great subject to every human being. We cannot, however, leave it without earnestly recommending it to the attention of men of superior minds. The neglect which it generally receives from these is one of the most discouraging signs of our times. The claims of religion on intelligent men are not yet understood, and the low place which it holds among the objects of liberal inquiry will one day be recollected as the shame of our age. Some remarks on this topic may form a not unsuitable conclusion to the present article.

It is, we fear, an unquestionable fact, that religion, considered as an intellectual subject, is in a great measure left to a particular body of men as a professional concern; and the fact is as much to be wondered at as deplored. It is wonderful that any mind, and especially a superior one, should not see in religion the highest object of thought. It is wonderful that the infinite God, the noblest theme of the universe, should be considered as a monopoly of pro-

fessed theologians; that a subject so vast, awful, and exalting as our relation to the Divinity, should be left to technical men, to be handled so much for sectarian purposes. Religion is the property and dearest interest of the human race. Every man has an equal concern in it. It should be approached with an independence on human authority. It should be rescued from all the factions which have seized upon it as their particular possession. Men of the highest intellect should feel that, if there be a God, then his character and our relation to him throw all other subjects into obscurity, and that the intellect, if not consecrated to him, can never attain its true use, its full dimensions, and its proper happiness. Religion, if it be true, is central truth, and all knowledge, which is not gathered round it, and quickened and illuminated by it, is hardly worth the name. To this great theme we would summon all orders of mind, — the scholar, the statesman, the student of nature, and the observer of life. It is a subject to which every faculty and every acquisition may pay tribute, which may receive aids and lights from the accuracy of the logician, from the penetrating spirit of philosophy, from the intuitions of genius, from the researches of history, from the science of the mind, from physical science, from every branch of criticism, and, though last not least, from the spontaneous suggestions and the moral aspirations of pure but unlettered men.

It is a fact which shocks us, and which shows the degraded state of religion, that not a few superior minds look down upon it as a subject beneath their investigation. Though allied with all knowledge, and especially with that of human nature and human duty, it is regarded as a separate and inferior study, particularly fitted to the gloom of a convent and the seclusion of a minister. Religion is still confounded, in many and in gifted minds, with the jargon of monks and the subtilties and strifes of theologians. It is thought a mystery which, far from coalescing, wars with our other knowledge. It is never ranked with the sciences which expand and adorn the mind. It is regarded as a method of escaping future ruin, not as a vivifying truth through which the intellect and heart are alike to be invigorated and enlarged. Its bearing on the great objects of thought and the great interests of life is hardly suspected. This degradation of religion into a technical study, this disjunction of it from morals, from philosophy, from the various objects of liberal research, has done it infinite injury, has checked its progress, has perpetuated errors which gathered round it in times of barbarism and ignorance, has made it a mark for the sophistry and ridicule of the licentious, and has infused a lurking scepticism into many powerful understandings. Nor has religion suffered alone. The whole mind is darkened by the obscuration of this its central light. Its reasonings and judgments become unstable through want of this foundation to rest upon. Religion is to the whole sphere of truth what God is to the universe, and in dethroning it, or confining it to a narrow range, we commit very much such an injury on the soul as the universe would suffer were the infinite Being to abandon it, or to contract his energy to a small province of his creation.

The injury done to literature by divorcing it from religion is a topic worthy of separate discussion. Literature has thus lost power and permanent interest. It has become, in a great measure, superficial, an image of transient modes of thought and of arbitrary forms of life, not the organ and expression of immutable truth, and of deep workings of the soul. We beg not to be misunderstood. We have no desire that literature should confine itself wholly or chiefly to religious topics, and we hardly know a greater calamity which it could incur than by degenerating into religious cant. Next to profaneness, we dread the affectation of piety and the mechanical repetition of sacred phraseology. We only lament that literature has so generally been the product and utterance of minds which have not lived, thought, and written, under the light of a rational and sublime faith. Severed from this, it wants the principle of immortality. We do not speak lightly when we say that all works of the intellect which have not in some measure been quickened by the spirit of religion, are doomed to perish or to lose their power; and that genius is preparing for itself a sepulchre when it disjoins itself from the Universal Mind.

Religion is not always to remain in its present dark, depressed condition. Already there are signs of a brighter day. It begins to be viewed more generously. It is gradually attracting to itself superior understandings. It is rising from the low rank of a professional, technical study, and asserting its supremacy among the objects of the mind. A new era, we trust, is opening upon the world, and all literature will feel its power. In proportion as the true and sublime conception of God shall unfold itself in the soul, and shall become there a central sun, shedding its beams on all objects of thought, there will be a want of sympathy with all works which have not been quickened by this heavenly influence. It will be felt that the poet has known little of nature, that he has seen it only under clouds, if he have not seen it under this celestial light. It will be felt that man, the great subject of literature, when viewed in separation from his Maker and his end, can be as little understood and portrayed as a plant torn from the soil in which it grew, and cut off from communication with the clouds and sun.

We are aware that objections will spring up to the doctrine, that all literature should be produced under the influence of religion. We shall be told that in this way literature will lose all variety and spirit, that a monotonous and solemn hue will spread itself over writing, and that a library will have the air of a tomb. We do not wonder at this fear. Religion has certainly been accustomed to speak in sepulchral tones, and to wear any aspect but a bright and glowing one. It has lost its free and various movement. But let us not ascribe to its nature what has befallen it from adverse circumstances. The truth is, that religion, justly viewed, surpasses all other principles in giving a free and manifold action to the mind. It recognizes in every faculty and sentiment the workmanship of God, and assigns a sphere of agency to each. It takes our whole nature under its guardianship, and with a parental love ministers to its inferior as well as higher gratifications. False religion mutilates the soul, sees evil in our innocent sensibilities, and rules with a tyrant's frown and rod. True religion is a mild and lawful sovereign, governing to protect, to give strength, to unfold all our inward resources. We believe that under its influence literature is to pass its present limits, and to put itself forth in original forms of composition. Religion is of all principles most fruitful, multiform, and unconfined. It is sympathy with that Being who seems to delight in diversifying the modes of his agency, and the products of his wisdom and power. It does not chain us to a few essential duties, or express itself in a few unchanging modes of writing. It has the liberality and munificence of nature, which not only produces the necessary root and grain, but pours forth fruits and flowers. It has the variety and bold contrasts of nature, which, at the foot of the awful mountain, scoops out the freshest, sweetest valleys, and embosoms, in the wild, troubled ocean, islands, whose vernal airs, and loveliness, and teeming fruitfulness, almost breathe the joys of Paradise. Religion will accomplish for literature what it most needs; that is, will give it depth, at the same time that it heightens its grace and beauty. The union of these attributes is most to be desired. Our literature is lamentably superficial, and to some the beautiful and the superficial even seem to be naturally conjoined. Let not beauty be so wronged. It resides chiefly in profound thoughts and feelings. It overflows chiefly in the writings of poets, gifted with a sublime and piercing vision. A beautiful literature springs from the depth and fulness of intellectual and moral life, from an energy of thought and feeling, to which nothing, as we believe, ministers so largely as enlightened religion.

So far from a monotonous solemnity overspreading literature in consequence of the all-pervading influence of religion, we believe that the sportive and comic forms of composition, instead of being abandoned, will only be refined and improved. We know that these are supposed to be frowned upon by piety; but they have their root in the constitution which God has given us, and ought not therefore to be indiscriminately condemned. The propensity to wit and laughter does indeed, through excessive indulgence, often issue in a character of heartless levity, low mimicry, or unfeeling ridicule. It often seeks gratification in regions of impurity, throws a gayety

round vice, and sometimes even pours contempt on virtue. But, though often and mournfully perverted, it is still a gift of God, and may and ought to minister not only to innocent pleasure, but to the intellect and the heart. Man was made for relaxation as truly as for labor; and by a law of his nature, which has not received the attention it deserves, he finds perhaps no relaxation so restorative as that in which he reverts to his childhood, seems to forget his wisdom, leaves the imagination to exhilarate itself by sportive inventions, talks of amusing incongruities in conduct and events, smiles at the innocent eccentricities and odd mistakes of those whom he most esteems, allows himself in arch allusions or kind-hearted satire, and transports himself into a world of ludicrous combinations. We have said that on these occasions the mind seems to put off its wisdom; but the truth is, that, in a pure mind, wisdom retreats, if we may so say, to its centre, and there, unseen, keeps guard over this transient folly, draws delicate lines which are never to be passed in the freest moments, and, like a judicious parent watching the sports of childhood, preserves a stainless innocence of soul in the very exuberance of gayety. This combination of moral power with wit and humor, with comic conceptions and irrepressible laughter, this union of mirth and virtue, belongs to an advanced stage of the character; and we believe that, in proportion to the diffusion of an enlightened religion, this action of the mind will increase, and will overflow in compositions which, joining innocence to sportiveness, will communicate unmixed delight. Religion is not at variance with occasional mirth. In the same character, the solemn thought and the sublime emotions of the improved Christian may be joined with the unanxious freedom, buoyancy, and gayety of early years.

We will add but one more illustration of our views. We believe that the union of religion with genius will favor that species of composition to which it may seem at first to be least propitious. We refer to that department of literature which has for its object the delineation of the stronger and more terrible and guilty passions. Strange as it may appear, these gloomy and appalling features of our nature may be best comprehended and portrayed by the purest and noblest minds. The common idea is, that overwhelming emotions, the more they are experienced, can the more effectually be described. We have one strong presumption against this doctrine. Tradition leads us to believe that Shakspeare, though he painted so faithfully and fearfully the storms of passion, was a calm and cheerful man. The passions are too engrossed by their objects to meditate on themselves; and none are more ignorant of their growth and subtile workings than their own victims. Nothing reveals to us the secrets of our own souls like religion; and in disclosing to us, in ourselves, the tendency of passion to absorb every energy, and to spread its hues over every thought, it gives us a key to all souls; for, in all, human nature is essentially one, having the same spiritual elements and the same grand features. No man, it is believed, understands the wild and irregular motions of the mind like him in whom a principle of divine order has begun to establish peace. No man knows the horror of thick darkness which gathers over the slaves of vehement passion like him who is rising into the light and liberty of virtue. There is, indeed, a selfish shrewdness which is thought to give a peculiar and deep insight into human nature. But the knowledge of which it boasts is partial, distorted, and vulgar, and wholly unfit for the purposes of literature. We value it little. We believe that no qualification avails so much to a knowledge of human nature in all its forms, in its good and evil manifestations, as that enlightened, celestial charity which religion alone inspires; for this establishes sympathies between us and all men, and thus makes them intelligible to us. A man imbued with this spirit, alone contemplates vice as it really exists, and as it ought always to be described. In the most depraved fellow-beings he sees partakers of his own nature. Amidst the terrible ravages of the passions, he sees conscience, though prostrate, not destroyed, nor wholly powerless. He sees the proofs of an unextinguished moral life in inward struggles, in occasional relentings, in sighings for lost innocence, in reviv-

ing throbs of early affections, in the sophistry by which the guilty mind would become reconciled to itself, in remorse, in anxious forebodings, in despair, perhaps in studied recklessness and cherished self-forgetfulness. These conflicts between the passions and the moral nature are the most interesting subjects in the branch of literature to which we refer; and we believe that to portray them with truth and power, the man of genius can find in nothing such effectual aid as in the development of the moral and religious principles in his own breast.

We have given but a superficial view of a great subject. The connection of religion with intellect and literature is yet to be pointed out. We conclude with expressing our strong conviction that the human mind will become more various, piercing, and all-comprehending, more capable of understanding and expressing the solemn and the sportive, the terrible and the beautiful, the profound and the tender, in proportion as it shall be illumined and penetrated by the true knowledge of God. Genius, intellect, imagination, taste, and sensibility, must all be baptized into religion, or they will never know, and never make known, their real glory and immortal power.

A DISCOURSE ON THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF THE REV. JOSEPH TUCKERMAN, D.D.

Delivered at the Warren Street Chapel, on Sunday Evening, January 31, 1841.

FIVE years ago this Chapel was dedicated to the moral and religious instruction of the poor of this city. This event makes no noise in history, and may seem to some to merit no particular notice. It is remembered, however, by not a few individuals and families, as the beginning of many good influences. Still more, it is not an event which stands alone. This Chapel is the sign of an important movement, which is not soon to pass away. It sprung from the labors of that faithful servant of God to whom we owe the establishment of the Ministry at Large in this place. It is intimately connected with, and reveals to us, his life and labors; and, accordingly, the anniversary of its dedication to religious services is a fit occasion for offering a tribute to his memory. I have wished, ever since his removal, to express my reverence for his character, and my sense of the greatness of his work. To these topics I invite your attention. But before entering on them I propose to consider a more general subject, which was often on the lips of our departed friend, to which he constantly recurred in his writings, and on the comprehension of which the permanence of the Ministry at Large chiefly depends. This subject is, the obligation of a city to care for and watch over the moral health of its members, and especially to watch over the moral safety and elevation of its poorer and more exposed classes. The life of our departed friend embodied and expressed this truth with singular power, and the consideration of it is a natural and fit introduction to a memorial of his virtues and labors, as well as particularly adapted to the occasion which has brought us together.

Why is it, my friends, that we are brought so near to one another in cities? It is, that nearness should awaken sympathy; that multiplying wants should knit us more closely together; that we should understand one another's perils and sufferings; that we should act perpetually on one another for good. Why were we not brought into being in solitudes, endowed each with the power of satisfying to the full his particular wants? God has room enough for a universe of separate, lonely, silent beings, of selfish,

unshared enjoyment. But through the whole range of nature we find nothing insulated, nothing standing alone. Union is the law of his creation. Even matter is an emblem of universal sympathy, for all its particles tend towards one another, and its great masses are bound into one system by mutual attraction. How much more was the human race made for sympathy and mutual aid! How plain is the social destination of man! born, as he is, into the arms of love, sustained from the beginning by human kindness, endowed with speech, and plunged among fellow-beings to whose feelings he cannot but respond, into whose hearts he yearns to pour his own, and whose rights, feelings, and interests are commended to his regard by a law of love and justice written within him by a divine hand. Can we ask why such beings are gathered into cities? Is it not that they should propose a common weal? Is it not that they should desire and seek each other's highest good? What is the happiest community? What the city which should be chosen above all others as our home? It is that the members of which form one body, in which no class seeks a monopoly of honor or good, in which no class is a prey to others, in which there is a general desire that every human being may have opportunity to develop his powers. What is the happiest community? It is not that in which the goods of life are accumulated in a few hands, in which property sinks a great gulf between different ranks, in which one portion of society swells with pride and the other is broken in spirit; but a community in which labor is respected, and the means of comfort and improvement are liberally diffused. It is not a community in which intelligence is developed in a few, whilst the many are given up to ignorance, superstition, and a gross animal existence; but one in which the mind is so reverenced in every condition that the opportunities of its culture are afforded to all. It is a community in which religion is not used to break the many into subjection, but is dispensed even to the poorest to rescue them from the degrading influence of poverty, to give them generous sentiments and hopes, to exalt them from animals into men, into Christians, into children of God. This is a happy community, where human nature is held in honor; where, to rescue it from ignorance and crime, to give it an impulse towards knowledge, virtue, and happiness, is thought the chief end of the social union.

It is the unhappiness of most large cities that, instead of this union and sympathy, they consist of different ranks so widely separated as, indeed, to form different communities. In most large cities there may be said to be two nations, understanding as little of one another, having as little intercourse, as if they lived in different lands. In such a city as London the distance of a few streets only will carry you from one stage of civilization to another, from the excess of refinement to barbarism, from the abodes of cultivated intellect to brutal ignorance, from what is called fashion to the grossest manners; and these distinct communities know comparatively nothing of each other. There are travellers from that great city who come to visit our Indians, but who leave at home a community as essentially barbarous as that which they seek, who, perhaps, have spent all their lives in the midst of it, giving it no thought. To these travellers a hovel in one of the suburbs which they have left would be as strange a place as the wigwam of our own forests. They know as little what thousands of their own city suffer, to what extremities thousands are reduced, by what arts thousands live, as they know of the modes of life in savage tribes. How much more useful lessons would they learn, and how much holier feelings would be awakened in them, were they to penetrate the dens of want, and woe, and crime, a few steps from their own door, than they gain from exploring this new world! And what I say of London is true also of this city in a measure. Not a few grow up and die here without understanding how multitudes live and die around them, without having descended into the damp cellar where childhood and old age spend day and night, winter and summer, or without scaling the upper room which contains within its narrow and naked walls not one, but two and even three families. They see the poor in the street, but never follow them in thought to their cheerless homes, or ask how the long day is filled up. They travel, in books at least, to distant regions, among na-

tions of different languages and complexions, but are strangers to the condition and character of masses who speak their native tongue, live under their eye, and are joined with them for weal or woe in the same social state. This estrangement of men from men, of class from class, is one of the saddest features of a great city. It shows that the true bond of communities is as yet imperfectly known.

The happy community is that in which its members care for one another, and in which there is, especially, an interest in the intellectual and moral improvement of all. That sympathy which provides for the outward wants of all, which sends supplies to the poor man's house, is a blessed fruit of Christianity; and it is happy when this prevails in and binds together a city. But we have now learned that the poor are not to be essentially, permanently aided by the mere relief of bodily wants. We are learning that the greatest efforts of a community should be directed, not to relieve indigence, but to dry up its sources, to supply moral wants, to spread purer principles and habits, to remove the temptations to intemperance and sloth, to snatch the child from moral perdition, and to make the man equal to his own support by awakening in him the spirit and the powers of a man. The glory and happiness of a community consists in vigorous efforts, springing from love, sustained by faith, for the diffusion, through all classes, of intelligence, of self-respect, of self-control, of thirst for knowledge, and for moral and religious growth. Here is the first end, the supreme interest, which a community should propose, and in achieving it all other interests are accomplished.

It is a plain truth, and yet how little understood! that the greatest thing in a city is man himself. He is its end. We admire its palaces; but the mechanic who builds them is greater than palaces. Human nature, in its lowest form, in the most abject child of want, is of more worth than all outward improvements. You talk of the prosperity of your city. I know but one true prosperity. Does the human soul grow and prosper here? Do not point me to your thronged streets. I ask, Who throng them? Is it a low-minded, self-seeking, gold-worshipping, man-despising crowd, which I see rushing through them? Do I meet in them, under the female form, the gayly-decked prostitute, or the idle, wasteful, aimless, profitless woman of fashion? Do I meet the young man showing off his pretty person as the perfection of nature's works, wasting his golden hours in dissipation and sloth, and bearing in his countenance and gaze the marks of a profligate? Do I meet a grasping multitude, seeking to thrive by concealments and frauds? an anxious multitude, driven by fear of want to doubtful means of gain? an unfeeling multitude, caring nothing for others, if they may themselves prosper or enjoy? In the neighborhood of your comfortable or splendid dwellings are there abodes of squalid misery, of reckless crime, of bestial intemperance, of half-famished childhood, of profaneness, of dissoluteness, of temptation for thoughtless youth? And are these multiplying with your prosperity, and outstripping and neutralizing the influences of truth and virtue? Then your prosperity is a vain show. Its true use is, to make a better people. The glory and happiness of a city consist not in the number, but the character, of its population. Of all the fine arts in a city, the grandest is the art of forming noble specimens of humanity. The costliest productions of our manufactures are cheap compared with a wise and good human being. A city which should practically adopt the principle, that man is worth more than wealth or show, would gain an impulse that would place it at the head of cities. A city in which men should be trained worthy of the name would become the metropolis of the earth.

God has prospered us, and, as we believe, is again to prosper us, in our business; and let us show our gratitude by inquiring for what end prosperity is given, and how it may best accomplish the end of the Giver. Let us use it to give a higher character to our city, to send refining, purifying influences through every department of life. Let us especially use it to multiply good influences in those classes which are most exposed to temptation. Let us use it to prevent the propagation of crime from parent to child. Let us use it in behalf of those in whom our nature is most depressed, and who, if neglected, will probably bring on themselves the

arm of penal law. Nothing is so just a cause of self-respect in a city as the healthy, moral condition of those who are most exposed to crime. This is the best proof that the prosperous classes are wise, intelligent, and worthy of their prosperity. Crime is to the state what dangerous disease is to the human frame, and to expel it should be to the community an object of the deepest concern. This topic is so important that I cannot leave it without urging it on your serious thoughts.

Society has hitherto employed its energy chiefly to punish crime. It is infinitely more important to prevent it; and this I say not for the sake of those alone on whom the criminal preys. I do not think only or chiefly of those who suffer from crime. I plead also, and plead more, for those who perpetrate it. In moments of clear, calm thought I feel more for the wrong-doer than for him who is wronged. In a case of theft, incomparably the most wretched man is he who steals, not he who is robbed. The innocent are not *undone* by acts of violence or fraud from which they suffer. They are innocent, though injured. They do not bear the brand of infamous crime: and no language can express the import of this distinction. When I visit the cell of a convict, and see a human being who has sunk beneath his race, who is cast out by his race, whose name cannot be pronounced in his home, or can be pronounced only to start a tear, who has forfeited the confidence of every friend, who has lost that spring of virtue and effort, the hope of esteem, whose conscience is burdened with irreparable guilt, who has hardened himself against the appeals of religion and love, — here, here I see a ruin. The man whom he has robbed or murdered, how much happier than he! What I want is, not merely that society should protect itself against crime, but that it shall do all that it can to preserve its exposed members from crime, and so do for the sake of these as truly as for its own. It should not suffer human nature to fall so deeply, so terribly, if the ruin can be avoided. Society ought not to breed monsters in its bosom. If it will not use its prosperity to save the ignorant and poor from the blackest vice, if it will even quicken vice by its selfishness and luxury, its worship of wealth, its scorn of human nature, then it must suffer, and deserves to suffer, from crime.

I would that, as a city, we might understand and feel how far we are chargeable with much of the crime and misery around us of which we complain. Is it not an acknowledged moral truth, that we are answerable for all evil which we are able, but have failed, to prevent? Were Providence to put us in possession of a remedy for a man dying at our feet, and should we withhold it, would not the guilt of his death lie at our door? Are we not accessory to the destruction of the blind man who in our sight approaches a precipice and whom we do not warn of his danger? On the same ground much of the guilt and misery around us must be imputed to ourselves. Why is it that so many children in a large city grow up in ignorance and vice? Because that city abandons them to ruinous influences, from which it might and ought to rescue them. Why is beggary so often transmitted from parent to child? Because the public, and because individuals, do little or nothing to break the fatal inheritance. Whence come many of the darkest crimes? From despondency, recklessness, and a pressure of suffering which sympathy would have lightened. Human sympathy, Christian sympathy, were it to penetrate the dwellings of the ignorant, poor, and suffering, were its voice lifted up to encourage, guide, and console, and its arm stretched out to sustain, what a new world would it call into being! What a new city should we live in! How many victims of stern justice would become the living, joyful witnesses of the regenerating power of a wise Christian love!

In these remarks I have expressed sympathy with the criminal; but do not imagine that I have any desire to screen him from that wise punishment which aims at once to reform offenders and protect society. The mercy which would turn aside the righteous penalties of law is, however unconsciously, a form of cruelty. As friends of the tempted part of the community, we should make the escape of the criminal next to hopeless. But let not society stop here. Let it use every means in its power of rescuing its members from the degradation and misery of crime and

public punishment. Let it especially protect the exposed child. Here is a paramount duty which no community has yet fulfilled. If the child be left to grow up in utter ignorance of duty, of its Maker, of its relation to society, to grow up in an atmosphere of profaneness and intemperance, and in the practice of falsehood and fraud, let not the community complain of his crime. It has quietly looked on and seen him, year after year, arming himself against its order and peace; and who is most to blame when at last he deals the guilty blow? A moral care over the tempted and ignorant portion of the state is a primary duty of society.

I know that objection will be made to this representation of duty. It will be said by not a few, "We have not time to take care of others. We do our part in taking care of ourselves and our families. Let every man watch over his own household, and society will be at peace."

I reply, first, this defence is not founded in truth. Very few can honestly say that they have no time or strength to spend beyond their families. How much time, thought, wealth, strength, is wasted, absolutely wasted, by a large proportion of every people! Were the will equal to the power, were there a fraternal concern for the falling and fallen members of the community, what an amount of energy would be spent in redeeming society from its terrible evils, without the slightest diminution of exertion at home!

But, still more, we defeat ourselves, when we neglect the moral state of the city where we live, under pretence of caring for our families. How little may it profit you, my friends, that you labor at home, if in the next street, amidst haunts of vice, the incendiary, the thief, the ruffian, is learning his lesson or preparing his instruments of destruction! How little may it profit you that you are striving to educate your children, if around you the children of others are neglected, are contaminated with evil principles or impure passions! Where is it that our sons often receive the most powerful impulses? In the street, at school, from associates. Their ruin may be sealed by a young female brought up in the haunts of vice. Their first oaths may be echoes of profaneness which they hear from the sons of the abandoned. What is the great obstruction to our efforts for educating our children? It is the corruption around us. That corruption steals into our homes, and neutralizes the influence of home. We hope to keep our little circle pure amidst general impurity. This is like striving to keep our particular houses healthy, when infection is raging around us. If an accumulation of filth in our neighborhood were sending forth foul stench and pestilential vapors on every side, we should not plead, as a reason for letting it remain, that we were striving to prevent a like accumulation within our own doors. Disease would not less certainly invade us because the source of it was not prepared by ourselves. The infection of moral evil is as perilous as that of the plague. We have a personal interest in the prevalence of order and good principles on every side. If any member of the social body suffer, all must suffer with it. This is God's ordination, and his merciful ordination. It is thus that he summons us to watch over our brother for his good. In this city, where the children are taught chiefly in public schools, all parents have peculiar reason for seeking that all classes of society be improved.

Let me add one more reply to the excuse for neglecting others drawn from the necessity of attending to our own families. True, we must attend to our families; but what is the great end which we should propose in regard to our children? Is it to train them up for themselves only? to shut them up in their own pleasures? to give them a knowledge by which they may serve their private interests? Should it not be our first care to breathe into them the spirit of Christians? to give them a generous interest in our race? to fit them to live and to die for their fellow-beings? Is not this the true education? And can we, then, educate them better than by giving them, in our own persons, examples of a true concern for our less prosperous fellow-creatures? Should not our common tones awaken in them sympathy with the poor, and ignorant, and depraved? Should not the influences of home fit them to go forth as the benefactors of their race? This is a Christian education. This is

worth all accomplishments. Give to society a generous, disinterested son or daughter, and you will pay with interest the debt you owe it. Blessed is that home where such members are formed to be heads of future families and fountains of pure influence to the communities of which they form a part. In this respect our education is most deficient. Whilst we pay profusely for superficial accomplishments, very little is done to breathe a noble, heroic, self-sacrificing spirit into the young.

In reply to these remarks, ill-boding scepticism will cry out, "Why all this labor? Society cannot be improved. Its evils cannot be done away." But this croaking has little significance to one who believes in Christ, the divinely ordained Regenerator of the world, and who compares, in the light of history, the present with past times. On these authorities, I maintain that society *can* be improved. I am confident that this city would become a new place, a new creation, were the intelligent and good to seek in earnest to spread their intelligence and goodness. We have powers enough here for a mighty change, were they faithfully used. I would add, that God permits evils for this very end, that they should be resisted and subdued. He intends that this world shall grow better and happier, not through his own immediate agency, but through the labors and sufferings of benevolence. This world is left, in a measure, to the power of evil, that it should become a monument, a trophy, to the power of goodness. The greatness of its crimes and woes is not a ground for despair, but a call to greater effort. On our earth the divine Philanthropist has begun a war with evil. His cross is erected to gather together soldiers for the conflict, and victory is written in his blood. The spirit which Jesus Christ breathes has already proved itself equal to this warfare. How much has it already done to repress ferocity in Christian nations, to purify domestic life, to abolish or mitigate slavery, to provide asylums for disease and want! These are but its first fruits. In the progress already made by communities under its influences we are taught that society is not destined to repeat itself perpetually, to stand still for ever. We learn that great cities need not continue to be sinks of pollution. No man has seized the grand peculiarity of the present age who does not see in it the means and material of a vast and beneficent social change. The revolution which we are called to advance has, in truth, begun. The great distinction of our times is a diffusion of intelligence, and refinement, and of the spirit of progress, through a vastly wider sphere than formerly. The middle and laboring classes have means of improvement not dreamed of in earlier times. And why stop here? Why not increase these means where now enjoyed? Why not extend them where they are not possessed? Why shall any portion of the community be deprived of light, of sympathy, of the aids by which they may rise to comfort and virtue?

At the present moment it is singularly unreasonable to doubt and despair of the improvement of society. Providence is placing before our eyes, in broad light, the success of efforts for the melioration of human affairs. I might refer to the change produced among ourselves, within a few years, by the exertions of good men for the suppression of intemperance, the very vice which seemed the most inveterate, and which more than all others spreads poverty and crime. But this moral revolution in our own country sinks into nothing when compared with the amazing and almost incredible work now in progress on the other side of the ocean. A few years ago, had we been called to name the country of all others most degraded, beggared, and hopelessly crushed by intemperance, we should have selected Ireland. There men and women, old and young, were alike swept away by what seemed the irresistible torrent. Childhood was baptized into drunkenness. And now, in the short space of two or three years, this vice of ages has almost been rooted out. In a moral point of view, the Ireland of the past is vanished. A new Ireland has started into life. Three millions of her population have taken the pledge of total abstinence, and instances of violating the pledge are very, very rare. The great national anniversaries, on which the whole laboring population used to be dissolved in excess, are now given to innocent pleasures. The excise on ardent spirits has now been diminished nearly half a million ster-

ling. History records no revolution like this. It is the grand event of the present day. Father Matthew, the leader in this moral revolution, ranks far above the heroes and statesmen of the times. As Protestants, we smile at the old legends of the Catholic church; but here is something greater, and it is true. However we may question the claims of her departed saints, she has a living minister, if he may be judged from one work, who deserves to be canonized, and whose name should be placed in the calendar not far below apostles. And is this an age in which to be sceptical as to radical changes in society, as to the recovery of the mass of men from brutal ignorance and still more brutal vice?

The remarks which have now been made are needed at the present moment. Our city is growing, and we are impatient for its more rapid growth, as if size and numbers were happiness. We are anxious to swell our population. Is it not worth our while to inquire, what kind of a population we are to gather here? Are we so blind as to be willing and anxious to repeat the experience of other cities? Are we willing to increase only our physical comforts, our material wealth? Do we not know that great cities have hitherto drawn together the abandoned? have bred a horde of ignorant, profligate, criminal poor? have been deformed by the horrible contrasts of luxury and famine, of splendor and abject woe? Do we not know that among the indigent and laborious classes of great cities the mortality is fearfully great in comparison with that of the country? a result to be traced to the pestilential atmosphere which these people breathe, to the filth, darkness, and dampness of their dwellings, to the suffering, comfortless condition of their children, and to the gross vices which spring up from ignorance and destitution. Do we want no better destiny for this our dear and honored metropolis? You will not suspect me of being a foe to what are called improvements. Let our city grow. Let railroads connect it with the distant West. Let commerce link it with the remotest East. But, whilst its wealth and numbers grow, let its means of intelligence, religion, virtue, domestic purity, and fraternal union row faster. Let us be more anxious for moral than physical growth. May God withhold prosperity, unless it is to be inspired, hallowed, ennobled by public spirit, by institutions for higher education, and by increasing concern of the enlightened and opulent for the ignorant and poor! If prosperity is to narrow and harden us, to divide us into castes of high and low, to corrupt the rich by extravagance and pride, and to create a more reckless class of poor, then God avert it from us! But prosperity need not be so abused. It admits of noble uses. It may multiply the means of good. It may multiply teachers of truth and virtue. It may make the desert places of society blossom as the rose. To this end may our prosperity be consecrated. Thus may we requite the Author of all good.

How we may accomplish the good work now set before us I have not time to say. I would only ask your attention to one means of improving our city, to which our attention is particularly called by the occasion which has brought us together. I refer to the Ministry at Large. The reasons for this institution are too obvious to require labored exposition. That those classes of society which enjoy fewest advantages of education peculiarly need instruction and the voice of the living teacher; that those whose habits, conditions, and wants exclude them in effect from our churches, should be visited in their homes by the ministers of Christianity, who does not see and acknowledge? If we, with every means of culture, need the Christian ministry, the poor need it more. Is it not a duty, and should we not rejoice, to send forth faithful, enlightened men whose office shall be to strengthen those whom corrupt influences are sweeping from duty with peculiar power, to guide those who have no other counsellor, to admonish and cheer those who are pressed with heaviest temptations, to awaken the minds of those who are almost unconscious of their intellectual powers, to breathe fortitude into those who suffer most, to open a better world to those to whom this world is darkened, and, above all, to snatch their children from ruin, to protect the young who seem born to a heritage of want or crime? The ministry devoted to these offices is, undeniably, a wise, Christian, noble institution.

This evening you are called to contribute to its support. Do so cheerfully. You are not called to uphold a plan of doubtful charity, or to send teachers to remote regions, where years of anxious labor must be spent on an unbroken, unthankful soil before the fruit can appear. You are invited to sustain an institution seated in the heart of our city, and which, as you know, is sending the waters of life through our own population. Its chapels, Sunday-schools, libraries, are in the midst of you. The doors to which its ministers carry counsel and consolation are near your own. You see its influences this moment in these children. Its aim is to remove the saddest features of our civilization, the deep corruption of great cities; and in the energy which it now puts forth we have a pledge of a happier era, in which society will prosper without the terrible sacrifice of so many of its members. May this good work go on and spread, and may future generations bless us for saving them from some of the worst evils which darken our own age!

I have now closed my remarks on the general topic suggested by this occasion. But the work of the Ministry for the Poor has brought to my mind solemn and tender thoughts, which I know you will not think foreign to our present meeting, and which it will be a relief to my own spirit to express. The Ministry at Large in this city was chiefly originated and established by one of my earliest, dearest friends, who closed his eyes not many months since on a foreign shore. Allow me to pay a tribute to his memory; and in doing this allow me to speak with the freedom of friendship. I have not labored to collect materials for a regular history of this distinguished man, for I believe that I shall be more just to his memory in giving reminiscences of our long intercourse than in reporting a series of events. I will utter with all simplicity what rises to my memory, and I hope that the clear image which I bear of my departed friend may be transferred to the hearts of my hearers.

My acquaintance with JOSEPH TUCKERMAN began about forty-seven years ago, and during most of the time which has since elapsed we lived together as brothers, communicating thoughts, feelings, reproofs, encouragements, with a faithfulness not often surpassed. I think of him with peculiar pleasure, as he was, perhaps, the most signal example within my remembrance of improvement; of a man overcoming obstacles, and making progress under disadvantages. When I first met him in college he had the innocence of childhood; he was sympathizing, generous, without a stain of the vices to which youth is prone; but he did not seem to have any serious views of life. Three years he passed almost as a holiday, unconscious of his privileges, uninterested in his severer studies, surrendering himself to sportive impulses, which, however harmless in themselves, consumed the hours which should have been given to toil. How often has he spoken to me with grief and compunction of his early wasted life! In his last college year a change began, and the remote cause of it he often spoke of with lively sensibility. His mother, he was accustomed to say, was one of the best of women. She had instilled into him the truths of religion with a mother's love, tempered with no common wisdom. The seed was sown in a kindly nature. The religious principle, which at first had only been a restraint from evil, began to incite good; and to this the progress and greatness of his life were mainly due. On leaving college he gave himself to the Christian ministry; but, with the unchastened inconsideration of his youth, he plunged into his duties with little preparation. The consequence was a succession of mortifications, most painful at the time, but of which he afterwards spoke as a merciful discipline. So unpromising was the opening of a career of singular energy and usefulness.

By the kind ordination of Providence he was settled in a small, obscure parish, which offered nothing to gratify ambition or to dissipate the mind. Years passed in a life which we should call monotonous, but which was singularly fitted to give him the calmness and steadiness which he needed. Here he became a student, — a faithful, laborious student, — and accumulated much knowledge, and devoted no little time to the thorny topics of theology. Thus the defects of his early intellectual training were repaired, and his faculties sharpened and invigorated.

He was not, however, made to wear out life in such pursuits. His strength did not lie in abstract speculation. Had he given himself to this, he would never have forced his way to new or great views. His heart was his great power. To his moral, religious, benevolent sentiments he owed chiefly the expansion of his intellectual nature. Having laid a good foundation by study, an unerring instinct taught him that study was not his vocation. His heart yearned for active life. He became more and more penetrated with the miseries and crimes of the world. As he sat in his lonely study, the thought of what men endured on the land and the sea withdrew him from his books. He was irresistibly attracted towards his fellow-creatures, by their sufferings, and, still more, by a consciousness that there was something great beneath their sufferings, by a sympathy with their spiritual wants. His study window looked on the sea; and the white sail, as it skirted the horizon, reminded him of the ignorance and moral perils of the sailor; and, accordingly, he was the first man in the country to make an effort for the improvement and instruction of this class of men. The society which he instituted for this end did not answer its purpose: for he knew little or nothing of the people he wished to serve, nor was the community then awake, as it now is, to the work of reform. But the spirit which was moving in him was not depressed by failure. He soon gave himself with zeal to the missionary cause; thought, talked, and wrote about it with characteristic energy; and, had not family ties prevented, would have devoted himself, I believe, to the service of the heathen.

Whilst the passion for conflict with evil was struggling within him, his health failed, and for a time he had reason to fear that he was to be cut off from usefulness. But the same gracious Providence which had ordained with signal kindness the events of his past existence was guiding him through this dark passage to the great sphere and purpose of his life. His disease incapacitated him from answering the demand made upon his voice by the pulpit. He felt that he must cease from regular preaching; and what, then, was he to do? In a favored hour the thought of devoting himself to the service of the poor of this city entered his mind, and met a response within which gave it the character of a divine monition. He consulted me; and, in obedience to a long-rooted conviction that society needs new ministries and agencies for its redemption, and that men inspired with self-sacrificing zeal for its redemption are God's best gifts to the world, I encouraged his faith and hope.

At first he entered almost tremblingly the houses of the poor where he was a stranger, to offer his sympathy and friendship. But "the sheep knew the voice of the shepherd." The poor recognized by instinct their friend, and from the first moment a relation of singular tenderness and confidence was established between them. That part of his life I well remember, for he came often to pour into my ear and heart his experience and success. I well remember the effect which contact with the poor produced on his mind. He had loved them when he knew little of them: when their distresses came to him through the imagination. But he was a proof that no speculation or imagination can do the work of actual knowledge. So deep was the sympathy, so intense the interest, which the poor excited in him, that it seemed as if a new fountain of love had been opened within him. No favorite of fortune could have repaired to a palace, where the rays of royal favor were to be centered on him, with a more eager spirit and quicker step than our friend hastened to the abodes of want in the darkest alleys of our city. How often have I stood humbled before the deep spiritual love which burst from him in those free communications which few enjoyed beside myself! I cannot forget one evening, when, in conversing with the late Dr. Follen and myself on the claims of the poor, and on the cold-heartedness of society, he not only deeply moved us, but filled us with amazement, by his depth of feeling and energy of utterance; nor can I forget how, when he left us, Dr. Follen, a man fitted by his own spirit to judge of greatness, said to me, "*He is* a great man."

This strong love for his fellow-creatures was not a wild enthusiasm. It was founded on clear, deliberate perception of the spiritual nature, the immortal destination, of every human being. Who-

ever discerns truly and feels deeply this greatness of humanity, this relation of the soul to God, must, indeed, pass for an enthusiast in the present day; for our state of society is, in a great degree, a denial of the higher rights, claims, and destinies of a human being.

It was this love for the poor which gave to our friend's labors their efficacy, which made his ministry a living thing, and which gave it perpetuity. This house and our other chapels had their foundation in this love. He could not be kept from the poor. Cold, storms, sickness, severe pain, could not shut him up at home. Nothing but his domestic ties prevented him from taking up his abode among the indigent. He would sometimes say, that could he, on leaving the world, choose his sphere, it would be that of a ministering spirit to the poor; and if the spirits of departed good men return to our world, his, I doubt not, might be found in the haunts of want and woe. In this, as I have already said, there was no blinding enthusiasm. He saw distinctly the vices which are often found among the poor, — their craft, and sloth, and ingratitude. His ministry was carried on in the midst of their frequent filth and recklessness. The coarsest realities pressed him on every side. These were not the scenes to make an enthusiast. But amidst these he saw, now the fainter signs, now the triumphs, of a divine virtue. It was his delight to relate examples of patience, disinterestedness, piety amidst severest sufferings. These taught him, that, in the poorest hovels, he was walking among immortals, and his faith in the divinity within the soul turned his ministry into joy.

Dr. Tuckerman has sometimes been called the founder of the Ministry at Large. If by this language be meant that he first planned and established a distinct ministry for the poor, the language is incorrect. Before his time there had been men who had devoted themselves exclusively and faithfully to the religious instruction of those who cannot be gathered into the ordinary places of worship. His merit lay in giving a new life to the work, in showing what it could do, in raising it from neglect to a high place among the means of regenerating the world, and in awakening new hopes of the improvement of what had been looked on as the hopeless portion of society. The greatest benefactors of men are not so much those who discover or contrive wholly original and untried modes of action, as those who seize on familiar means or agencies and exalt them into new powers. Our friend had hardly entered into his ministry when he discovered its capacities. He saw that it opened a sphere of usefulness which had hardly been dreamed of. With prophetic faith, he threw into it his whole soul; and his example and success raised up others to confide in and to wield the same power. He may thus be said, in an important sense, to have established this ministry. Through him it has taken root in men's faith. It has passed, with all the energy which he imparted to it, into other hands, and is seen and felt to deserve a place among our permanent institutions. Much of this success was, undoubtedly, due to his singleness of heart; but much, also, to his clear insight into the principles of human nature which rendered the poor open to good influences, and into the means by which human beings in their condition may be most effectually approached.

In carrying on this great work, Dr. Tuckerman did not stand alone. He received important aids from sympathizing friends. He began his labors under the patronage of the American Unitarian Association. At length, to insure the continuance of the Ministry at Large and to extend its operation, a union, or, as it is called, a Fraternity, of several churches in the city was formed, to take this important work under its guidance and care. There were some among us who had come to feel that a Christian church was established not only for the edification of its own members, but for the general cause of Christianity; and that it was especially bound to extend the means of moral and religious instruction to such families or individuals in its neighborhood as, from poverty, or any other causes, were deprived of the benefit of the public ordinances of religion. In conformity to this idea the Fraternity was formed, on a simple but efficient plan. In each of the churches disposed to co-operate for the support of the Ministry at Large a branch association is established, the members of which contribute to this work according

to their means or sense of duty, and which is represented in a central board, to whose discretion the management of the whole concern is intrusted. By this arrangement various good ends are accomplished. The Ministry for the Poor has become linked with our most important religious institution, and may be hoped to partake of the durableness of the regular ministry. The churches are knit together by a new bond, not one of creeds, or tribunals, or organizations to accumulate power, but the holy bond of charity; and, still more, they are brought to recognize distinctly and practically their obligation to look beyond themselves, and to labor for the extension of Christian truth and virtue.

This association gave but a small salary to Dr. Tuckerman, but he desired nothing beyond what was necessary to save him from debt; and this he did desire. On this point he was peculiarly sensitive, so much so that a notice of him would be imperfect in which this trait should be omitted. He shrunk from the slightest pecuniary embarrassment as an intolerable evil. "Owe no man any thing," was a precept which he kept in sight in all his domestic arrangements; and, by his strict economy and wise providence, he was able to spend a long life and bring up a large family without once anticipating his income and without contracting a debt. Some of his friends, of looser habits, received lessons of wisdom and reproof in this respect from his counsel and example.

As to the great ideas which ruled over and guided his ministry, and as to the details of his operations, they may be gathered best from the Reports which he was accustomed to make to the societies under whose patronage he acted. He published, indeed, a volume on this subject; but it is hardly worthy of his abilities or his cause. It was prepared under the pressure of disease, when his constitution was so exhausted by excessive labor that he was compelled to forego all out-door duties. He wrote it with a morbid impatience, as if he might be taken away before giving it to the world. It ought, in truth, to be regarded as an extemporaneous effusion. It was hurried through the press whilst the friends whom he had consulted were hoping that it was undergoing a patient revision. Thus hastily composed, it was necessarily diffuse, — a fault which marks his most careful writings. It might, indeed, have been compressed to half the size; and, as might be expected, it fell almost dead from the press. This sore trial he bore with great equanimity; but he felt it deeply. The saddest words I heard from him in his sickness were those in which he expressed his regrets at having precipitated this publication.

It is in his Reports, chiefly, that the history of his ministry is to be studied. These are a treasure for the man who would act wisely on the poor. They are records of an uncommonly various experience. They show his insight into the temptations, perils, hearts, of the depressed and indigent; and, whilst exposing their errors and sins, breathe a never-failing sympathy. It is easy to see in these that the great principle which animated his ministry was an immovable faith in God's merciful purposes towards the poor. Their condition never, for a moment, seemed to him to separate them from their Creator. On the contrary, he felt God's presence in the narrow, comfortless dwelling of the poor as he felt it nowhere else.

His perpetual recognition of the spiritual, immortal nature of the poor gave to all his intercourse a character of tenderness and respect. He spoke to them plainly, boldly, but still as to the children of the same infinite Father. He trusted in man's moral nature, however bruised and crushed: he was sure that no heart could resist him, if he could but convince it of his sincere brotherly concern. One rule he observed almost too instinctively to make it a rule. He always spoke encouragingly. He felt that the weight under which the poor man's spirit was already sinking needed no addition from the harshness of his spiritual guide. He went forth in the power of brotherly love, and found it a divine armor. On this point too much cannot be said. The city of Boston has the honor, above all cities, of proving how much can be accomplished by a generous, affectionate mode of speech and action among those classes of society which it has been thought can only be reached by menace, sternness, and terror. Dr. Tuckerman and his successors, in their intercourse with the

poor, and the Rev. Mr. Taylor, in his labors among seamen, have taught us that men, in the most unpromising conditions, are to be treated as men; that under coarse jackets, and even rags, may be found tender and noble hearts; and that the heart, even when hardened, still responds to the voice of a true friend and brother. The horrible thought, that certain portions of society are to be kept down by appeals to their superstition and fear, has here received a refutation very cheering to the friends of humanity. Dr. Tuckerman carried among the poor his own highest views of religion, and often spoke to me of the eagerness with which they were received. He was, indeed, too wise a man to give them in an abstract form, or in technical language. They were steeped in his heart before they found their way to his lips; and, flowing warm and fresh from this fountain, they were drunk in as living waters by the thirsty souls of the poor.

A great secret of Dr. Tuckerman's success lay in his strong interest in individuals. It was not in his nature to act on masses by general methods; he threw his soul into particular cases. Every sufferer whom he visited seemed to awaken in him a special affection and concern. I remember well the language which he once used in regard to a man who had gone far astray. He said to me with deep emotion, "I want that man's soul; I *must* save him." He made the worst feel that they had a friend, and by his personal interest linked them anew with their race.

Let me add another explication of his success. He sought for something to love in all. He seized on any thing good which might remain in the fallen spirit; on any domestic affection, any generous feeling, which might have escaped the wreck of the character. If he could but touch one chord of love, one tender recollection of home, one feeling of shame or sorrow for the past, no matter how faintly, he rejoiced and took courage, like the good physician who, in watching over the drowned, detects a flutter of the pulse, or the feeblest sign of life. His hope in such cases tended to fulfil itself. His tones awakened a like hope in the fallen. "He did not break the bruised reed, or quench the smoking flax."

He began his ministry expecting to accomplish his work by visiting and conversation, and this he always relied on as the most important means of usefulness. But he soon found that social worship could not be dispensed with, that this was a want of human nature; that the poor, by the mere circumstance of leaving their homes and coming together in decent apparel for the worship of God, received a salutary impulse, and that in this way they could be brought most effectually to act on one another for good. He therefore resumed preaching, though unequal to the effort. The effect of this new situation in awakening his powers as a preacher was striking. In his sermons written for common congregations he had never been very attractive; but his free, extemporaneous, fervent address drew round him a crowd of poor who hung on his lips; and those who were not poor were moved by his fervent utterance. His idea of preaching underwent a great change. Whilst abstaining from public complaint, he would in private mourn over the lifeless discussions of the pulpit, which too often make the church cold as the grave.

His influence over the poor was a good deal increased by the variety of forms in which he exerted it. He was not merely a spiritual guide. He had much skill in the details of common life, was a good economist, understood much about the trades and labors in which the poor are most occupied, could suggest expedients for diminishing expense and multiplying comforts, and by these homely gifts won the confidence of the poor. He could sympathize with them in their minutest wants and sufferings, and opened a way for his high truths by being a wise counsellor as to their worldly interests. At the very moment when he passed with some for an enthusiast, he was teaching household management to a poor woman, or contriving employment for her husband, or finding a place for her child.

This reminds me of one branch of his labors in which he took special interest. He felt deeply for the children of the poor. They were in his mind habitually, as he walked the streets, and when he entered the indigent dwelling. He used to stop to

inquire into the residence and history of the begging child. He visited the market and the wharf to discover the young who were wasting the day in sloth, taking their first lessons in the art of theft. He was unwearied in his efforts to place these children in schools; and multitudes owe to him their moral safety and the education which prepared them for respectable lives. Through his means, not a few who had escaped all domestic control and entered on the downward path of crime, were sent to the House of Reformation: and he delighted to meet, or speak of, those who, under this influence, had been restored to innocence. To the interest which he awakened in the unprotected children of the poor we owe chiefly the establishment of the Farm School. If any subject peculiarly occupied his thoughts and heart, it was the duty of the city to that portion of the young who, if not adopted by society, must grow up to guilt and shame and public punishment. If his benevolence ever broke out in bitter reproach, it was in speaking of the general insensibility to the neglected child, trained up by its parents to beggary and fraud, accustomed to breathe the fumes of intemperance, and left to look on vice as its natural state. Such was his influence that street-beggary sensibly declined among us, an effect indicating an extent of good influence not easily apprehended.

To show his generous modes of viewing the poor, I would state that, for a time, he assembled the children one afternoon in the week to give them instruction in natural history. He took great delight in this branch of knowledge, and had stored up in his mind a large number of facts illustrative of the wisdom and goodness of God in the creation. These he used to unfold, and was able to awaken the curiosity and fix the attention of his young hearers; of which, indeed, they furnished proof, by giving him a portion of time usually spent in play. His want of strength, which compelled him to relinquish the pulpit, obliged him to give up this mode of teaching after a short trial.

I mention these various exertions as illustrative of the enlarged spirit which he carried into his work. His great object was to promote religion; but religion did not stand alone in his mind. He felt its connection with intellectual cultivation, with wise household management, with neatness and propriety of manners, and especially with the discharge of parental duty; and his labors may be said to have covered almost all the departments of social life. The truth is, that his heart was in his work. He did not think of it as the work of a day, or of a few years, but of life. He wanted to grow old and die in it. The world opened nothing to him, in all its various callings, more honorable, more godlike. His ambition, of which he had his share, and his disinterested and religious principles, all flowed into this channel; so that he acted with undivided energy, with a whole soul. Hence he became fruitful in expedients, detected new modes of influence, wound his way to his end gently and indirectly, and contrived to turn almost every thing to account. Some, indeed, complained that he dragged his poor into all companies and conversation. But we must learn to bear the infirmities of a fervent spirit, and to forgive a love which is stronger than our own, though it may happen to want the social tact in which the indifferent and trifling are apt to make the most proficiency.

On one subject Dr. Tuckerman agreed in opinion and feeling with all who visit and labor for the poor. He felt that the poverty of our city was due chiefly to intemperance, and that this enhances infinitely the woes of a destitute condition. A poor family into which this vice had not found its way was a privileged place in his sight. Poverty without drunkenness hardly seemed to rank, as an evil, by the side of that which drunkenness had generated. If there was one of our citizens whom he honored as eminently the friend of the poor, it was that unwearied philanthropist who, whilst his heart and hands are open to all the claims of misery, has selected, as his peculiar care, the cause of temperance.* Dr. Tuckerman's spirit groaned under the evils of intemperance as the ancient prophets under the burden of the woes which they were sent to denounce. The fumes of a distillery were, to his keen feelings,

* Moses Grant.

more noisome and deadly than the vapors of putrefaction and pestilence. He looked on a shop for vending ardent spirits as he would have looked on a pitfall opening into hell. At the sight of men who, under all our present lights, are growing rich by spreading these poisons through the land, he felt, I doubt not, how the curses of the lost and the groans of ruined wives and children were rising up against them. I know, for I have heard, the vehemence of entreaty with which Dr. Tuckerman sometimes approached the intemperate, and he has often related to me his persevering efforts for their recovery. Could he have bequeathed to the sober and Christian part of this city and Commonwealth his intense convictions in regard to this vice, it would soon be repressed; the sanction of public authority would no longer be given to its detestable haunts; one chief source of the miseries of our civilization would be dried up.

The influence of Dr. Tuckerman's labors was not confined to this city or country. His Reports found their way to Europe, and awakened similar exertions. When his declining health obliged him to cross the ocean not many years since, he met in England a cordial welcome from kindred spirits. His society was coveted by the good and eminent, and his experience listened to with profound respect. It was his happiness to meet there Rammohun Roy. I was informed by a friend who was present at their interviews that this wise and great Hindoo, whose oriental courtesy overflowed towards all, still distinguished our countryman by the affectionate veneration with which he embraced him. In France he was received with much kindness by the Baron Degerando, the distinguished philosopher and philanthropist whose extensive and profound researches into poverty, and into the means of its prevention or cure, have left him no rival, whether in the present or past times. This virtuous man, whose single name is enough to redeem France from the reproach, sometimes thrown on her, of indifference to the cause of humanity, has testified, in private letters and in his writings, his high consideration for the character and labors of our departed friend. In truth, Dr. Tuckerman's influence is now felt on both sides the ocean; and his name, linked as it is with the Ministry for the Poor, is one of the few among us which will be transmitted to remote posterity. There is hardly a more enduring monument on which a man can inscribe his name than a beneficent institution founded on the principles of human nature, and which is to act on large portions of society. Schemes of policy, accumulations of power, and almost all the writings of an age, pass away. The men who make most noise are lost and forgotten like the blasts of a trumpet. But institutions wrought into a people's habits, and, especially, incorporated with Christianity, — that immortal truth, that everlasting kingdom, — endure for ages. Our friend has left a name to live; — not that a name is worth an anxious thought; — but the ambitious, who mistake for it the shout of a brief day, may be usefully reminded that it is the meed of those who are toiling in obscure paths, and on whom they hardly deign to bestow a passing thought. Dr. Tuckerman was not wholly raised above this motive; and who of us is? But his work was incomparably dearer to him than renown: he toiled for years without dreaming of the reputation it was to bestow; and in that season of small things he used to say, that, if the rich and great who helped to sustain him could understand the dignity and happiness of his calling, they would covet it themselves, and choose to partake the toil which they deputed to another.

There was one testimony to his usefulness which gave him pleasure, and that was the sympathy of Christians who differed from him in opinion. He went among the poor to serve the purposes of no sect, but to breathe into them the spirit and hopes of Jesus Christ; and in all sects he found hearty well-wishers, and perhaps he left on none of us a deeper impression of his piety than on those with whose peculiarities he had least communion.

Among the propitious circumstances of the life of Dr Tuckerman I ought not to pass over his domestic ties. He was twice married, and each of these connections gave him an invaluable friend. I was particularly acquainted with his last wife, with whom a large part of his life was spent, and I am happy to pay this tribute to her singular worth. Her

reserve and shrinking delicacy threw a veil over her beautiful character. She was little known beyond her home; but there she silently spread around her that soft, pure light, the preciousness of which is never fully understood till it is quenched. The good Providence which adapts blessings to our wants was particularly manifested in giving to our friend such a companion. Her calm, gentle wisdom, her sweet humility, her sympathy, which, though tender, was too serene to disturb her clear perceptions, fitted her to act instinctively, and without the consciousness of either party, on his more sanguine, ardent mind. She was truly a spirit of good, diffusing a tranquillizing influence too mildly to be thought of, and therefore more sure. The blow which took her from him left a wound which time could not heal. Had his strength been continued, so that he could have gone from the house of mourning to the haunts of poverty, he would have escaped, for a good part of the day, the sense of his bereavement. But a few minutes' walk in the street now sent him wearied home. There the loving eye which had so long brightened at his entrance was to shed its mild beam on him no more. There the voice that had daily inquired into his labors, and like another conscience had whispered a sweet approval, was still. There the sympathy which had pressed with tender hand his aching head, and by its nursing care had postponed the hour of exhaustion and disease, was gone. He was not, indeed, left alone; for filial love and reverence spared no soothing offices; but these, though felt and spoken of as most precious, could not take the place of what had been removed. This great loss produced no burst of grief. It was a still, deep sorrow, the feeling of a mighty void, the last burden which the spirit can cast off. His attachment to life from this moment sensibly declined. In seasons of peculiar sensibility he wished to be gone. He kept near him the likeness of his departed friend, and spoke to me more than once of the solace which he had found in it, as what I in my more favored lot could not comprehend. He heard her voice from another world, and his anticipations of that world, always strong, became now more vivid and touching.

Enough has been said to illustrate the singular social virtues of Dr. Tuckerman. It is, however, true, that, in his casual intercourse with strangers, he did not make as favorable an impression as might have been expected from such a man. He seemed, to those who saw him seldom, too self-conscious. His excitable temperament sometimes hurried him into extravagance of speech. His feelings sometimes prevailed over his judgment. He wanted skill to detect the point beyond which the sympathy of the hearer could not follow him, so that he sometimes seemed to exact undue attention. The truth is, that human nature, even in very good men, is disproportioned, imperfect. We sometimes express our wonder at the meeting of elements so incongruous in the same character. But is there one of us so advanced as not to know from inward experience the contradictions of the human soul? It is cheering to think how little our trust in superior goodness is impaired by these partial obscurations. No man, perhaps, saw more distinctly than myself the imperfections of the good man of whom I speak. But my confidence in his great virtues was as firm as if he had been faultless. There was a genuineness in his love, his disinterestedness, of which I had no more doubt than of his existence. If ever man gave himself sincerely to the service of his race, it was he. I have made these remarks because I have long questioned the morality and wisdom of the prevalent style of indiscriminate praise of the dead. I fear we give a suspiciousness to our delineations of our friends by throwing over them the hues of unreal perfection. I hold no man to be worthy of eulogy who cannot afford to be spoken of as he was, who, after the worst is known, cannot inspire reverence and love.

I have spoken of Dr. Tuckerman in relation to his fellow-creatures; I should wrong him greatly if I did not speak of him in his highest relations. In these the beauty of his character was most apparent to those who saw farthest into his heart. Others admired his philanthrophy; to me his piety was more impressive. It partook of the warmth of his nature, but was calmer, wiser, purer, than his other emotions. It was simple, free, omnipresent, coming out

in unaffected utterance, coloring his common thoughts and feelings, and giving strength and elevation to all his virtues. It was such a piety as might be expected from its early history, — a piety breathed from the lips and caught from the beaming countenance of an excellent mother.

His religion was of the most enlarged, liberal character. He did not shut himself up even in Christianity. He took a lively interest in the testimony borne to God by nature, and in the strivings of ancient philosophy after divine truth. But Christianity was his rock, his defence, his nutriment, his life. He understood the character of Jesus by sympathy, as well as felt the need of his "glad tidings." He had been a faithful student of the Old Testament, and had once thought of preparing a work on Jewish antiquities. But his growing reverence for the New Testament led him to place a vast distance between it and the ancient Scriptures. At one period of his ministry, when the pressing demands of the poor compelled him to forego study entirely, I recollect his holding up to me a Greek Harmony of the Four Gospels, and his saying, that here was his library, that Christ's history was his theology, and that in the morning he snatched a moment for this, when he could find time for nothing else.

Religion in different individuals manifests itself in different forms. In him it shone forth peculiarly in faith or filial trust, and in gratitude. His faith in God was unbounded. It never wavered, never seemed to undergo a momentary eclipse. I have seen him under an affliction which in a few days wrought in his appearance the change of years; and his trust was like a rock, his submission entire. Much as he saw of the crimes and miseries of life, no doubt of the merciful purposes of God crossed his mind. Some ray of divine goodness streamed forth from the darkest trials and events. Undoubtedly his own love for the poor helped him to comprehend, as few do, how God loved them. The whole creation spoke to him of the paternal character and infinite glory of its Author. His filial piety called forth in him powers which would otherwise have slumbered. He was naturally wanting in the poetical element. He had little relish for music or the fine arts, and took no great pleasure in the higher works of imagination. But his piety opened his eye, ear, heart, to the manifestations of God in his works, revealed the beauty which surrounded him, and in this way became a source of sublime joy. On such a mind religious controversies could take but a slight hold. He outgrew them, and hardly seemed to know that they existed. That which pervades, tranquillizes, and exalts the souls of all Christians he understood; and in his busy life, which carried him from his study, he was willing to understand nothing more.

Congenial with this cheerful faith was the spirit of gratitude. In this he was probably the more eminent because it was favored by his temperament. He was naturally happy. There were next to no seeds of gloom, depression, in his nature. Life, as he first knew it, was bright, joyous, unclouded; and to this cause mainly the volatility of his early years was to be ascribed. As the magnet searches out and gathers round itself the scattered ore with which it has affinity, so his spirit selected and attached instinctively to itself the more cheerful views of Providence. In such a nature piety naturally took the form of gratitude. Thanks were the common breathings of his spirit. His lot seemed to him among the most favored on earth. His blessings did not wait to be recalled to his thoughts by a set, labored search. They started up of themselves, and stood before him robed in celestial light by association with the Goodness which bestowed them.

From these elements of his piety naturally grew up a hope of future glory, progress, happiness, more unmixed than I have known in others. The other world is commonly said to throw a brightness over the present. In his case the present also threw a brightness over the future. His constant experience of God's goodness awakened anticipations of a larger goodness hereafter. He would talk with a swelling heart, and in the most genuine language, of immortality, of heaven, of new access to God. In truth, his language was such as many good men could not always join in. The conscious unworthiness of many good men throws occasional clouds over the future. But no cloud seemed ever to dim his prospect; not

that he was unconscious of unworthiness: not that he thought of approaching Infinite Purity with a claim of merit: such a feeling never crossed his mind. But it was so natural to him to enjoy, his sense of God's constant goodness was so vivid, and Christ's promises so accordant with his experience, that heaven came to him as a reality without the ordinary effort which the faith and hope of most men require.

In his last sickness his character came out in all its beauty. He had not wholly lost the natural love of life. At times, when unpromising symptoms seemed to be giving way, he would use the means of recovery with hope. But generally he felt himself a dying man, whose chief work was finished, who had little to do with the world but to leave it. I have regretted that I did not take notes of some of his conversations. It was unsafe for him to talk, as the least excitement increased his burning fever; but when I would start an interesting topic, a flood of thoughts would rush into his mind and compel him to give them utterance. The future state was, of course, often present to him; and his conceptions of the soul's life and progress, in its new and nearer relations to God, to Christ, to the just made perfect, seemed to transport him, for a time, beyond the darkness and pains of his present lot. To show that there was no morbidness in these views, I ought to observe that they were mingled with the natural tastes and feelings which had grown from his past life. In his short seasons of respite from exhaustion and suffering he would talk with interest of the more important events of the day, and would seek recreation in books which had formerly entertained him. He was the same man as in health, with nothing forced or unnatural in his elevation of mind. He had always taken great pleasure in the writings of the moralists of antiquity, and perhaps the last book I put into his hands was Cicero's "Tusculan Questions," which he read with avidity and delight. So comprehensive was his spirit that, whilst Christ was his hope, and Christian perfection his aspiration, he still rejoiced to discern in the great Roman, on whom Christian truth had not yet dawned, such deep reverence for the majesty of virtue. As might be expected, "his ruling passion was strong in death." To the last moment of my intercourse with him the poor were in his heart. As he had given them his life, so death could not divide him from them.

One affecting view remains to be given. Dr. Tuckerman was a martyr to his cause. That his life was shortened by excessive toil cannot be doubted. His friends forewarned him of this result. He saw the danger himself, and once and again resolved to diminish his labors; but when he retreated from the poor they followed him to his house, and he could not resist their supplicating looks and tones. To my earnest and frequent remonstrance on this point he at times replied that his ministry might need a victim, that labors beyond his strength might be required to show what it was capable of effecting, and that he was willing to suffer and to die for the cause. Living thus, he grew prematurely old. His walks became more and more narrow. Then he was imprisoned at home. The prostration of strength was followed by a racking cough and burning fever. As we have seen, his last sickness was a bright testimony to his piety. But its end was sorrowful. By a mysterious ordination of Providence, the capacity of suffering often survives unimpaired, whilst the reason and affections seem to decay. So was it here. In the last hours of our friend the body seemed to prevail over the power of thought. He died in fearful pain. He was borne amidst agonies into the higher world. At length his martyrdom ceased; and who of us can utter or conceive the blessedness of the spirit rising from this thick darkness into the light of heaven!

Such was the founder of the Ministry at Large in this city, — a man whom I thoroughly knew; a man whose imperfections I could not but know, for they stood out on the surface of his character; but who had a great heart, who was willingly a victim to the cause which in the love and fear of God he had espoused, and who has left behind him as a memorial, not this fleeting tribute of friendship, but an institution which is to live for ages, and which entitles him to be ranked among the benefactors of this city and the world. When he began his work he had no anticipation of such an influence and such an

honor. He thought that he was devoting himself to an obscure life. He did not expect that his name would be heard beyond the dwellings of the poor. He was contented with believing that here and there an individual or a family would receive strength, light, and consolation from his ministry. But gradually the idea that he was beginning a movement that might survive him, and might more and more repress the worst social evils, opened on his mind. He saw more and more clearly that the Ministry at Large, with other agencies, was to change the aspect of a large portion of society. It became his deliberate conviction, and one which he often repeated, that great cities need not be haunts of vice and poverty; that in this city there were now intelligence, virtue, and piety enough, could they be brought into united action, to give a new intellectual and moral life to the more neglected classes of society. In this faith he acted, toiled, suffered, and died. His gratitude to God for sending him into this field of labor never failed him. For weeks before he left the country, never to return, I was almost the only visitor whom he had strength to see; and it was a joy to look on his pale, emaciated face lighted up with thankfulness for the work which had been given him to do, and with the hope that it would endure and grow when he should sleep in the dust. From such a life and such a death let us learn to love our poor and suffering brethren; and as we have ability let us send to them faithful and living men, whose sympathy, counsels prayers, will assuage sorrow, awaken the conscience, touch the heart, guide the young, comfort the old, and shed over the dark paths of this life the brightness of the life to come.

APPENDIX TO THE PRECEDING DISCOURSE.

IN the preceding discourse I have not spoken very distinctly of one part of Dr. Tuckerman's character, the strength of his attachment to individuals. He was not absorbed in one great object. The private and public affections lived together in him harmoniously and with equal fervor. His experience of life had not the common effect of chilling his early enthusiasm or his susceptibility of ardent attachment. He was true to old friends and prepared for new ones. His strong interest and delight in Dr. Follen and Dr. Spurzheim showed how naturally his heart opened itself to noble-minded strangers. From the latter his mind received a leaning towards phrenology. When he went to England his sympathies created a home for him wherever he stayed. Where other men would have made acquaintance he formed friendships. One of these was so precious to him, and contributed so much to the happiness of both parties, that it deserves notice in a memoir of him. I refer to his friendship with Lady Byron. Of his college classmates there were others as well as myself who enjoyed much of his affection to the last. One of these was Jonathan Phillips, Esq., whom he accompanied to Europe, and who had a true reverence for his goodness. The other was Judge Story, so eminent as a jurist at home and abroad. While the preceding discourse was passing through the press, I wrote to the latter, requesting him to communicate to me his reminiscences of our friend; and with characteristic kindness and warmth of heart he sent me the following letter, written, as he says, in haste but which will give much pleasure to all who have an interest in the deceased. I publish it the more gladly because his views of our friend's life at college are more favorable than those which I have given: —

"TO THE REV. W. E. CHANNING, D. D.

"MY DEAR SIR, — I comply very cheerfully with your request, although there are very few reminiscences of our late lamented classmate and friend, the Rev. Dr. Tuckerman, which I could supply, which are not already familiar to your mind. During our collegiate life my acquaintance with him was but slight until my junior year, when he became my chum; and so pleasant and confidential was our intercourse during that year that we should undoubtedly have continued chums during the remainder of our college studies, if some family arrangements had not made it convenient for him to adopt a different course. The change, however, did not prove the slightest interruption to our intercourse and friendship; and I feel great gratification in saying, that, from that period until the close of his life, I am not conscious that there was on either side any abatement of mutual affection and respect; and whenever and wherever we

met it was with the warm welcome of early and unsuspected friendship.

"Many of the characteristics so fully developed in his later life were clearly manifested when our acquaintance first commenced. During his college life he did not seem to have any high relish for most of the course of studies then pursued. He had an utter indifference, if not dislike, to mathematics, and logic, and metaphysics; and but a slight inclination for natural philosophy. He read the prescribed classical writers with moderate diligence, not so much as a matter of taste or ambition as of duty and as a task belonging to the recitation-room, the Latin being uniformly preferred to the Greek. And yet I should not say that he was idle or indolent, or without a strong desire of improvement. His principal pleasure lay in a devotion to the more open and facile branches of literature, and especially of English literature. History, moral philosophy, poetry, the drama, and the class of studies generally known by the name of belles-lettres, principally attracted his attention; and in these his reading was at once select and various. The writings of Addison, Johnson, and Goldsmith were quite familiar to him. The historical works of Robertson, and Gillies, and Ferguson, and other authors distinguished in that day, as well as the best biographical works, were within the range of his studies. In poetry he was more attached to those who addressed the feelings and imagination than to those who addressed the understanding, and moralized their song in the severe language of the condensed expression of truth, or the pungent pointedness of satire, or the sharp sallies of wit. Gray's 'Bard' and Collins's 'Ode to the Passions' were his favorites; and, above all, Shakspeare, in whose writings he was thoroughly well read; and he often declaimed many of the most stirring passages with the spirit and interest of the dramatic action of the stage. Young's 'Night Thoughts' seemed to be almost the only work which, from its deep and touching appeals, and elevated devotion, and darkened descriptions of life, and sudden bursts of eloquence and enthusiasm, made him feel at that time the potency of genius employed in unfolding religious truths. He possessed, also, a singular readiness and facility in composition, — perhaps what would by some persons be deemed a dangerous facility. What he wrote he threw off at once in the appropriate language, rarely correcting his first sketch, and not ambitious of condensing or refining the materials by successive efforts.

"I have thus far spoken of his tastes and intellectual pursuits and attachments in our college life. But what I most delight to dwell on are his warm-hearted benevolence, his buoyant and cheerful temper, his active, sympathetic charity, his gentle and frank manners, and, above all, that sunniness of soul which cast a bright light over all hours, and made our fireside one of the most pleasant of all social scenes. So uniform, indeed, was his kindness and desire to oblige, that I do not remember a single instance in which he ever betrayed either a hastiness of temper or a flash of resentment. He was accustomed to distribute a portion of his weekly allowance among the poor, and the friendless, and the suffering. His love of morals and virtue was as ardent as it was elevated. His conduct was blameless and pure. I do not believe that he ever wrote a word which, dying, he could have wished to blot on account of impurity of thought or allusion; and his conversation was at all times that which might have been heard by the most delicate and modest ears. Occasionally his buoyancy of spirits might lead him to indulge in giddy dreaminess, or romantic fervors, such as belong to the untried hopes and inexperience of youth. But it might with truth be said, that, even if he had any failings in this respect, they leaned to virtue's side.

"I confess, however, that the opening of his literary career did not then impress me with the notion that he would afterwards attain in his profession and character the eminence to which every one will now deem him justly entitled. He seemed to want that steadiness of purpose which looks difficulties in the face and overcomes obstacles because a high object lies behind them. His mind touched and examined many subjects, but was desultory and varying in its efforts. I was in this view mistaken; and I overlooked the probable effects, upon a mind like his, of deep religious sensibility, and, if I may so say, of an enthusiasm for goodness, when combined with a spirit of glowing benevolence.

"When we quitted college our opportunities of familiar intercourse, from the wide diversity of our pursuits, as well as from our local distance, were necessarily diminished. I saw him only at distant intervals while he was engaged in his preparatory studies for the ministry; and when, on entering his study one day, I found him reading Griesbach's edition of the New Testament with intense attention, and in his comments on it, in our conversation, discoursing with a force and discrimination which showed the earnestness with which he was endeavoring to master his profession, a new light struck upon me, and I began to perceive that he was redeeming his time, and disciplining his thoughts to the highest purposes. During

his residence, after his settlement, at Chelsea, I saw him frequently, either at Salem, where I then resided, or at Chelsea, where I took occasion, on my visits to Boston, to pass some time at his house. His improvement was constantly visible; his studies more expanded; his knowledge more exact, as well as various; and his piety, that beautiful ornament so deeply set in his character, shining forth, with its deep, and mild, and benignant light, with a peculiar attractiveness. I remember that for a long time Tucker's 'Light of Nature' was one of his favorite studies; and he made it the theme both of his praise and his criticism at many of our meetings. It was while he was at Chelsea, the minister of a comparatively small and isolated parish, that he nourished and matured the great scheme of his life and ambition, the Ministry at Large for the Poor. I need not dwell upon its beneficial effects, or its extraordinary success. I deem it one of the most glorious triumphs of Christian charity over the cold and reluctant doubts of popular opinion. The task was full of difficulties, to elevate the poor into a self-consciousness of their duty and destiny, and to bring the rich into sympathy with them; to relieve want and suffering without encouraging indolence or sloth; to give religious instruction where it was most needed, freely and without stint, and thus to widen the sphere of virtue, as well as the motives to its practice, among the desolate and the desponding. It was, in fact, doing what Burke has so beautifully expressed, — it was to remember the forgotten.

"But I am wandering from my purpose, and speaking to one who fully understands and has eagerly supported this excellent institution; and yet I think you will agree with me in saying, that its establishment and practical success were mainly owing to the uncompromising zeal and untiring benevolence of Dr. Tuckerman. It was the crowning labor of his life, and entitles him to a prominent rank among the benefactors of mankind.

"I do not know any one who exemplified in his life and conduct a more fervent or unaffected piety than Dr. Tuckerman did. It was cheerful, confiding, fixed, and uniform. It was less an intellectual exercise than a homage of the heart. It sprung from a profound feeling of the mercy and goodness of God. It was reverential; but at the same time filial. His death was in perfect keeping with his life; it was a good man's end, with a good man's Christian resignation, hope, and confidence.

"It was in the summer which preceded his death, that, on his recovery from a severe illness, he rode out to Cambridge. He came to my house, and in his warm, yet anxious manner, said to me, 'I could not pass your house, my friend, without desiring to see you once more before I died. I have been very ill, and, as I thought, very near to death. But I was tranquil and resigned, and ready to depart, if it was God's good pleasure. And I felt no fears.' He stayed with me some time, as long as I would allow him in his then feeble state of health. He talked over our long friendship, our youthful doings, and our advancing years. And when we parted he bade me a most affectionate farewell. It was our final farewell. I saw his face no more.

"I send you, my dear sir, these hasty sketches, such as they are, with a flying pen. I cannot suppose that there is any thing in them which would not have occurred more forcibly to others who knew Dr. Tuckerman. But I was unwilling to withhold my tribute to the great excellences of his character, his zeal in all good works, and his diffusive benevolence.

"'His saltem accumulem donis, et fungar inani Munere.'

"Believe me, truly and affectionately, your classmate and friend,

"JOSEPH STORY.

"CAMBRIDGE, *April* 10, 1841."

A friend has kindly translated the following from the Introduction to Baron Degerando's late work on Public Charity: —

"In a work recently published in Boston, by the respectable Dr. Tuckerman, we have a very remarkable exemplification of this assiduous, enlightened charity, quickened by religious sentiment. Dr. Tuckerman holds the offices of minister at large and distributer of charity to the indigent people of the city of Boston, and renders to a society of which he is the delegate a yearly account of his ministrations and observations. A work that he has just published contains the substance of a series of periodical reports, which throw invaluable light upon the condition and wants of the indigent, and the influence which an enlightened charity can exert. As we read, we follow the steps of the minister of the gospel, carrying assistance and consolation into the bosom of families overwhelmed with misfortune, and raising the debased, reforming the depraved. In such a school we learn the secrets of the art of benevolence. The author finds occasion, in treating this subject, to rise to the highest views of the theory and rules of this art. He makes his readers feel all the power of Christianity for the moral

improvement of the lower classes; he compares the legislation in his own country in respect to the poor with that of England and Scotland; discusses the rights of the indigent; and compares the relative situations of the rich and the poor, in order to the discovery of their mutual duties. He particularly discriminates between poverty and pauperism, and points out the grievous effects of the error which confounds them."

The following Biographical Sketch of Dr. Tuckerman is taken from an article upon his life and character, by Rev. E. S. Gannett, in the "Monthly Miscellany of Religion and Letters," July, 1840: —

"Joseph Tuckerman was born in Boston, January, 18, 1778. Of the early instructions of his mother, a truly pious woman, he always spoke with peculiar gratitude. His youth was passed in preparation for college partly at Phillips's Academy in Andover, and partly in the family of Rev. Mr. Thacher, of Dedham. In 1794 he entered Harvard College, where he was graduated in 1798, as one of the class to which Judge Story and Rev. Dr. Channing also belonged. His preparatory studies for the ministry were pursued under the direction of Rev. Mr. Thacher, of Dedham. Soon after he began to preach he received an invitation to become the successor of Rev. Dr. Payson, at Chelsea, where he was ordained November 4, 1801. In June, 1803, he was married to a daughter of the late Samuel Parkman, Esq., of this city, who died in the summer of 1807. In November, 1808, he was again married to Miss Sarah Cary, of Chelsea, who, after thirty-one years of the most happy connection, was taken to a higher life, leaving a remembrance dear to the hearts of a large circle of friends. In 1816 Mr. Tuckerman visited England, in the hope of deriving benefit to his health, but was absent only a short time; after his return he suffered much from dyspepsy, and never recovered the full tone of health. He continued in the active discharge of the duties of his ministry till the spring of 1826, when he felt the necessity of relinquishing in some measure the labors of the pulpit, and his mind, which had become much interested in the condition of the neglected poor of our cities, sought an opportunity of conducting a ministry peculiarly suited to their wants. On the 4th of November, 1826, just twenty-five years from the day of his ordination, he preached his farewell sermon at Chelsea, and immediately commenced his service in Boston, to which place he soon removed with his family. He was at first assisted in this work by a private association of gentlemen, who had for some time held stated meetings for their own religious improvement, and for conference upon the means of benevolent action; but he was very soon appointed a minister at large in this city by the Executive Committee of the American Unitarian Association, who became responsible for the small salary which he received, and which for several years was raised by the contributions of ladies in our different congregations. In 1828 the Friend-Street Chapel was erected for his use, as a place of worship for those whom he had brought to a sense of the value of religious institutions, but who were unable to pay for the privileges of the sanctuary. His untiring zeal in this ministry, the success of his labors among the poor, and the extent of his influence over the rich, evinced particularly in the confidence which they reposed in him as the almoner of their charities, were subjects of too familiar remark to need any illustration. The ardor with which he prosecuted his labors was too much for his bodily strength, and in 1833 he again visited Europe, in company with his friend, Mr. Phillips, and passed a year abroad, principally in England, where he formed many valuable friendships, and was instrumental in awakening much interest in his favorite subject, the moral elevation of the neglected and vicious poor. On his return he found the Ministry at Large placed on a more stable foundation than he had left it, the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches having been organized with a special view to its support. A more commodious chapel was erected, and younger laborers were associated with him. His own ability to render active service was, however, irretrievably impaired. The winter of 1836–7 he was obliged to spend in the milder climate of St. Croix, from which he returned, as it was thought, much benefited. But the vital force was too nearly exhausted. Repeatedly prostrated by disease, he rose only to show the steadfastness of those principles and purposes which filled his soul, and sunk again as if to prove the constancy of the faith which seemed to gain new power from suffering and bereavement. From a severe illness in the autumn of 1839 he so far revived, that, after much hesitation, a voyage to Cuba was recommended as the only means of prolonging his life. He sailed for Havana, and soon sought the interior of the island; but a short trial proved the hopelessness of the attempt to recruit an exhausted frame, and he returned, with the daughter who was his devoted companion, to Havana, where, after some days of extreme debility, attended with great suffering, he died, April 20, 1840, in his sixty-third year.

"Dr. Tuckerman received the honorary degree of Doctor in Divinity from Harvard University in 1826. It was a tribute to his ministerial fidelity. His published writings are few, excepting those which arose from his connection with the Ministry at Large. One of the last services he rendered to this institution was the preparation of a volume, which we fear has not obtained a wide circulation, upon 'The Principles and Results of the Ministry at Large.'"

At a meeting of the Central Board of the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches, May 10, 1840, the following resolution was unanimously passed: —

"*Resolved*, That the death of Rev. Joseph Tuckerman, D.D., demands on the part of this Board an expression of their deep sense of the value of his services to this community, and that, recognizing in him the first incumbent, if not the founder,* of the present institution of the Ministry at Large, they cannot but acknowledge the usefulness of a life the last years of which were devoted to this institution, in whose service his strength was exhausted; and while they submit to the Divine Will that has deprived them of the counsels and labors of this Christian philanthropist, they would cherish his spirit, and hold up his example before themselves and others as a motive and a guide to future exertions in behalf of the neglected and the sinful."

* In strictness of speech it might be doubted if Dr. Tuckerman should be styled the *founder* of the Ministry at Large, as gratuitous instruction to the poor had been given both by laymen and clergymen before his removal to Boston. In 1822 the association to which we have adverted had established evening religious lectures for those who attended no place of worship during the day; and Rev. Dr. Jenks was employed by another society in visiting and preaching to the poor. When Dr. Tuckerman came to Boston his own mind had not clearly defined its plans of operation, and the idea which was subsequently expanded into the institution of the Ministry at Large had not, perhaps, proceeded beyond a general purpose of devoting himself to the spiritual benefit of those who had no religious teacher or friend. The Committee of the American Unitarian Association must also share in the honor of establishing this ministry. But as it was his perseverance and success that gave both form and efficiency to the institution, it is but a small deviation from accuracy to call him its founder.

A resolution similar in character was passed at the annual meeting of the American Unitarian Association, May 26, 1840, namely: —

"*Resolved*, That the death of Rev. Dr. Tuckerman, senior Minister at Large in this city, an institution once under the care of this Association, demands the expression of our sincere respect for his memory, our deep gratitude for his services; and while we regret that his life of eminent usefulness and distinguished Christian philanthropy is closed, we would bow with submission to the Divine Will, and gather from his example lessons to quicken and guide our own efforts in the cause of human happiness and virtue."

Dr. Tuckerman's remains were brought to this country, and the funeral service was attended in King's Chapel, where he had been accustomed to worship during the last years of his life, in the afternoon of May 26. They were afterwards deposited at Mount Auburn.

THE PHILANTHROPIST:

A Tribute to the Memory of the Rev. Noah Worcester, D.D., Boston, Nov. 12, 1837.

John xiii. 34: "A new commandment I give unto you. That ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another."

It was the great purpose of Christ to create the world anew, to make a deep, broad, enduring change in human beings. He came to breathe his own soul into men, to bring them through faith into a connection and sympathy with himself, by which they would receive his divine virtue, as the branches receive quickening influences from the vine in which they abide, and the limbs from the head to which they are vitally bound.

It was especially the purpose of Jesus Christ to redeem men from the slavery of selfishness, to raise them to a divine, disinterested love. By this he intended that his followers should be known, that

his religion should be broadly divided from all former institutions. He meant that this should be worn as a frontlet on the brow, should beam as a light from the countenance, should shed a grace over the manners, should give tones of sympathy to the voice, and especially should give energy to the will, energy to do and suffer for others' good. Here is one of the grand distinctions of Christianity, incomparably grander than all the mysteries which have borne its name. Our knowledge of Christianity is to be measured, not by the laboriousness with which we have dived into the depths of theological systems, but by our comprehension of the nature, extent, energy, and glory of that disinterested principle which Christ enjoined as our likeness to God, and as the perfection of human nature.

This disinterestedness of Christianity is to be learned from Christ himself, and from no other. It had dawned on the world before in illustrious men, in prophets, sages, and legislators. But its full orb rose at Bethlehem. All the preceding history of the world gives but broken hints of the love which shone forth from Christ. Nor can this be learned from his precepts alone. We must go to his life, especially to his cross. His cross was the throne of his love. There it reigned, there it triumphed. On the countenance of the crucified Saviour there was one expression stronger than of dying agony, — the expression of calm, meek, unconquered, boundless love. I repeat it, the cross alone can teach us the energy and grandeur of the love which Christ came to impart. There we see its illimitableness; for he died for the whole world. There we learn its inexhaustible placability; for he died for the very enemies whose hands were reeking with his blood. There we learn its self-immolating strength; for he resigned every good of life, and endured intensest pains in the cause of our race. There we learn its spiritual elevation; for he died not to enrich men with outward and worldly goods, but to breathe new life, health, purity, into the soul. There we learn its far-reaching aim; for he died to give immortality of happiness. There we learn its tenderness and sympathy; for amidst his cares for the world, his heart overflowed with gratitude and love for his honored mother. There, in a word, we learn its divinity; for he suffered through his participation of the spirit and his devotion to the purposes of God, through unity of heart and will with his heavenly Father.

It is one of our chief privileges as Christians, that we have in Jesus Christ a revelation of perfect love. This great idea comes forth to us from his life and teaching, as a distinct and bright reality. To understand this is to understand Christianity. To call forth in us a corresponding energy of disinterested affection is the mission which Christianity has to accomplish on the earth.

There is one characteristic of the love of Christ, to which the Christian world are now waking up as from long sleep, and which is to do more than all things for the renovation of the world. He loved individual man. Before his time the most admired form of goodness was patriotism. Men loved their country, but cared nothing for their fellow-creatures beyond the limits of country, and cared little for the individual within those limits, devoting themselves to public interests, and especially to what was called the glory of the state. The legislator, seeking by his institutions to exalt his country above its rivals, and the warrior, fastening its yoke on its foes and crowning it with bloody laurels, were the great names of earlier times. Christ loved man, not masses of men; loved each and all, and not a particular country and class. The human being was dear to him for his own sake, not for the spot of earth on which he lived, not for the language he spoke, not for his rank in life, but for his humanity, for his spiritual nature, for the image of God in which he was made. Nothing outward in human condition engrossed the notice or narrowed the sympathies of Jesus. He looked to the human soul. That he loved. That divine spark he desired to cherish, no matter where it dwelt, no matter how it was dimmed. He loved man for his own sake, and all men without exclusion or exception. His ministry was not confined to a church, a chosen congregation. On the Mount he opened his mouth and spake to the promiscuous multitude. From the bosom of the lake he delivered his parables to the throng which lined its shores. His church was nature, the

unconfined air and earth; and his truths, like the blessed influences of nature's sunshine and rain, fell on each and all. He lived in the highway, the street, the places of concourse, and welcomed the eager crowds which gathered round him from every sphere and rank of life. Nor was it to crowds that his sympathy was confined. He did not need a multitude to excite him. The humblest individual drew his regards. He took the little child into his arms and blessed it; he heard the beggar crying to him by the wayside where he sat for alms; and in the anguish of death he administered consolation to a malefactor expiring at his side. In this shone forth the divine wisdom as well as love of Jesus, that he understood the worth of a human being. So truly did he comprehend it, that, as I think, he would have counted himself repaid for all his teachings and mighty works, for all his toils, and sufferings, and bitter death, by the redemption of a single soul. His love to every human being surpassed that of a parent to an only child. Jesus was great in all things, but in nothing greater than in his comprehension of the worth of a human spirit. Before his time no one dreamed of it. The many had been sacrificed to the few. The mass of men had been trodden under foot. History had been but a record of struggles and institutions which breathed nothing so strongly as contempt of the human race.

Jesus was the first philanthropist. He brought with him a new era, the era of philanthropy; and from his time a new spirit has moved over the troubled waters of society, and will move until it has brought order and beauty out of darkness and confusion. The men whom he trained, and into whom he had poured most largely his own spirit, were signs, proofs, that a new kingdom had come. They consecrated themselves to a work at that time without precedent, wholly original, such as had not entered human thought. They left home, possessions, country; went abroad into strange lands; and not only put life in peril, but laid it down, to spread the truth which they had received from their Lord, to make the true God, even the Father, known to his blinded children, to make the Saviour known to the sinner, to make life and immortality known to the dying, to give a new impulse to the human soul. We read of the mission of the Apostles as if it were a thing of course. The thought perhaps never comes to us that they entered on a sphere of action until that time wholly unexplored; that not a track had previously marked their path: that the great conception which inspired them, of converting a world, had never dawned on the sublimest intellect; that the spiritual love for every human being, which carried them over oceans and through deserts, amid scourgings and fastings, and imprisonments and death, was a new light from heaven breaking out on earth, a new revelation of the divinity in human nature. Then it was, that man began to yearn for man with a godlike love Then a new voice was heard on earth, the voice of prayer for the recovery, pardon, happiness of a world. It was most strange, it was a miracle more worthy of admiration than the raising of the dead, that from Judea, the most exclusive, narrow country under heaven, which hated and scorned all other nations, and shrunk from their touch as pollution, should go forth men to proclaim the doctrine of human brotherhood, to give to every human being, however fallen or despised, assurances of God's infinite love, to break down the barriers of nation and rank, to pour out their blood like water in the work of diffusing the spirit of universal love. Thus mightily did the character of Jesus act on the spirits of the men with whom he had lived. Since that time the civilized world has been overwhelmed by floods of barbarians, and ages of darkness have passed. But some rays of this divine light break on us through the thickest darkness. The new impulse given by Christianity was never wholly spent. The rude sculpture of the dark ages represented Jesus hanging from his cross; and however this image was abused to purposes of superstition, it still spoke to men of a philanthropy stronger than death, which felt and suffered for every human being; and a softening, humanizing virtue went from it, which even the barbarian could not wholly resist. In our own times, the character of Jesus is exerting more conspicuously its true and glorious power. We have, indeed, little cause for boasting. The great features of society are still hard and selfish. The worth

of a human being is a mystery still hid from an immense majority, and the most enlightened among us have not looked beneath the surface of this great truth. Still there is at this moment an interest in human nature, a sympathy with human suffering, a sensibility to the abuses and evils which deform society, a faith in man's capacity of progress, a desire of human progress, a desire to carry to every human being the means of rising to a better condition and a higher virtue, such as has never been witnessed before. Amidst the mercenariness which would degrade men into tools, and the ambition which would tread them down in its march toward power, there is still a respect for man as man, a recognition of his rights, a thirst for his elevation, which is the surest proof of a higher comprehension of Jesus Christ, and the surest augury of a happier state of human affairs. Humanity and justice are crying out in more and more piercing tones for the suffering, the enslaved, the ignorant, the poor, the prisoner, the orphan, the long-neglected seaman, the benighted heathen. I do not refer merely to new institutions for humanity, for these are not the most unambiguous proofs of progress. We see in the common consciousness of society, in the general feelings of individuals, traces of a more generous recognition of what man owes to man. The glare of outward distinction is somewhat dimmed. The prejudices of caste and rank are abated. A man is seen to be worth more than his wardrobe or his title. It begins to be understood that a Christian is to be a philanthropist, and that, in truth, the essence of Christianity is a spirit of martyrdom in the cause of mankind.

This subject has been brought to my mind at the present moment by an event in this vicinity which has drawn little attention, but which I could not, without self-reproach, suffer to pass unnoticed. Within a few days, a great and good man, a singular example of the philanthropy which Jesus Christ came to breathe into the world, has been taken away; and as it was my happiness to know him more intimately than most among us, I feel as if I were called to bear a testimony to his rare goodness, and to hold up his example as a manifestation of what Christianity can accomplish in the human mind. I refer to the Rev. Noah Worcester, who has been justly called the Apostle of Peace, who finished his course at Brighton during the last week. His great age, — for he was almost eighty, — and the long and entire seclusion to which debility had compelled him, have probably made his name a strange one to some who hear me. In truth, it is common in the present age for eminent men to be forgotten during their lives, if their lives are much prolonged. Society is now a quick-shifting pageant. New actors hurry the old ones from the stage. The former stability of things is strikingly impaired. The authority which gathered round the aged has declined. The young seize impatiently the prizes of life. The hurried, bustling, tumultuous, feverish present swallows up men's thoughts, so that he who retires from active pursuits is as little known to the rising generation as if he were dead. It is not wonderful, then, that Dr. Worcester was so far forgotten by his contemporaries. But the future will redress the wrongs of the present: and in the progress of civilization, history will guard more and more sacredly the memories of men who have advanced before their age, and devoted themselves to great but neglected interests of humanity.

Dr. Worcester's efforts in relation to war, or in the cause of peace, made him eminently a public man, and constitute his chief claim to public consideration; and these were not founded on accidental circumstances or foreign influences, but wholly on the strong and peculiar tendencies of his mind. He was distinguished above all whom I have known, by his comprehension and deep feeling of the spirit of Christianity; by the sympathy with which he seized on the character of Jesus Christ as a manifestation of perfect love; by the honor in which he held the mild, humble, forgiving, disinterested virtues of our religion. This distinguishing trait of his mind was embodied and brought out in his whole life and conduct. He especially expressed it in his labors for the promotion of universal peace on the earth. He was struck, as no other man within my acquaintance has been, with the monstrous incongruity between the spirit of Christianity and the spirit of Christian communities; between Christ's teaching of peace, mercy, forgiveness,

and the wars which divide and desolate the church and the world. Every man has particular impressions which rule over and give a hue to his mind. Every man is struck by some evils rather than others. The excellent individual of whom I speak was shocked, heart-smitten, by nothing so much as by seeing that man hates man, that man destroys his brother, that man has drenched the earth with his brother's blood, that man, in his insanity, has crowned the murderer of his race with the highest honors; and, still worse, that Christian hates Christian, that church wars against church, that differences of forms and opinions array against each other those whom Christ died to join together in closest brotherhood, and that Christian zeal is spent in building up sects, rather than in spreading the spirit of Christ, and enlarging and binding together the universal church. The great evil on which his mind and heart fixed, was war, discord, intolerance, the substitution of force for reason and love. To spread peace on earth became the object of his life. Under this impulse he gave birth and impulse to peace societies. This new movement is to be traced to him above all other men; and his name, I doubt not, will be handed down to future time with increasing veneration as the "Friend of Peace," as having given new force to the principles which are gradually to abate the horrors, and ultimately extinguish the spirit, of war.

The history of the good man, as far as I have learned it, is singularly instructive and encouraging. He was self-taught, self-formed. He was born in narrow circumstances, and, to the age of twenty-one, was a laborious farmer, not only deprived of a collegiate education, but of the advantages which may be enjoyed in a more prosperous family. An early marriage brought on him the cares of a growing family. Still he found, or rather made, time for sufficient improvements to introduce him into the ministry before his thirtieth year. He was first settled in a parish too poor to give him even a scanty support; and he was compelled to take a farm, on which he toiled by day, whilst in the evening he was often obliged to use a mechanical art for the benefit of his family. He made their shoes, — an occupation of which Coleridge has somewhere remarked, that it has been followed by a greater number of eminent men than any other trade. By the side of his work-bench he kept ink and paper, that he might write down the interesting thoughts which he traced out, or which rushed on him amidst his humble labors. I take pleasure in stating this part of his history. The prejudice against manual labor, as inconsistent with personal dignity, is one of the most irrational and pernicious, especially in a free country. It shows how little we comprehend the spirit of our institutions, and how deeply we are tainted with the narrow maxims of the old aristocracies of Europe. Here was a man uniting great intellectual improvement with refinement of manners, who had been trained under unusual severity of toil. This country has lost much physical and moral strength, and its prosperity is at this moment depressed, by the common propensity to forsake the plough for less manly pursuits, which are thought, however, to promise greater dignity as well as ease.

His first book was a series of letters to a Baptist minister, and in this he gave promise of the direction which the efforts of his life were to assume. The great object of these letters was, not to settle the controversies about baptism, about the mode of administering it, whether by immersion or sprinkling, or about the proper subjects of it, whether children or adults alone. His aim was to show that these were inferior questions, that differences about these ought not to divide Christians, that the "close communion," as it is called, of the Baptists, was inconsistent with the liberal spirit of Christianity, and that this obstruction to Christian unity ought to be removed.

His next publication was what brought him into notice, and gave him an important place in our theological history. It was a publication on the Trinity; and what is worthy of remark, it preceded the animated controversy on that point which a few years after agitated this city and Commonwealth. The mind of Dr. Worcester was turned to this topic not by foreign impulses, but by its own workings. He had been brought up in the strictest sect, that is, as a Calvinist. His first doubts as to the Trinity arose from the confusion, the perplexity, into

which his mind was thrown by this doctrine in his acts of devotion. To worship three persons as one and the same God, as one and the same being, seemed to him difficult, if not impossible. He accordingly resolved to read and examine the Scriptures from beginning to end, for the purpose of ascertaining the true doctrine respecting God, and the true rank of Jesus Christ. The views at which he arrived were so different from what prevailed around him, and some of them so peculiar, that he communicated them to the public under the rather quaint title of "Bible News relating to the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit." His great aim was to prove that the Supreme God was one person, even the Father, and that Jesus Christ was not the Supreme God, but his Son in a strict and peculiar sense. This idea of "the peculiar and natural sonship" of Christ, by which he meant that Jesus was derived from the very substance of the Father, had taken a strong hold on his mind, and he insisted on it with as much confidence as was consistent with his deep sense of fallibility. But, as might be expected in so wise and spiritual a man, it faded more and more from his mind, in proportion as he became acquainted with and assimilated to the true glory of his Master. In one of his unpublished manuscripts, he gives an account of his change of views in this particular, and, without disclaiming expressly the doctrine which had formerly seemed so precious, he informs us that it had lost its importance in his sight. The moral, spiritual dignity of Christ had risen on his mind in such splendor as to dim his old idea of "natural sonship." In one place he affirms, "I do not recollect an instance [in the Scriptures] in which Christ is spoken of as loved, honored, or praised, on any other ground than his moral dignity." This moral greatness he declares to be the highest with which Jesus was clothed, and expresses his conviction, "that the controversies of Christians about his natural dignity had tended very little to the honor of their Master, or to their own advantage." The manuscript to which I refer was written after his seventieth year, and is very illustrative of his character. It shows that his love of truth was stronger than the tenacity with which age commonly clings to old ideas. It shows him superior to the theory, which more than any other he had considered his own, and which had been the fruit of very laborious study. It shows how strongly he felt that progress was the law and end of his being, and how he continued to make progress to the last hour. The work called "Bible News" drew much attention, and converted not a few to the doctrine of the proper unity of God. Its calm, benignant spirit had no small influence in disarming prejudice and unkindness. He found, however, that his defection from his original faith had exposed him to much suspicion and reproach: and he became at length so painfully impressed with the intolerance which his work had excited, that he published another shorter work, called "Letters to Trinitarians," a work breathing the very spirit of Jesus, and intended to teach that diversities of opinion on subjects the most mysterious and perplexing ought not to sever friends, to dissolve the Christian tie, to divide the church, to fasten on the dissenter from the common faith the charge of heresy, to array the disciples of the Prince of Peace in hostile bands. These works obtained such favor, that he was solicited to leave the obscure town in which he ministered, and to take charge, in this place, of a periodical called at first the "Christian Disciple," and now better known as the "Christian Examiner." At that time (about twenty-five years ago) I first saw him. Long and severe toil, and a most painful disease, had left their traces on his once athletic frame; but his countenance beamed with a benignity which at once attracted confidence and affection. For several years he consulted me habitually in the conduct of the work which he edited. I recollect with admiration the gentleness, humility, and sweetness of temper with which he endured freedoms, corrections, retrenchments, some of which I feel now to have been unwarranted, and which no other man would so kindly have borne. This work was commenced very much for doctrinal discussions, but his spirit could not brook such limitations, and he used its pages more and more for the dissemination of his principles of philanthropy and peace. At length he gave these principles to the world in a form which did much to decide his future career. He

published a pamphlet, called "A Solemn Review of the Custom of War." It bore no name, and appeared without recommendation, but it immediately seized on attention. It was read by multitudes in this country, then published in England, and translated, as I have heard, into several languages of Europe. Such was the impression made by this work, that a new association, called the Peace Society of Massachusetts, was instituted in this place. I well recollect the day of its formation in yonder house, then the parsonage of this parish; and if there was a happy man that day on earth, it was the founder of this institution. This society gave birth to all the kindred ones in this country, and its influence was felt abroad. Dr. Worcester assumed the charge of its periodical, and devoted himself for years to this cause, with unabating faith and zeal; and it may be doubted whether any man who ever lived contributed more than he to spread just sentiments on the subject of war, and to hasten the era of universal peace. He began his efforts in the darkest day, when the whole civilized world was shaken by conflict, and threatened with military despotism. He lived to see more than twenty years of general peace, and to see through these years a multiplication of national ties, an extension of commercial communications, an establishment of new connections between Christians and learned men through the world, and a growing reciprocity of friendly and beneficent influence among different states, all giving aid to the principles of peace, and encouraging hopes which a century ago would have been deemed insane.

The abolition of war, to which this good man devoted himself, is no longer to be set down as a creation of fancy, a dream of enthusiastic philanthropy. War rests on opinion; and opinion is more and more withdrawing its support. War rests on contempt of human nature; on the long, mournful habit of regarding the mass of human beings as machines, or as animals having no higher use than to be shot at and murdered for the glory of a chief, for the seating of this or that family on a throne, for the petty interests or selfish rivalries which have inflamed states to conflict. Let the worth of a human being be felt; let the mass of a people be elevated; let it be understood that a man was made to enjoy inalienable rights, to improve lofty powers, to secure a vast happiness; and a main pillar of war will fall. And is it not plain that these views are taking place of the contempt in which man has so long been held? War finds another support in the prejudices and partialities of a narrow patriotism. Let the great Christian principle of human brotherhood be comprehended, let the Christian spirit of universal love gain ground, and just so fast the custom of war, so long the pride of men, will become their abhorrence and execration. It is encouraging to see how outward events are concurring with the influences of Christianity in promoting peace; how an exclusive nationality is yielding to growing intercourse; how different nations, by mutual visits, by the interchange of thoughts and products, by studying one another's language and literature, by union of efforts in the cause of religion and humanity, are growing up to the consciousness of belonging to one great family. Every railroad, connecting distant regions, may be regarded as accomplishing a ministry of peace. Every year which passes without war, by interweaving more various ties of interest and friendship, is a pledge of coming years of peace. The prophetic faith with which Dr. Worcester, in the midst of universal war, looked forward to a happier era, and which was smiled at as enthusiasm, or credulity, has already received a sanction beyond his fondest hopes, by the wonderful progress of human affairs.

On the subject of war, Dr. Worcester adopted opinions which are thought by some to be extreme. He interpreted literally the precept, "Resist not evil;" and he believed that nations, as well as individuals, would find safety, as well as "fulfil righteousness," in yielding it literal obedience. One of the most striking traits of his character was his confidence in the power of love, I might say, in its omnipotence. He believed that the surest way to subdue a foe was to become his friend; that a true benevolence was a surer defence than swords, or artillery, or walls of adamant. He believed that no mightier man ever trod the soil of America than William Penn, when entering the wil-

derness unarmed, and stretching out to the savage a hand which refused all earthly weapons, in token of brotherhood and peace. There was something grand in the calm confidence with which he expressed his conviction of the superiority of moral to physical force. Armies, fiery passions, quick resentments, and the spirit of vengeance, miscalled honor, seemed to him weak, low instruments, inviting, and often hastening, the ruin which they are used to avert. Many will think him in error; but if so, it was a grand thought which led him astray.

At the age of seventy, he felt as if he had discharged his mission as a preacher of peace, and resigned his office as Secretary to the Society, to which he had given the strength of many years. He did not, however, retire to unfruitful repose. Bodily infirmity had increased, so that he was very much confined to his house; but he returned with zeal to the studies of his early life, and produced two theological works, one on the Atonement, the other on Human Depravity, or the moral state of man by nature, which I regard as among the most useful books on these long-agitated subjects. These writings, particularly the last, have failed of the popularity which they merit, in consequence of a defect of style, which may be traced to his defective education, and which naturally increased with years. I refer to his diffuseness, — to his inability to condense his thoughts. His writings, however, are not wanting in merits of style. They are simple and clear. They abound to a remarkable degree in ingenious illustration, and they have often the charm which original thinking always gives to composition. He was truly an original writer, not in the sense of making great discoveries, but in the sense of writing from his own mind, and not from books or tradition. What he wrote had perhaps been written before; but in consequence of his limited reading, it was new to himself, and came to him with the freshness of discovery. Sometimes great thoughts flashed on his mind as if they had been inspirations; and in writing his last book, he seems to have felt as if some extraordinary light had been imparted from above. After his seventy-fifth year he ceased to write books, but his mind lost nothing of its activity. He was so enfeebled by a distressing disease, that he could converse but for a few moments at a time; yet he entered into all the great movements of the age with an interest distinguished from the fervor of youth only by its mildness and its serene trust. The attempts made in some of our cities to propagate atheistical principles gave him much concern; and he applied himself to fresh inquiries into the proofs of the existence and perfections of God, hoping to turn his labors to the account of his erring fellow-creatures. With this view, he entered on the study of nature as a glorious testimony to its almighty Author. I shall never forget the delight which illumined his countenance a short time ago, as he told me that he had just been reading the history of the coral, the insect which raises islands in the sea. "How wonderfully," he exclaimed, "is God's providence revealed in these little creatures!" The last subject to which he devoted his thoughts was slavery. His mild spirit could never reconcile itself to the methods in which this evil is often assailed; but the greatness of the evil he deeply felt, and he left several essays on this as on the preceding subject, which, if they should be found unfit for publication, will still bear witness to the intense, unfaltering interest with which he bound himself to the cause of mankind.

I have thus given a sketch of the history of a good man, who lived and died the lover of his kind, and the admiration of his friends. Two views of him particularly impressed me. The first was the unity, the harmony of his character. He had no jarring elements. His whole nature had been blended and melted into one strong, serene love. His mission was to preach peace, and he preached it not on set occasions, or by separate efforts, but in his whole life. It breathed in his tones. It beamed from his venerable countenance. He carried it, where it is least apt to be found, into the religious controversies which raged around him with great vehemence, but which never excited him to a word of anger or intolerance. All my impressions of him are harmonious. I recollect no discord in his beautiful life. And this serenity was not the result of torpidness or tameness;

for his whole life was a conflict with what he thought error. He made no compromise with the world, and yet he loved it as deeply and constantly as if it had responded in shouts to all his views and feelings.

The next great impression which I received from him was that of the sufficiency of the mind to its own happiness, or of its independence on outward things. He was for years debilitated, and often a great sufferer; and his circumstances were very narrow, compelling him to so strict an economy that he was sometimes represented, though falsely, as wanting the common comforts of life. In this tried and narrow condition, he was among the most contented of men. He spoke of his old age as among the happiest portions, if not the very happiest, in his life. In conversation his religion manifested itself in gratitude more frequently than in any other form. When I have visited him in his last years, and looked on his serene countenance, and heard his cheerful voice, and seen the youthful earnestness with which he was reading a variety of books, and studying the great interests of humanity, I have felt how little of this outward world is needed to our happiness. I have felt the greatness of the human spirit which could create to itself such joy from its own resources. I have felt the folly, the insanity of that prevailing worldliness which, in accumulating outward good, neglects the imperishable soul. On leaving his house and turning my face toward this city, I have said to myself, how much richer is this poor man than the richest who dwell yonder! I have been ashamed of my own dependence on outward good. I am always happy to express my obligations to the benefactors of my mind; and I owe it to Dr. Worcester to say, that my acquaintance with him gave me clearer comprehension of the spirit of Christ, and of the dignity of a man.

And he has gone to his reward. He has gone to that world of which he carried in his own breast so rich an earnest and pledge, to a world of peace. He has gone to Jesus Christ, whose spirit he so deeply comprehended and so freely imbibed; and to God, whose universal, all-suffering, all-embracing love he adored, and in a humble measure made manifest in his own life. But he is not wholly gone; not gone in heart, for I am sure that a better world has heightened, not extinguished, his affection for his race; and not gone in influence, for his thoughts remain in his works, and his memory is laid up as a sacred treasure in many minds. A spirit so beautiful ought to multiply itself in those to whom it is made known. May we all be incited by it to a more grateful, cheerful love of God, and a serener, gentler, nobler love of our fellow-creatures!

A DISCOURSE OCCASIONED BY THE DEATH OF THE REV. DR. FOLLEN.

[On the 13th of January, 1840, the steamboat "Lexington" was burned on Long Island Sound, about fifty miles from New York. Of the crew and passengers only four escaped. Among the lost was the Rev. Charles Follen, LL.D. These circumstances gave occasion to the following discourse, which was deferred until all hope of the escape of Dr. Follen was taken away.]

1 PETER iv. 19: "Wherefore, let them that suffer according to the will of God commit the keeping of their souls to him in well-doing, as unto a faithful Creator."

THESE words suggest a great variety of thoughts, and might furnish topics for many discourses. I ask now your attention to the clause in which we read of "them that suffer according to the will of God," or by divine ordination. I wish to speak of the sufferings of life in general of their greatness of their being ordained or intended by God, and of their consistency with his goodness; and I shall close with reflections suggested by the particular suffering which we have recently been called to deplore.

Suffering fills a large place in the present system. It is not an accident, an exception to the course of nature, a "strange work" exciting wonder as a prodigy, but it enters into every life, and, may I not say, enters largely into every life? Undoubtedly, a great amount of suffering may be traced to human ignorance and guilt; and this will gradually disappear, in proportion to the progress of truth and virtue. Still, under the imperfections which seem inseparable from this first stage of our being, a great amount will remain. Youth is slow to see this. Youth, unable to sympathize with and appreciate sorrows which it has not felt, and throwing the light of its own native joyousness over the future, dreams sometimes of a paradise on earth. But how soon does it find that blighting changes, solemn events, break in sternly, irresistibly on its path! And even when the outward life is smooth and prosperous, how soon does it find in its vehement affections, its unrequited friendships, its wounded pride, its unappeased thirst for happiness, fountains of bitterer grief than comes from abroad! Sometimes the religious man, with good intentions, but wanting wisdom and strength, tries to palliate the evils of life, to cover its dark features, to exaggerate its transient pleasures, for the purpose of sheltering God's goodness from reproach. But this will not avail. The truth cannot be hidden. Life is laid open to every eye, as well as known by each man's experience; and we do and must see that suffering, deep suffering, is one of the chief elements in our lot. It is not a slender, dark thread, winding now and then through a warp of dazzling brightness; but is interwoven with the whole texture. Not that suffering exceeds enjoyment; not that life, if viewed simply in reference to pleasure, is not a great good. But to every man it is a struggle. It has heavy burdens, deep wounds for each; and this I state, that we may all of us understand that suffering is not accidental, but designed for us, that it enters into God's purpose, that it has a great work to do, and that we know nothing of life till we comprehend its uses, and have learned how to accomplish them.

God intends that we shall suffer. It is sometimes said that he has created nothing for the purpose of giving pain, but that every contrivance in the system has good for its object. The teeth are made to prepare food for digestion, not to ache; the lungs, to inhale the refreshing air, not to ripen the seeds of consumption. All this is true, and a beautiful illustration of kind purpose in the Creator. But it is also true that every organ of the body, in consequence of the delicacy of its structure, and its susceptibility of influences from abroad, becomes an inlet of acute pain. It is a remarkable fact that we know the inward organs chiefly by the pain they have given. The science of anatomy has grown almost wholly out of the exposure of the frame to suffering; and what an amount of suffering springs from this source! A single nerve may thrill us with agony. Sleep, food, friends, books, all may be robbed of their power to interest, by the irritation of a little bunch of fibres, which the naked eye can hardly trace. After the study of ages, the science of medicine has not completed the catalogue of diseases; and how little can its ministrations avert their progress, or mitigate their pains! Undoubtedly this class of pains may be much diminished by a wise self-restraint; but the body, inheriting disease from a long line of ancestors, and brought into conflicts with the mighty elements around it, must still be the seat of much suffering. These elements, how grand, how expressive of God's majesty and goodness; yet how fearful! What avails the strength of the body against thunders, whirlwinds, fierce waves, and fiercer flames, against "the pestilence which walketh in darkness," or the silent exhalation which wasteth at noon-day! Thus, pain comes from God's provisions for the animal frame: and how much comes from the spirit, and from the very powers and affections which make the glory of our nature! Our reason, how is it darkened by prejudice instilled in early years. how often is it called to decide amidst conflicting and nearly balanced arguments; how often does its light fail, in the most critical moments of life! How do we suffer from wrong judgments which we had not means to correct! How often does this high power sympathize with the suffering body, and, under nervous disease, sometimes un-

dergo total eclipse! Then our love, the principle which thirsts, burns for companionship, sympathy, confidence, how often is it repelled by coldness, or wounded by neglect, or tortured by inconstancy! Sometimes its faith in virtue is shaken by the turpitude of those to whom it has given its trust. And when true love finds true requital, the uncertainty of life mixes trembling with its joy, and bereavement turns it into anguish. There are still deeper pains, those of the conscience, especially when it wakes from long sleep, when it is startled by new revelations of slighted duties, of irreparable wrongs to man, of base unfaithfulness to God. The conscience! what misgivings, apprehensions, and piercing self-rebuke accompany its ministry, when it first enters on earnest warfare with temptation and passion! Thus, suffering comes to us through and from our whole nature. It cannot be winked out of sight. It cannot be thrust into a subordinate place in the picture of human life. It is the chief burden of history. It is the solemn theme of one of the highest departments of literature, the tragic drama. It gives to fictions their deep interest. It wails through much of our poetry. A large part of human vocations are intended to shut up some of its avenues. It has left traces on every human countenance, over which years have passed. It is, to not a few, the most vivid recollection of life.

I have thus taken a rapid survey of life, to show you that suffering is not an accident, not something which now and then slides into the order of events, because too unimportant to require provision against its recurrence, but that it is one of the grand features of life, one of the chief ministers of Providence. But all these details of suffering might be spared. There is one simple thought, sufficient of itself to show that suffering is the intention of the Creator. It is this. We are created with a susceptibility of pain, and severe pain. This is a part of our nature, as truly as our susceptibility of enjoyment. God has implanted it, and has thus opened in the very centre of our being a fountain of suffering. We carry it within us, and can no more escape it than we can our power of thought. We are apt to throw our pains on outward things as their causes. It is the fire, the sea, the sword, or human enmity which gives us pain. But there is no pain in the fire or the sword which passes thence into our souls. The pain begins and ends in the soul itself. Outward things are only the occasions. Even the body has no pain in it, which it infuses into the mind. Of itself, it is incapable of suffering. This hand may be cracked, crushed in the rack of the inquisitor, and that burned in a slow fire; but in these cases it is not the fibres, the blood-vessels, the bones of the hands which endure pain. These are merely connected by the will of the Creator with the springs of pain in the soul. Here, here is the only origin and seat of suffering. If God so willed, the gashing of the flesh with a knife, the piercing of the heart with a dagger, might be the occasion of exquisite delight. We know that, in the heat of battle, a wound is not felt, and that men, dying for their faith by instruments of torture, have expired with triumph on their lips. In these cases, the spring of suffering in the mind is not touched by the lacerations of the body, in consequence of the absorbing action of other principles of the soul. All suffering is to be traced to the susceptibility, the capacity of pain, which belongs to our nature, and which the Creator has implanted ineradicably within us. It is not enough to say that the elements, or any outward or bodily influences, are the sources of suffering. This is to stop at the surface. The outward agent only springs a mine, a fountain within us. Oh, the great deep of suffering in every human breast! Probably most of us have experienced pains more intense than any pleasures we have ever enjoyed. In the present stage of our being, the capacity of agony gets the start of or is more largely developed than the capacity of rapturous joy. Our most vehement emotions are those of sorrow; nor is there any way of escaping suffering. Among the most prosperous, the heart often aches, it knows not why. Sighs are heaved from the breast apparently without cause. Every soul has its night as well as its day; and a darkness sometimes gathers over nature and life which must come from within, for nothing abroad has occurred to depress us.

To diminish this weight of suffering

is one great end of human toils and cares. A thousand arts are plied to remove outward causes of pain; and how many contrivances are there of amusement and dissipation, to quiet the restlessness, to soothe the irritations, to fill the aching void, which belong to the spirit! But I apprehend little has been yet achieved by all the labor; nor can much be done but by a deep working, which statesmen and the busy crowd seldom or never dream of. It is thought, indeed, that modern civilization has diminished very much the evils of life. But when we take into the account the immense amount of toil by which our accommodations are accumulated, and the tendencies of comforts and luxuries to soften the spirit, to weaken its self-command, and increase its sensibility to hardships and exposure, I suspect that our debt is not very great to civilization, considered as the antagonist of physical pain; and as to the sufferings which spring from mental causes, from the conscience, the passions, the affections, we cannot doubt that as yet they have been vastly heightened by our civilization. Not that I deny that arts and civilization are great goods; but they prove such only when they make progress in union with the higher principles of our nature, only when they forward and are subordinated to a spiritual regeneration, of which society as yet gives few signs.

It may be said that I have given a dark picture of the government of God; and I may be asked how his goodness is to be vindicated. I reply that I am less and less anxious to make formal vindications of the goodness of God. It needs no advocate. It will take care of itself. In spite of clouds, men, who have eyes, believe in the sun, and none but the blind can seriously question the Creator's goodness. We hear, indeed, of men led into doubts on this point by their sufferings; but these doubts have generally a deeper source than the evils of life. Such scepticism is a moral disease, the growth of some open or lurking depravity. It is not created, but brought into light by the pressure of suffering. It is, indeed, true that a good man, in seasons of peculiar, repeated, pressing calamities, may fall into dejection and perplexity. His faith may tremble for the moment. The passing cloud may hide the sun. But deliberate, habitual questionings of God's benevolence, argue great moral deficiency. Whoever sees the glory, and feels within himself the power of disinterested goodness, is quick to recognize it in others, especially in his Creator. He sees in his own love a sign, expression, and communication of uncreated, unbounded, all-originating love. The idea of malignity in the infinite Creator shocks his moral nature just as a palpable contradiction offends his reason. He repels it with indignation and horror. Suffering has little to do towards creating a settled scepticism. The most sceptical men, the most insensible to God's goodness, the most prone to murmur, may be found among those who are laden above all others with the goods of life, whose cup overflows with prosperity, and who, by an abuse of prosperity, have become selfish, exacting, and all alive to inconveniences and privations. These are the cold-hearted and doubting. If I were to seek those whose conviction of God's goodness is faintest and most easily disturbed, I would seek them in the palace sooner than the hovel. I would go to the luxurious table, to the pillow of ease, to those among us who abound most, to the self-exalting, the self-worshipping, not to the depressed and forsaken. The profoundest sense of God's goodness which it has been my privilege to witness, I have seen in the countenance and heard from the lips of the suffering. I have found none to lean on God with such filial trust as those whom he has afflicted. I doubt, indeed, if true gratitude and true confidence ever spring up in the human soul until it has suffered. A superficial, sentimental recognition of God's goodness may indeed be found among those who have lived only to enjoy. But deep, strong, earnest piety strikes root in the soil which has been broken and softened by calamity. Such, I believe, is the observation of every man who has watched the progress of human character; and therefore I say that I fear very little the influence of suffering in producing scepticism. Still, virtuous minds are sometimes visited with perplexities, with painful surprise; and in seasons of peculiar calamity, the question is asked with reverence, but still with anxiety. How is it that so much suffering is ex-

perienced under a Being of perfect goodness? and such passing clouds are apt to darken us in earlier life, and in the earlier stages of the Christian character? On this account it is right to seek and communicate such explanations as may be granted us of the ways of God.

One of the most common vindications of divine benevolence is found in the fact that, much as men suffer, they enjoy more. We are told that there is a great balance of pleasure over pain, and that it is by what prevails in a system that we must judge of its author. This view is by no means to be overlooked. It is substantially true. There is a great excess of enjoyment, of present good in life. The pains of sickness may indeed be intenser than the pleasures of health, but health is the rule, and sickness the exception. A few are blind, or deaf, or speechless; but almost all men maintain, through the open eye and ear, perpetual communication with outward nature and one another. Some may be broken down with excessive toil; but, to the great mass of men, labor is healthful, invigorating, and gives a zest to repose, and to the common blessings of life. We all suffer more or less from our connection with imperfect fellow-creatures; but how much more of good comes to us from our social nature, from the sympathies and kind offices of families, friends, neighbors, than of pain from malignity and wrongs! There is, indeed, a great amount of suffering, and there is an intensity in suffering not found in pleasure; and yet, when we take a broad view, we must see a much greater amount of gratification. The world is not a hospital, an alms-house, a dungeon. A beautiful sun shines on it. Flowers and fruits deck its fields. A reviving atmosphere encompasses it, and man has power, by arts and commerce, to multiply and spread almost indefinitely its provision for human wants. Here is an eloquent testimony to the goodness of the Creator. And yet the obstinate sceptic may escape its power. He will say, Be it granted that pleasure prevails over pain; still, is not much pain inflicted? and how can this be reconciled with perfect goodness? Does a kind father satisfy himself with giving a greater amount of enjoyment than of suffering? Suppose a parent to heap on a child every possible indulgence for twenty hours of the day, and to visit him with a severe pain the remaining four, should we celebrate his tenderness? Besides, it will be added, are there not individual cases in which suffering outweighs enjoyment? Are there none whose lives have been filled up with disease and want? and be these ever so few, they disprove God's love to every human being, if this love is to be vindicated by the excess of pleasure over pain. I state these objections, not because they weigh in the least on my own mind, but because they show that the argument in favor of divine goodness, drawn from the passing events of life, is not of itself a sufficient foundation for faith to rest on. Whoever confines his view to the alternations of good and evil in every man's lot, cannot well escape doubt. We must take higher ground. We must cease to count pleasures and pains, as if working a sum in arithmetic, or to weigh them against each other as in scales. We need larger views of ourselves and the universe, and these will more and more establish our faith in the perfection of God.

There is a grand vindication of God's benevolence, not reaching, indeed, to every case of suffering, not broad enough to cover the whole ground of human experience, but still so comprehensive, so sublime, as to assure us that what remains obscure would be turned into light, could all its connections be discerned. This is found in the truth, that benevolence has a higher aim than to bestow enjoyment. There is a higher good than enjoyment; and this requires suffering in order to be gained. As long as we narrow our view of benevolence, and see in it only a disposition to bestow pleasure, so long life will be a mystery; for pleasure is plainly not its great end. Earth is not a paradise, where streams of joy gush out unbidden at our feet, and uncloying fruits tempt us on every side to stretch out our hands and eat. But this does not detract from God's love; because he has something better for us than gushing streams or profuse indulgence. When we look into ourselves, we find something besides capacities and desires of pleasure. Amidst the selfish and animal principles of our nature, there is an awful power, a sense of right, a voice which speaks of duty, an idea grander than the largest per-

sonal interest, the idea of excellence, of perfection. Here is the seal of Divinity on us; here the sign of our descent from God. It is in this gift that we see the benevolence of God. It is in writing this inward law on the heart, it is in giving us the conception of moral goodness, and the power to strive after it, the power of self-conflict and self-denial, of surrendering pleasure to duty, and of suffering for the right, the true, and the good; — it is in thus enduing us, and not in giving us capacities of pleasure, that God's goodness shines: and, of consequence, whatever gives a field and excitement and exercise and strength and dignity to these principles of our nature, is the highest manifestation of benevolence. I trust I speak a language to which all who hear me in some measure respond. You know, you feel the difference between excellence and indulgence, between conscience and appetite, between right-doing and prosperity, between strivings to realize the idea of perfection and strivings for gain. No one can wholly overlook these different elements within us; and can any one question which is God's greatest gift, or for what ends such warring principles are united in our souls?

The end of our being is to educate, bring out, and perfect the divine principles of our nature. We were made and are upheld in life for this as our great end, that we may be true to the principle of duty within us; that we may put down all desire and appetite beneath the inward law; that we may enthrone God, the infinitely perfect Father, in our souls; that we may count all things as dross in comparison with sanctity of heart and life; that we may hunger and thirst for righteousness, more than for daily food; that we may resolutely and honestly seek for and communicate truth; that disinterested love and impartial justice may triumph over every motion of selfishness and every tendency to wrong-doing; in a word, that our whole lives, labors, conversation, may express and strengthen reverence for ourselves, for our fellow-creatures, and, above all, for God. Such is the good for which we are made; and in order to this triumph of virtuous and religious principles, we are exposed to temptation, hardship, pain. Is suffering, then, inconsistent with God's love?

Moral, spiritual excellence, that which we confide in and revere, is not, and from its nature cannot be, an instinctive, irresistible feeling infused into us from abroad, and which may grow up amidst a life of indulgence and ease. It is, in its very essence, a free activity, an energy of the will, a deliberate preference of the right and the holy to all things, and a chosen, cheerful surrender of every thing to these. It grows brighter, stronger, in proportion to the pains it bears, the difficulties it surmounts. Can we wonder that we suffer? Is not suffering the true school of a moral being? As administered by Providence, may it not be the most necessary portion of our lot?

Had I time, I might show how suffering ministers to human excellence; how it calls forth the magnanimous and sublime virtues, and at the same time nourishes the tenderest, sweetest sympathies of our nature; how it raises us to energy and to the consciousness of our powers, and at the same time infuses the meekest dependence on God: how it stimulates toil for the goods of this world, and at the same time weans us from it, and lifts us above it. I might tell you how I have seen it admonishing the heedless, reproving the presumptuous, humbling the proud, rousing the sluggish, softening the insensible, awakening the slumbering conscience, speaking of God to the ungrateful, infusing courage and force and faith and unwavering hope of heaven. I do not, then, doubt God's beneficence on account of the sorrows and pains of life. I look without gloom on this suffering world. True, suffering abounds. The wail of the mourner comes to me from every region under heaven; from every human habitation, for death enters into all: from the ocean, where the groan of the dying mingles with the solemn roar of the waves; from the fierce flame, encircling, as an atmosphere or shroud, the beloved, the revered. Still, all these forms of suffering do not subdue my faith, for all are fitted to awaken the human soul, and through all it may be glorified. We shrink indeed with horror, when imagination carries us to the blazing, sinking vessel, where young and old, the mother and her child, husbands, fathers, friends, are overwhelmed by a common, sudden, fearful fate.

But the soul is mightier than the unsparing elements. I have read of holy men who, in days of persecution, have been led to the stake, to pay the penalty of their uprightness, not in fierce and suddenly destroying flames, but in a slow fire; and, though one retracting word would have snatched them from death, they have chosen to be bound; and, amidst the protracted agonies of limb burning after limb, they have looked to God with unwavering faith and sought forgiveness for their enemies. What, then, are outward fires to the celestial flame within us? And can I feel as if God had ceased to love, as if man were forsaken of his Creator, because his body is scattered into ashes by the fire? It would seem as if God intended to disarm the most terrible events of their power to disturb our faith, by making them the occasions of the sublimest virtues. In shipwrecks we are furnished with some of the most remarkable examples that history affords of trust in God, of unconquerable energy, and of tender, self-sacrificing love, making the devouring ocean the most glorious spot on earth. A friend rescued from a wreck told me that a company of pious Christians, who had been left in the sinking ship, were heard from the boat in which he had found safety, lifting up their voices, not in shrieks or moans, but in a joint hymn to God, thus awaiting, in a serene act of piety, the last, swift-approaching hour. How much grander was that hymn than the ocean's roar! And what becomes of suffering, when thus awakening into an energy, otherwise unknown, the highest sentiments of the soul? I can shed tears over human griefs; but thus viewed they do not discourage me; they strengthen my faith in God.

I will not say that I have now offered a sufficient explanation of the evils of life, a complete vindication of God's providence in the permission of suffering. Do not think me so presumptuous. What! shall a weak man, who is but dust and ashes, talk of vindicating fully the providence of God? That providence, could I explain it, would not be infinite. In this our childhood, plunged as we are into the midst of a boundless universe, we must expect to find mysteries on every side of us. Darkness must hem in all our steps. I presume not to say why this or that event has befallen us. I bow my head with filial reverence before the infinite Disposer. How little of him do I, can I, comprehend! Still he vouchsafes to us some light in this our darkness. Still he has given us, in our own spirits, some cheering revelations of the designs of his vast, mysterious providence; and these we are gratefully to receive, and to use them as confirmations of our faith and hope.

I have been led to this subject by the appalling calamity which, for a few days past, has filled so many of our thoughts, and awakened universal sympathy in our community. I was driven by this awful visitation of God's providence to turn my mind to the sufferings of human life, and some of my reflections I have now laid before you. It is not my desire to bring back to your imaginations that affecting scene. Our imaginations in such seasons need no quickening. They often scare us with unreal terrors, and thus our doubts of God's goodness are aggravated by the fictions of our own diseased minds. Most of us are probably destined to pass through more painful, because more lingering, deaths than the lamented sufferers who have within a few days been so suddenly summoned to the presence of God. The ocean is a softer, less torturing bed than that which is to be spread for many here. It was not the physical pain which I shuddered at when I first heard of that night of horrors. It was the mental agony of those who, in a moment of health and security, were roused to see distinctly the abyss opening beneath them, to see God's awful ministers of fire and sea commissioned to sunder at once every hold on life, and to carry them so unwarned into the unknown world. Even this agony, however, in the first moment of our grief and horror, was perhaps exaggerated. When my mind, composed by time, now goes back to that flame-encircled boat, I search for one among the crowd who was singularly dear to me, the close and faithful friend of many years; and as he rises to my mind, I see no terror on his countenance. I see him with collected mind and quick eye looking round him for means of escape, using every energy of a fearless spirit, thoughtful, too, of others as well as of himself, and desist-

ing from no efforts of love and prudence till the power of effort failed. I see, indeed, one agony; it was the thought that the dear countenances of wife and child and beloved friend were to be seen no more on earth. I see another, perhaps deeper agony; it was the thought of the woe which his loss was to inflict on hearts dearer to him than life. But even at that hour his love was not all agony; for it had always lived in union with faith. He had loved spiritually; he had reverenced in his friends an infinite, undying nature; he had cherished in them principles and hopes stronger than death. I cannot doubt that in that fearful hour he committed them and himself with filial trust to the all-merciful Father. I cannot doubt that death was disarmed of its worst terrors, that the spirit passed away in breathings of unutterable love and immortal hope. Thus died one of that seemingly forlorn, desolate, forsaken company; I hope, thus others died. But one such example mingles with the terrors and agonies of that night so much that is heavenly, soothing, cheering, that I can look at the scene without overwhelming gloom, and without one doubt of the perfect goodness of God.

The friend to whom I have referred was not only my friend, but most dear to several who worship in this house. For their sakes, more than my own, I would say something of his character; though, in truth, I have a higher object than to minister to any private grief. This is not the place for the utterance of personal feeling. This house was reared not for the glory even of the best and the greatest of men, but for the glory of God, and for the spiritual edification of his worshippers. I feel, however, that God is honored and man edified by notices of such of our race as have signally manifested the spirit of the Divinity in their lives, and have left a bright path to guide others to a better world.

The friend of whom I speak was one of the few who seem set apart from the race by blamelessness of life and elevation of spirit. All who have had opportunities of knowing him will testify, by a spontaneous impulse, that they knew no purer, nobler human being. Some think that on the whole he was the best of whom it has been their privilege to know. Such a man may be spoken of even in the house of God, in that place where flattery is profanation, and God, not man, is to be adored. Our friend did not grow up among us. He came here an exile from a distant land; and, poor and unfriended, was to earn his bread with toil; and under these disadvantages he not only won friends and a home, but was adopted with love and trust, which few inspire who have been known from infancy to age.

The character which secured such love it is not difficult to depict, because greatness is simple, artless, and lies open to every eye. It was his distinction that he united in himself those excellences which at first seem to repel each other, though in truth they are of one loving family. This union was so striking as to impress even those who did not enjoy his intimacy. For example, he was a hero, a man of a lion-heart, victorious over fear, gathering strength and animation from danger, and bound the faster to duty by its hardships and privations; and at the same time he was a child in simplicity, sweetness, innocence, and benignity. His firmness, which I trusted perhaps more than that of any man, had not the least alloy of roughness. His countenance, which at times wore a stern decision, was generally lighted up with a beautiful benignity; and his voice, which expressed, when occasion required it, an inflexible will, was to many of us musical beyond expression, from the deep tenderness which it breathed.

As another example of seemingly incongruous virtues, he was singularly alive to the domestic affections. Who, that saw him in the bosom of his family, can forget the deep sympathies and the overflowing joyousness of his spirit? His home was pervaded by his love as by the sun's light. A stranger might have thought that his whole soul was centred there; and yet with these strong domestic affections he joined a love of his race far more rare. His heart beat in unison with the mighty heart of humanity. He did not love mankind as these words are commonly used. He was knit to them by a strong living tie of brotherhood. He felt for all men, but above all for the depressed and the wronged. His mild countenance would flash fire at the mention of an injured

man; not the fire of revenge, or unkindness, but of holy indignation, of unbounded love and reverence for invaded right.

I can mention another union of qualities not always reconciled. He was a man of refined taste. He loved refined society. His manners, courteous, sweet, bland, fitted him for intercourse with the most cultivated, and he enjoyed it keenly: and yet his deepest sympathies were given to the mass of men. He was the friend of the laboring man. He had a great respect for minds which had been trained in simple habits, and amidst the toils of life; and could he have chosen the congregation to which he would minister, it would have been composed chiefly of such members.

I will mention one more union of seemingly dissimilar virtues. He was singularly independent in his judgments. He was not only uninfluenced by authority and numbers and interest and popularity, but by friendship, by those he most loved and honored. He seemed almost too tenacious of his convictions. But with all this firmness of judgment he never gave offence by positiveness, never challenged assent, never urged his dearest convictions with unbecoming warmth, never in argument passed the limits of the most delicate courtesy, and, from a reverence of others' rights, encouraged the freest expression of opinion, however hostile to his own.

Such were some of the traits of this good and great man; and of these traits, which bore rule? Not a few, who saw him cursorily, remember most distinctly his singular sweetness and benignity. But had these predominated, I might not, perhaps, think myself authorized to pay him this extended tribute in a Christian congregation. I should confine the utterance of my grief to the circle of private friendship. It was his calm, enlightened, Christian heroism which imparted to his character its singular glory. His sweetness threw a lustre over this attribute, by showing that it was no morbid enthusiasm, no reckless self-exposure; that he was not raised above danger and personal regards by vehemence of emotion. His heroism had its root and life in reason, in the sense of justice, in the disinterested principles of Christianity, in deliberate, enlightened reverence for human nature and for the rights of every human being. It was singularly free from passion. Tender and affectionate as his nature was, his sense of justice, his reverence for right, was stronger than his affections; and this was the chief basis and element of his heroic character. Accordingly, the love of freedom glowed as a central, inextinguishable fire in his soul; not the schoolboy's passion for liberty, caught from the blood-stained pages of Greece and Rome, but a love of freedom, resting on and blended with the calmest knowledge, growing from clear, profound perceptions of the nature and destiny and inalienable rights of man. He felt, to the very depth of his soul, that man, God's rational, immortal creature, was worth living for and dying for. To him, the most grievous sight on earth was not misery in its most agonizing forms, but the sight of man oppressed, trodden down by his brother. To lift him up, to make him free, to restore him to the dignity of a man, to restore him to the holy hope of a Christian, — this seemed to him the grandest work on earth, and he consecrated himself to it with his whole soul. I felt habitually in his presence that here was a man ready at any moment to shed his blood for truth and freedom. For his devotion to human rights he had been exiled from his home and native country; he had been hunted by arbitrary power in foreign lands, and had sought safety beyond an ocean. But peril and persecution, whilst they had tempered his youthful enthusiasm, had only wrought more deeply into his soul the principles for which he had suffered, and his resolution, in growing calmer, had grown more invincible.

His greatness had one of the chief marks of reality; it was unpretending. He had no thought of playing the part of a hero. He was never more himself, never more unstudied, spontaneous, than in the utterance of generous sentiments. His greatness was immeasurably above show, and above the arts by which inferior minds thrust themselves on notice. There was a singular union in his character, of self-respect and modesty, which brought out both these qualities in strong relief. He was just to himself without flattery, and too single-hearted and truthful to seek or accept flattery from others.

He made no merit, nor did he talk of the sufferings, past or present, which he had incurred by faithfulness to principle. In truth, he could hardly be said to suffer, except through solicitude for what he might bring on those who were dearer to him than himself. It was a part of his faith, that the highest happiness is found in that force of love and holy principle through which a man surrenders himself wholly to the cause of God and mankind; and he proved the truth in his own experience. Though often unprosperous and often disappointed, his spirit was buoyant, cheerful, overflowing with life, full of faith and hope, often sportive, and always open to the innocent pleasures which sprung up in his path.

He was a true Christian. The character of Christ was his delight. His faith in immortality had something of the clearness of vision. He had given himself much to the philosophical study of human nature, and there were two principles of the soul on which he seized with singular force. One of these was "the sense of the infinite," — that principle of our nature which always aspires after something higher than it has gained, which conceives of the perfect, and can find no rest but in pressing forward to perfection. The other was "the free-will of man," which was to him the grand explanation of the mysteries of our being, and which gave to the human soul inexpressible interest and dignity in his sight. To him, life was a state in which a free being is to determine himself, amidst sore trials and temptations, to the right and the holy, and to advance towards perfection. His piety took a character from these views. It was eminently a filial piety. He might almost be said to have no name for God but Father. But then God was not to his view a fond, indulgent father, but a wise parent, sending forth his child to be tried and tempted, to suffer and contend, to watch and pray, and, amidst such discipline, to approve and exalt his love towards God and mankind.

Such were the grand traits of our departed friend. He was not good as most of us are, — faithful to duty when duty is convenient, loyal to truth when truth is shouted from the crowd. He loved virtue for herself, loved her when her dowry was suffering, and therefore I deem him worthy to be spoken of thus largely in Christ's church. The world has its temples in which its favorites, the powerful, the successful, may be lauded. But he only is fit to be commemorated in a Christian church who has borne the cross, who has left all for duty and Christ. Not that I mean to speak of our friend as perfect. He fell below his standard. He was a partaker in human infirmities. He has gone not to plead his merits, but to cast himself on the mercy of his Creator.

My thoughts have been so attracted to his moral qualities, that I have neglected to speak of his intellectual powers. These were of a high order. His intellect had the strength, simplicity, and boldness of his character. Without rashness, it shrunk from nothing that bore the signature of truth. He was given chiefly to the higher philosophy, which treats of the laws, powers, and destinies of the human soul. He hoped to live to complete a work on this subject. I presume that, next to the discharge of all duty, this was the object he had most at heart; and though I differed from him as to some fundamental doctrines, I shared in his strong desire of giving his views to the world. His theory stood in direct hostility to Atheism, which confounds man with nature; to Pantheism and Mysticism, which confound man with God; and to all the systems of philosophy and religion which ascribe to circumstances or to God an irresistible influence on the mind. The free-will, through which we create our own characters, through which we become really, not nominally, responsible beings, and are fitted to sustain, not physical, but moral relations to God and the universe, this was his grand principle; and he followed it out to all its consequences with his characteristic decision. But he was not confined to abstract subjects. He had studied moral science, history, and the civil law profoundly. He had given much thought to Christianity and the church. His acquisitions of knowledge were various, his taste refined, and his power of expression great. His thoughts, often original, were robed in beauty, from an imagination which received fresh, genial, quickening influences from his

moral nature. His intellect, however, had one quality which, whether justly or not, prevented its extensive action on our community. It did not move fast enough for us. It was too deliberate, too regular, too methodical, too anxious to do full justice to a subject, for such an impatient people as we are. He did not dazzle men by sudden, bold, exaggerated conceptions. In his writings he seemed compelled to unfold a subject in its order; and sometimes insisted on what might have been left to the quick conception of the hearer. Hence he was thought by some to want animation and interest as a preacher, whilst by others his religious instructions and his prayers were felt to be full of life and power. The effect of his eloquence was often diminished by his slow, deliberate utterance; a habit which, as a foreigner anxious to pronounce our language with perfect accuracy, he could hardly help contracting. Of late, however, his freedom and earnestness had increased; and his preaching was listened to with delight by those who insist most on animation of thought and manner. Indeed to his last moment he was growing in the desire and the power to do good.

Thus he lived; nor is he to be compassionated, because in the midst of such a life he was suddenly taken away. Our imaginations associate a peculiar terribleness with death, when it comes without warning, in the form of tempest, lightning, fire, and raging waves. But within and beneath these awful powers of nature there is another and mightier power. These are only God's ministers; and through these he separates from earthly bonds the spirit which he has watched over and prepared for nearer access to himself. Perhaps, were our minds more elevated, it would seem to us worthier of a man, more appropriate to his greatness, to fall under these mighty powers, to find a grave in these unbounded elements, than to sink by slow disease and to be consigned to the dark, narrow tomb. Our friend lived the life of a man and a Christian to the last hour. His life, though not prosperous in our common language, had yet yielded him the best blessings of the present state. If strangers had not heard his name, he was cherished, honored, as few men are, by those who knew him best; and if extensive possessions were denied him, he owned what is worth more than the wealth of worlds, a happy home, consecrated by intelligence, piety, and a celestial love. Who had greater cause than he to rejoice in life? nor ought any tears, but those which we shed for ourselves, to be called forth by his death.

I have thus, my friends, spoken of a good and noble man, and I have spoken not to give relief to a full heart, nor chiefly to soothe the wounded hearts of others. This house is consecrated to God. This excellent, honored man was still a ray, and a faint ray, from the Uncreated Light. What we loved in him was an inspiration from God: and all admiration, which does not rise above him, falls infinitely below its true object. Let us thank God, who has manifested himself to us in this his servant, who speaks to us in all holy and noble men. Let us not stop at these. If we do, we bury ourselves in the finite, we lose the most precious influences, the holiest ministry of living and departed virtuous friends. We say of the good man whom we have lost, that he has gone to God. Let us, too, go to God. Let us humble ourselves before him for our past impiety, irreverence, unthankful insensibility to his infinite perfection; and, with new affection and entire obedience, let us consecrate ourselves to him from whose fulness all that is beautiful and glorious in the human soul and in the universe is derived.

I have spoken of the friend we have lost, that through him we should the more honor God. We may learn from him, now that he sleeps in the ocean, another lesson. We may learn the glorious power of virtue, how it can throw a brightness over the most appalling scenes of human life, and can rob the most awful forms of death of their depressing influence. To the eye of sense, what a sad spectacle was the friend we have lost, first circled with the flames, then weltering in the cold, lonely sea! At the moment of hearing the sad news, a feeling of horror oppressed me: but soon a light beamed in this darkness, and it beamed from his virtues. The thought of the spirit which I had communed with gradually took the place of the body which had been taken from us under circumstances so appalling. I felt that the spirit which had informed that

body, had spoken through those lips, had beamed from that benign face, was mightier than the elements. I felt that all the waves of ocean could not quench that spark. I felt how vast, how unutterable the transition from that burning deck and pitiless sea to the repose and life of a better world. I felt that the seal of immortality had been put on the virtue which we had seen unfolding on our earth. Still more, his virtues have gradually brought back to my mind his outward form divested of painful associations. As I now think of the departed, his countenance is no longer defaced by death. It rises to me in the sweetest, noblest expression which it wore in life. Thus the body, through which virtue has shed its light, becomes hallowed and immortal to the memory and the heart. And if this be true, if goodness be so divine as to gain and shed glory in that awful change, which dissolves the outward frame and tears us away from the earth, — shall we go on to live to the earth, to outward, material, perishing good? Shall we continue to slight, and refuse to secure, imperishable virtue?

Once more, a solemn teaching comes to us from this day's meditation. Our friend was called in the midst of life, and so may we be called. How thin the barrier between time and eternity! We think this earth firmer than the sea in which he found a grave. But one false step on this firm earth may precipitate us into the tomb. Human life is not so strong that waves and fires must join for its extinction. One ruptured artery may suspend the breath as suddenly as an ocean. From that awful scene, where so many have perished, a voice comes to us, saying, Prepare to die. So live, that sudden death may only be a swifter entrance into a higher life. So live, that survivors may shed over you tears of hope as well as of sorrow, that they may find in their remembrances of you springs of comfort, testimonies to religion, encouragements to goodness, and proofs and pledges of immortality. So live, that the injured and oppressed, the poor and forsaken, may utter blessings on your name. So live, that if by God's mysterious providence you also are to die in flames or in the sea, you may commit your departing spirits to him who gave them, with humble trust, with filial prayer, with undying hope.

MEMOIR OF JOHN GALLISON, ESQ.

First published in 1821.

OUR last number contained a brief notice of Mr. Gallison; but his rare excellence, and the singular affection, esteem, and confidence which he enjoyed, have been thought to demand a more particular delineation of his character. And the office is too grateful to be declined. In the present imperfect condition of human nature, when strange and mournful inconsistencies so often mix with and shade the virtues of good men; when truth, that stern monitor, almost continually forbids us to give free scope to admiration, and compels us to dispense our praise with a measured and timid liberality, — it is delightful to meet an example of high endowments, undebased by the mixture of unworthy habits and feelings; to meet a character whose blamelessness spares us the pain of making deductions from its virtues. And our satisfaction is greatly increased when Providence has seen fit to unfold this character in the open light of a conspicuous station, so that many around us have had opportunity to observe it as well as ourselves, and we can give utterance to our affection and respect with the confidence of finding sympathy and a full response in the hearts of our readers.

But we have a higher motive than the relief and gratification of personal feelings for paying this tribute to Mr. Gallison. We consider his character as singularly instructive, particularly to that

important class of the community, young men. His life, whilst it bore strong testimony to those great principles of morality and religion in which all ranks and ages have an interest, and on which society rests, seems to us peculiarly valuable as a commentary on the capacities and right application of youth; as demonstrating what a young man may become, what honor, love, and influence he may gather round him, and how attractive are the Christian virtues at that age which is generally considered as least amenable to the laws of religion. For young men we chiefly make this record; and we do it with a deep conviction that society cannot be served more effectually than by spreading through this class a purer morality and a deeper sense of responsibility than are now enforced by public opinion; for our young men are soon to be the fathers, guides, and defenders of the community; and however examples may now and then occur of early profligacy changed by time into purity and virtue, yet too often the harvest answers to the seed, the building to the foundation; and perhaps it will appear in that great day which is to unfold the consequences of actions, that even forsaken vice leaves wounds in the mind which are slowly healed, and which injure the moral powers and predispose to moral disease through the whole life.

In this connection it may be proper to observe, that there is no country in which society has such an interest in bringing strong moral and religious influences to bear on young men as in this; for our country has been distinguished by the premature growth of those to whom it gives birth. Various circumstances here develop the mind and active powers earlier than in Europe. Our young men come forward sooner into life, mix sooner in the stir and conflicts of business and politics; and form sooner the most important domestic relations. It has often been suggested, that the mind suffers under this forcing system, that it is exhausted by excess of action, that a slower growth would give it greater strength and expansion. But be this true or not (and we trust that the suggestion is founded on remote analogies rather than on observation), one thing is plain, that in proportion as the young advance rapidly in intellect and activity, there should be powerful application of moral and religious truths and sanctions to their consciences and hearts. Their whole nature should grow at once. The moral sense, the sense of God, should not slumber, whilst the intellect and the passions are awake and enlarging themselves with a fearful energy. A conviction of their responsibility to God and society should be deeply wrought into the opening reason, so as to recur through life with the force of instinct. Mr. Gallison was a striking example of the early and harmonious unfolding of the moral and intellectual nature, and in this view his character is particularly fitted to the wants and dangers of our state of society.

When we know or hear of uncommon excellence, it is natural to inquire by what propitious circumstances it was formed; and hence the curiosity which has sifted so diligently the early history of eminent men. But such investigations, we believe, generally teach us that character is more independent on outward circumstances than is usually thought, that the chief causes which form a superior mind are within itself. Whilst the Supreme Being encourages liberally the labors of education, by connecting with them many good and almost sure results, still, as if to magnify his own power and to teach men humility and dependence, he often produces, with few or no means, a strength of intellect and principle, a grace and dignity of character, which the most anxious human culture cannot confer. In the early years of Mr. Gallison, we find no striking circumstances or incidents which determined the peculiarities of his future character. The processes by which he became what he was were inward; and the only voice which could disclose them is now silent in death.

He was born in Marblehead, October, 1788. His mother, a sister of the late Chief Justice Sewall, survived his birth but a few hours; and his life began with one of the heaviest of life's afflictions, the loss of a mother's love. He was so happy, however, as to be the object of singular and never-failing kindness to his surviving parent, whom he requited with no common filial attachment; and he may be cited as a proof of the good effects of that more unrestrained and tender intercourse betweeu

parents and children which distinguishes the present from the past age. He was early placed under the tuition of the Rev. Dr. Harris, now President of Columbia College, New York, then preceptor of an academy, and rector of an Episcopal church, in Marblehead. He is said to have endeared himself to his revered instructor by his docility, industry, modesty, love of truth, and steady improvement. He held a high but unenvied rank at school; and it may be mentioned, as an evidence of early judgment and a constant mind, that some of the friendships of that early period went with him to the grave, and were among the best enjoyments of his life.

He entered the University at Cambridge, A.D. 1803, in the fifteenth year of his age; and whilst his unremitting application gave him the full benefit of its various provisions for literary improvement, his consistent character and social virtues won for him universal confidence and esteem. On leaving the University, he commenced the study of the law under the Hon. John Quincy Adams, and, having completed his preparation under the Hon. Joseph Story, began the practice of his profession at Marblehead, A.D. 1810. By the advice of his friends, he soon removed to this metropolis, a more proper, because wider, sphere of action. Here he experienced, for a time, those anxieties and depressions which form the common trial of young men who enter a crowded profession. But his prospects were brightened by a connection in business which he formed with the Hon. William Prescott, and which, as it was unsolicited and attended by other flattering circumstances, gave him a gratifying assurance of the confidence which he had inspired. The progress of his reputation as a lawyer was soon a matter of common remark; and those who were most capable of understanding the depth and extent of his legal attainments, were confident that, should his life be spared, he would attain the highest honors of his profession.

He died, December, 1820, at the age of 32. The shock given to the community by this event was unusual, and the calamity was heightened by its unexpectedness. His general health, cheerfulness, and activity, had given the promise of a long life, and his friends were not alarmed for him until a week before his death. His disease was an inflammation of the brain, which first discovered itself in slight aberrations of mind, and terminated in delirium. This awful eclipse of reason continued to the last, so that his friends were denied the satisfaction of receiving from his dying lips assurances of his Christian hope. Some of them, however, recollect with pleasure, that at the beginning of his disease, when his intellect was rather exalted than deranged, his expressions of religious feeling and joy were unusually strong; and he has left them higher consolation than a dying testimony, even the memory of a blameless and well-spent life.

Having given this brief record of a life too peaceful and prosperous to furnish matter for biography, we proceed to give our views of the character of Mr. Gallison. His chief distinction was not talent, although he had fine powers of intellect, and a capacity of attention which, in usefulness if not in splendor, generally surpasses genius. His primary characteristic, and that which gave him his peculiar weight in the community, was the force of moral and religious principle, — a force which operated with the steadiness of a law of nature, a paramount energy, which suffered no portion of life or intellect to be wasted, which concentrated all his faculties and feelings on worthy objects. His powers did not astonish, but none of them were lost to himself or society. His great distinction was the singleness of his mind, the sway which duty had gained over him, his habit of submitting to this as to an inviolable ordinance of the universe. Conscience was consulted reverently as an oracle of God. The moral power seemed always at work in his breast, and its control reached to his whole life.

We sometimes witness a strong regard to duty, which confers little grace or interest on the character, because partial and exclusive views are taken of duty, and God is thought to require a narrow service, which chains and contracts instead of unfolding the mind. In Mr. Gallison, the sense of duty was as enlightened and enlarged as it was strong. To live religiously, he did not think himself called to give up the

proper pursuits and gratifications of human nature. He believed that religion was in harmony with intellectual improvement, with the pleasures of imagination and society, and especially with the kind affections. His views of the true excellence of a human being were large and generous; and hence, instead of that contracted and repulsive character which has often been identified with piety, his virtue, though of adamantine firmness, was attractive, cheerful, lovely.

This union of strength and light, in his sense of duty, gave a singular harmony to his character. All his faculties and sensibilities seemed to unfold together, just as the whole body grows at once; and all were preserved by a wise, presiding moral sentiment, in their just proportions. He was remarkably free from excess, even in the virtues and pursuits to which he was most prone. His well-balanced mind was the admiration of his friends. He had strong feeling, yet a calm judgment; and unwearied activity, without restlessness or precipitancy. He had vigor and freedom of thought, but not the slightest propensity to rash and wild speculation. He had professional ardor, but did not sacrifice to his profession the general improvement of his intellect and heart. He loved study, and equally loved society. He had religious sensibility, but a sensibility which never rested until it had found its true perfection and manifestation in practice. His mind was singularly harmonious, a well-adjusted whole; and this was the secret of the signal confidence which he had inspired; for confidence, or the repose of our minds on another, depends on nothing so much as on the proportion which we observe in his character. Even a good feeling, when carried to excess, though viewed with indulgence and affection, always shakes in a measure our trust.

From this general survey, we pass to some particulars of the character of Mr. Gallison. His religion was a trait which claims our first consideration. He believed in God, and in the revelation of his will by Jesus Christ; and he was not a man in whom such a belief could lie dead. That great and almost overwhelming doctrine of a God, the Maker of all things, in whom he lived, and from whom all his blessings came, wrought in him powerfully. He was not satisfied with a superficial religion, but was particularly interested in those instructions from the pulpit which enjoined a deep, living, all-pervading sense of God's presence and authority, and an intimate union of the mind with its Creator. A friend who knew him intimately observes: — "In our frequent walks, his conversation so naturally and cheerfully turned on the attributes and dispensations of God, as convinced me that his religion was no less the delight of his heart than the guide of his life. Though habitually temperate in his feelings, I have sometimes known him kindle into rapture while conversing on these holy themes."

But his religion, though strong and earnest, was in unison with his whole character, calm, inquisitive, rational. Uninfected by bigotry or fanaticism, and unseduced by the fair promises of the spirit of innovation, he formed his views of the Christian system with caution, and held them without asperity. In regard to that important doctrine which has lately agitated the community, he was a Unitarian, believing in the preexistence of the Saviour, and as firmly believing that he was a distinct being from the Supreme God, derived from and dependent on him; and he considered the Gospel of John, which is often esteemed as the stronghold of opposite sentiments, as giving peculiar support to these views. We mention this, not because the conclusions of so wise and good a man were necessarily true, but because reproach is often thrown on the opinions which he adopted, as wanting power to purify and save. He may have erred, for he was a man; but who that knew him can doubt that, whatever were his errors, he held the most important and efficacious doctrines of Christianity? His religious friends, and they were not a few, can testify to the seriousness and reverence with which he approached the Scriptures, and to the fidelity with which he availed himself of the means of a right interpretation.

His religion was not ostentatiously thrust on notice; but he thought as little of hiding it as of concealing his social feelings, or his love of knowledge. It was the light by which he walked, and his daily path showed whence the light

came. Of his decision in asserting the principles of that religion which he received as from God, he gave a striking proof in his address to the Peace Society of this Commonwealth, which breathes the very morality of Christ, and is throughout a mild but firm remonstrance against great practical errors, which have corrupted the church almost as deeply as the world. It was so natural to him to act on the convictions of his mind, that he seemed on this occasion utterly unconscious that there was a degree of heroism in a young man of a secular calling, and who mixed occasionally in fashionable life, enlisting so earnestly in the service of the most neglected, yet most distinguishing virtues of Christianity.

That a man, to whom Christianity was so authoritative, should be characterized by its chief grace, benevolence, we cannot wonder. Nature formed him for the kind affections, and religious principle added tenderness, steadiness, dignity, to the impulses of nature. That great maxim of Christianity, "No man liveth to himself," was engraven on his mind. Without profession, or show, or any striking discoveries of emotion, he felt the claim of every thing human on his sympathy and service. His youth and professional engagements did not absolve him to his own conscience from laboring in the cause of mankind; and his steady zeal redeemed from business sufficient time for doing extensive good. In the institutions for useful objects with which he connected himself, he gave more than his property; he contributed his mind, his judgment, his well-directed zeal; and the object which he was found to favor derived advantage from his sanction, no less than from his labors.

He felt strongly what a just view of human nature always teaches, that society is served by nothing so essentially as by the infusion of a moral and religious spirit into all its classes; and this principle, like every other when once recognized, became to him a law. We cannot but mention, with great pleasure, the earnestness with which he entered into a plan for collecting the poor children, in the neighborhood of the church where he worshipped, into a school for religious instruction on the Lord's day. He visited many poor families on this errand of charity, offering at once Christian instruction and the pecuniary means by which the children might be clothed decently to receive it; and he gave a part of every Sunday to this office. The friend, whom we formerly quoted, observes, "I was much delighted to see him one Sunday, leading one of his little flock (who, being a stranger, had not become familiarized to his home) through our dirtiest lanes, and inquiring at the humblest sheds for his dwelling." To a man, crowded with business, and accustomed to the most refined society, this lowly and unostentatious mode of charity could only have been recommended by a supreme sense of religious and social obligation. He was one of the few among us who saw that the initiation of the poor into moral and religious truth was an office worthy of the most cultivated understanding, and that to leave it, as it is sometimes left, to those whose zeal outstrips their knowledge, was to expose to hazard and reproach one of the most powerful means of benefiting society.

Another cause to which he devoted himself was the Peace Society of this Commonwealth, and to this institution his mind was drawn and bound by perceiving its accordance with the spirit of Christianity. Accustomed as he was to believe that every principle which a man adopts is to be carried into life, he was shocked with the repugnance between the Christian code and the practice of its professed followers on the subject of war; and he believed that Christianity, seconded as it is by the progress of society, was a power adequate to the production of a great revolution of opinion on this point, if its plain principles and the plain interests of men were earnestly unfolded. There was one part of this extensive topic to which his mind particularly turned. He believed that society had made sufficient advances to warrant the attempt to expunge from the usages of war the right of capturing private property at sea. He believed that the evils of war would be greatly abridged, and its recurrence checked, were the ocean to be made a safe, privileged, unmolested pathway for all nations, whether in war or peace: and that the minds of men had become prepared for this change by the respect now paid by belligerents to private prop-

erty on shore, — a mitigation of war to be wholly ascribed to the progress of the principles and spirit of Christianity. His interest in this subject led him to study the history of maritime warfare, and probably no man among us had acquired a more extensive acquaintance with it. Some of the results he gave in an article in the "North American Review," on Privateering, and in a memorial to Congress against this remnant of barbarism. To this field of labor he certainly was not drawn by the hope of popularity; and though he outstripped the feelings of the community, his efforts will not be vain. He was a pioneer in a path in which society, if it continue to advance, will certainly follow him, and will at length do justice to the wisdom as well as purity of his design.

Other institutions shared his zeal and countenance; but we pass from these to observe that his benevolence was not husbanded for public works or great occasions. It entered into the very frame and structure of his mind, so that, wherever he acted, he left its evidences and fruits. Even in those employments where a man is expected to propose distinctly his own interest, he looked beyond himself; and those who paid him for his services felt that another debt was due, and personal attachment often sprung from the intercourse of business. In his social and domestic connections, how he felt and lived, and what spirit he breathed, we learn from the countenances and tones of his friends, when they speak of his loss. The kind of praise which a man receives after death corresponds generally with precision to his character. We can often see, on the decease of a distinguished individual, that whilst all praise, few feel; that the heart has no burden, no oppression. In the case of Mr. Gallison, there was a general, spontaneous conviction that society had been bereaved; and, at the same time, a feeling of personal bereavement, as if a void which no other could fill were made in every circle in which he familiarly moved; and this can only be explained by the genuine benevolence, the sympathy with every human interest, which formed his character. His benevolence, indeed, was singularly unalloyed. Those feelings of unkindness which sometimes obscure for a moment the goodness of excellent men, seldom or never passed over him. Those who best knew him cannot, by an effort of imagination, put an acrimonious speech into his lips, any more than they can think of him under an entirely different countenance. The voice ceases to be his, its tones do not belong to him, when they would make it the vehicle of unkindness. We have understood, what we should not doubt, that in his profession, amidst the collision of rivals, his ambition, which undoubtedly degenerated sometimes into excess, was still so controlled by his generosity and uprightness, that he was never known to sully with an envious breath the honest fame of another, or to withhold a ready testimony to another's worth. So great was the kindliness of his heart, that his many pressing employments did not exclude those little attentions to his kindred for which multiplied cares are generally admitted as an excuse. He made leisure for minute as well as important services, and thus it is that a feeling of tenderness as well as of respect is spread through the whole circle of his relatives.

In regard to his intellectual powers, they derived their superiority not only from the liberality of nature, but from the conscientiousness with which they were improved. He early felt the importance of a generous and extensive culture of the mind, and systematically connected with professional studies the pursuit of general literature. He was a striking example of the influence of an operative and enlightened moral sense over the intellect. His views were distinguished not so much by boldness and excursiveness as by clearness, steadiness, judiciousness, and truth: and these characteristic properties of his understanding derived their strength, if not existence, from that fairness, rectitude, simplicity, and that love of the true and useful, which entered so largely into his moral constitution. The objects on which he thought and wrote did not offer themselves to him in the bright hues of inspired imagination, but in the forms, dimensions, and colors of reality; and yet there was no tameness in his conception, for the moral relations of things — the most sublime of all relations — he traced with eagerness and delighted to

unfold. Accordingly, in all his writings we perceive the marks of an understanding surrounded by a clear and warm moral atmosphere. His intellect, we repeat it, was excited and developed very much by moral and religious principle. It was not naturally creative, restless, stirred by a bright and burning imagination. The strong power within was conscience, enlightened and exalted by religion; and this sent life through the intellect, and conferred or heightened the qualities by which it was distinguished.

Of his professional character we know nothing by personal observation; but we do know, that in a metropolis where the standard of professional talent and purity is high, he was eminent. We have understood that he was at once a scientific and practical lawyer, uniting comprehensive views of jurisprudence and laborious research into general principles with a singular accuracy and most conscientious fidelity in investigating the details of the causes in which he was engaged. The spontaneous tribute of the members of the Suffolk Bar to so young a brother is perhaps without precedent. It deserves to be mentioned among his claims to esteem, that he was not usurped by a profession to which he was so devoted; that his thirst for legal knowledge and distinction, though so ardent, left him free for such a variety of exertions and acquisitions.

Of his industry we have had occasion frequently to speak, and it was not the least striking trait in his character. We need no other proof of this than his early eminence in a profession which offers no prizes to genius unaccompanied by application, and whose treasures are locked up in books which hold out no lures to imagination or taste, and which can only interest a mind disposed to patient and intense exertion. We recur, however, to his industry, not so much because it distinguished him, as from the desire of removing what seems to us a false impression, that he fell a victim to excessive application. That he was occasionally guilty of intemperate study (a crime in the eye of a refined morality, because it sacrifices future and extensive usefulness to immediate acquisition), is probably true; but less guilty, we apprehend, than many who are not charged with excess. His social nature, his love of general literature, and his regular use of exercise, gave as great and frequent relaxation to his mind as studious men generally think necessary; nor ought his example to lose its power by the apprehension that to follow his steps will be to descend with him to an early grave.

This excellent man it has pleased God to take from us; and to take without warning, when our hope was firmest, and his prospects of usefulness and prosperity were, to human eyes, unclouded. That such a course should be so short, is the general sorrow. But ought we to think it short? In the best sense his life was long. To be the centre of so many influences; to awaken through so large a circle sentiments of affection and esteem; to bear effectual testimony to the reality of religion; to exalt the standard of youthful character; to adorn a profession to which the administration of public justice and the care of our civil institutions are peculiarly confided; to uphold and strengthen useful associations; to be the friend of the poor and ignorant, and a model for the rich and improved; to live in the hearts of friends, and to die amidst general, deep, unaffected lamentation; — these surely are not evidences of a brief existence. "Honorable age is not that which standeth in length of time, nor which is measured by number of years; but wisdom is the gray hair unto men, and an unspotted life is old age."

Still the question may be asked, "Why was he taken from so much usefulness?" Were that state laid open to us into which he is removed, we should have an answer. We should see that this world is not the only one where intellect is unfolded, and the heart and active powers find objects. We might see that such a spirit as his was needed now in another and nobler province of the creation; and that all God's providence towards him had been training and fitting him to be born, if we may so speak, at this very time, into the future world, there to perform offices and receive blessings which only a mind so framed and gifted could sustain and enjoy. He is not lost. Jesus, whom he followed, "hath abolished death." Thought, affection, piety, usefulness do not die. If they did, we should do well

to hang his tomb with sackcloth, or rather to obliterate every trace and recollection of his tomb and his name, for then a light, more precious than the sun's, is quenched for ever. But he is not lost, nor is he exiled from his true happiness. An enlightened, just, and good mind is a citizen of the universe, and has faculties and affections which correspond to all God's works. Why would we limit it to earth, perhaps the lowest world in this immense creation? Why should not the spirit, which has given proof of its divine origin and heavenly tendency, be suffered to rise to its proper abode, to a holier community, to a vision of God, under which earthly and mortal natures would sink and be dissolved?

One benefit of the early removal of such a man as Mr. Gallison is obvious. We learn from it how early in life the great work of life may begin, and how successfully be prosecuted. Had he lived to advanced years, the acquisitions of his youth would have been forgotten and lost in those of riper years. His character would have been an invaluable legacy, but chiefly to the mature and aged. And surely, if his early death shall exalt the aims and purposes of the young; if piety, now postponed to later years, to a winter which bears no such fruit, shall be esteemed the ornament and defence of that interesting and tempted age; if our young men shall learn from him that they belong to God and society; then his early death may prove as useful as a protracted life.

We shall add but one more remark. The general sorrow which followed Mr. Gallison to the tomb was not only honorable to him but to the community. For he had no dazzling qualities. His manners were not imposing, nor was he aided by uncommon patronage. His worth was unobtrusive, mild, retiring, and left to win its own way to notice and honor. Yet how few young men have reared such a monument in the memories and hearts of the community! Amidst charges of degeneracy, and with real grounds of humiliation, we should deem it a privilege to live in a state of society in which such a character as Mr. Gallison's is so generally understood, and is recompensed with such heartfelt and generous praise.

NOTICE OF THE REV. S. C. THACHER.

[The Rev. S. C. Thacher, late Minister of the New South Church in Boston, died at Moulines, in France, Jan. 2, 1818, ætat. 32. He had long been absent from this country, and had visited the Cape of Good Hope for the recovery of his health. The following sketch of his character is taken from a discourse delivered in the church where he had been accustomed to officiate, the Sunday after the accounts of his death were received.]

THE news of Mr. Thacher's death, although not unexpected, spread an unusual gloom through the large circle in which he moved and was known. When we thought of his youth and virtues, of the place which he had filled and of the confidence he had inspired, of his sickness and sufferings, of his death in a distant land, and of the hopes which died with him, we could not but speak of his removal as mysterious, dark, untimely. My own mind participated at first in the general depression; but in proportion as I have reflected on the circumstances of this event, I have seen in them a kindness which I overlooked in the first moments of sorrow: and though in many respects inscrutable, this dispensation now wears a more consoling aspect.

I now see in our friend a young man uncommonly ripe in understanding and virtue, for whom God appointed an early immortality. His lot on earth was singularly happy: for I have never known a minister more deeply fixed in the hearts of the people. But this condition had its perils. With a paternal concern for his character, God sent adversity, and conducted him to the end of his being by a rougher but surer way, a way trodden and consecrated by the

steps of the best men before him. He was smitten by sudden sickness; but even here the hand of God was gentle upon him. His sickness, whilst it wasted the body, had no power over the spirit. His understanding retained its vigor; and his heart, as I often observed, gained new sensibility. His sufferings, by calling forth an almost unprecedented kindness in his parishioners, furnished him with new and constant occasions of pious gratitude, and perhaps he was never so thankful to the Author of his being as during his sickness.

He was, indeed, removed at length from the kind offices of his friends. But this event was fitted, and, may I not say, designed, to strengthen his connection with God, and to prepare him for the approaching dissolution of all earthly ties. I now see him tossed on the ocean; but his heart is fixed on the Rock of Ages. He is borne to another hemisphere, but everywhere he sees the footsteps and feels the presence of God. New constellations roll over his head, but they guide his mind to the same heaven which was his hope at home. I see him at the extremity of Africa adoring God in the new creation which spreads around him, and thanking him with emotion for the new strength which that mild atmosphere communicated. I see him, too, in the trying scene which followed, when he withered and shrunk like a frail plant under the equinoctial sun, still building piety on suffering, and growing in submission as hope declined. He does not indeed look without an occasional sinking of the heart, without some shudderings of nature, to a foreign soil as his appointed grave. But he remembers that from every region there is a path to immortality, and that the spirit which religion has refined, wherever freed from the body, will find its native country. He does not indeed think without emotion of home, — a thought how trying to a sick and dying man in a land of strangers! But God, whom he adores as everywhere present, seems to him a bond of union to distant friends, and he finds relief in committing them to his care and mercy. At length I see him expire, but not until suffering has done its work of discipline and purification. His end is tranquil, like his own mild spirit; and I follow him, — not to the tomb, for that lifeless body is not he, but to the society of the just made perfect. His pains are now past. He has found a better home than this place of his nativity and earthly residence. Without the tossings of another voyage, he has entered a secure haven. The fever no longer burns in his veins; the hollow and deep voice no longer sends forth ominous sounds. Disease and death, having accomplished their purpose, have lost their power, and he remembers with gratitude the kind severity with which they conducted him to a nobler life than that which they took away. Such is the aspect which this dispensation now wears; how different from that which it first presented to sense and imagination!

Let me pay a short tribute to his memory. It is a duty which I perform with a melancholy pleasure. His character was one which it is soothing to remember. It comes over the mind like the tranquillizing breath of spring. It asks no embellishment. It would be injured by a strained and labored eulogy.

The character of our friend was distinguished by blandness, mildness, equableness, and harmony. All the elements were tempered in him kindly and happily. He passed through the storms, tumults, and collisions of human life with a benignity akin to that which marked our perfect Guide and Example. This mild and bland temper spread itself over the whole man. His manners, his understanding, his piety, all received a hue from it, just as a soft atmosphere communicates its own tender and tranquil character to every object and scene viewed through it.

With his peculiar mildness he united firmness. His purposes, whilst maintained without violence, were never surrendered but to conviction. His opinions, though defended with singular candor, he would have sealed with his blood. He possessed the only true dignity, that which results from proposing habitually a lofty standard of feeling and action; and, accordingly, the love which he called forth was always tempered with respect. He was one of the last men to be approached with a rude familiarity.

His piety was a deep sentiment. It had struck through and entwined itself with his whole soul. In the freedom of conversation I have seen how intimately

God was present to him. But his piety partook of the general temperament of his mind. It was warm, but not heated; earnest, but tranquil: a habit, not an impulse; the air which he breathed, not a tempestuous wind, giving occasional violence to his emotions. A constant dew seemed to distil on him from heaven, giving freshness to his devout sensibilities; but it was a gentle influence, seen not in its falling, but in its fruits. His piety appeared chiefly in gratitude and submission, sentiments peculiarly suited to such a mind as his. He felt strongly that God had crowned his life with peculiar goodness; and yet, when his blessings were withdrawn, his acquiescence was as deep and sincere as his thankfulness. His devotional exercises in public were particularly striking. He came to the mercy-seat as one who was not a stranger there. He seemed to inherit from his venerable father the gift of prayer. His acts of adoration discovered a mind penetrated by the majesty and purity of God; but his sublime conceptions of these attributes were always tempered and softened by a sense of the divine benignity. The paternal character of God was not only his belief, but had become a part of his mind. He never forgot that he "worshipped the Father." His firm conviction of the strict and proper unity of the divine nature taught him to unite and concentrate, in his conception of the Father, all that is lovely and attractive, as well as all that is solemn and venerable; and the general effect of his prayers was to diffuse a devout calmness, a filial confidence, over the minds of his pious hearers.

His understanding was of a high order; active, vigorous, and patient; capable of exerting itself with success on every subject; collecting materials and illustrations from every scene: and stored with a rich and various knowledge, which few have accumulated at so early an age. His understanding, however, was in harmony with his whole character. It was not so much distinguished by boldness, rapidity, and ardor, as by composed energy, judiciousness, and expansiveness. His views were often original and often profound, but were especially marked by justness, clearness, and compass of thought. I have never known a man, so young, of riper judgment, of more deliberate investigation, and of more comprehensive views of all the bearings and connections of a subject, on which he was called to decide. He was singularly free from the error into which young preachers most readily fall, of overstating arguments, and exaggerating and straining the particular topics which they wish to enforce. But, in avoiding extravagance, he did not fall into tameness. There was a force and freshness in his conceptions; and even when he communicated the thoughts of others, he first grafted them on his own mind, so that they had the raciness of a native growth. His opinions were the results of much mental action, of many comparisons, of large and liberal thinking, of looking at a subject on every side; and they were expressed with those limitations which long experience suggests to others. He read with pleasure the bold and brilliant speculations of more adventurous minds; but he reserved his belief for evidence, for truth; and if the most valuable gift of the understanding be an enlarged, discriminating judgment, then his was a most highly-gifted mind.

From a mind so balanced, we could hardly expect that fervid eloquence which electrifies an assembly, and makes the speaker for a moment an absolute sovereign over the souls of men. His influence, like that of the great powers in the natural world, was mild and noiseless, but penetrating and enduring. That oratory which overwhelms and bears us away like a torrent, almost always partakes of exaggeration and extravagance, and could not easily be reconciled with the distinguishing properties of his mind. His imagination was fruitful and creative; but, in accordance with his whole character, it derived its illustrations more frequently from regions of beauty than of grandeur, and it imparted a coloring at once rich and soft, and a peculiar grace to every subject susceptible of ornament. His command over language was great. His style was various vigorous, unborrowed; abounding in felicities of expression, and singularly free from that triteness and that monotonous structure which the habit of rapid composition on familiar subjects almost forces on the preacher, and which so often enervate the most powerful and heart-stirring truths. His

character as a preacher needs no other testimony than the impression left on his constant and most enlightened hearers. To these, who could best judge of his intellectual resources, and of his devotion to his work, his public services were more and more interesting. They tell us of the affluence of his thoughts, of the beauty of his imagery, of the tenderness and earnestness of his persuasion, of the union of judgment and sensibility in his discourses, and of the wisdom with which he displayed at the same moment the sublimity and practicableness of Christian virtue. They tell us that the early ripeness of his mind did not check its growth: but that every year enlarged his treasures and powers. Their tears and countenances tell us, more movingly than words, their deep sorrow, now that they shall hear his voice no more.

Of his social character I need not speak to you. No one who ever met him in a friendly circle can easily forget the attraction of his manners and conversation. He carried into society a cheerfulness and sunshine of the soul, derived partly from constitution, and partly from his bright, confiding views of religion: a delicacy which instinctively shrunk from wounding the feelings of the humblest human being; a disposition to sympathize with every innocent enjoyment; and the power of communicating with ease and interest the riches of his mind. Without effort, he won the hearts of men to a singular degree. Never was man more universally beloved. Even in sickness and in foreign lands, he continued to attract friends; and it is our consolation to know that he drew from strangers much of that kindness which blessed him at home.

In his sickness, I was particularly struck with his submission to God, and his affection for his people. His submission seemed entire. There was no alloy of impatience or distrust. His sickness was a severe trial; for his heart was bound up in his profession, and if in any thing his ambition was excessive, it was in his desire to enrich his mind by laborious study. He felt deeply his privation, and he looked forward to an early death as a probable event. But he bowed to Providence without a murmur. He spoke only of the divine goodness. "I am in God's hand, and his will be done," were familiar sentiments, not uttered with commonplace and mechanical formality, but issuing, as his tones and countenance discovered, from the very depths of his heart. A firmer and calmer submission could hardly have been formed by a long life of suffering.

His feelings towards the congregation which he served seemed at times too strong for the self-possession and calmness by which he was characterized. Their kindness overpowered him. The only tears which I saw start from his eyes flowed from this source. In my last interview with him, a day or two before his voyage, I said to him, "I trust that you will return, but I fear you cannot safely continue your pastoral relation. We have, however, another employment for you, in which you may be useful and happy." He answered, "If I get strength I shall use it for my people. I am willing to hazard my life for their sakes. I would preach to them, although the effort should shorten my days." He added, "Should I forsake them after the kindness I have received, the cause of religion and of the ministry might suffer; and to this cause I ought and am willing to make any sacrifices." Such is a brief sketch of our lamented friend. He was one of the most blameless men, of the most devoted ministers, and of the fairest examples of the distinguishing virtues of Christianity.

THE UNION.

["Correspondence between John Quincy Adams, Esquire, President of the United States, and several Citizens of Massachusetts, concerning the Charge of a Design to dissolve the Union alleged to have existed in that State." Boston: 1829.]

We have placed at the head of this article the title of a pamphlet which has drawn much attention and excited much feeling. But in so doing, we have not thought of reviewing the controversy to which it relates. Our work is devoted to the inculcation and defence of great principles, and we are anxious to keep it free from irritating personalities. We are resolved to contend earnestly for what we deem truth, but we wish no contest with individuals. We are aware that cases may exist, in which justice to persecuted virtue, or to a good but suffering cause, may bind us to take part in temporary controversies. We feel, however, no such obligation in the present instance. In the Correspondence, those whom we deem injured have vindicated themselves too effectually to need other defenders. The charge of a Northern plot for dismembering the country has been fairly met and triumphantly refuted. We violate, therefore, no duty, in following our inclinations, and in leaving this controversy to those whom it immediately concerns. To prevent misapprehension, we will add that, in speaking of the charge which gave rise to the correspondence, as fully refuted, we mean not to accuse of wilful misrepresentation the individual by whom it was brought forward. We are not ignorant of the facility with which men deceive themselves, especially when their passions are inflamed. We mean not to deny that Mr. Adams may imagine himself in possession of proofs which sustain his allegation; nor is it hard to explain the delusion. It is very possible that, twenty-five years ago, in a most agitated and convulsed state of the country, some among us questioned whether the national government was likely to accomplish the good which it had promised. It is very possible that, in that season of exasperation, some rash spirits among the Federalists gave utterance to passionate invectives, and inconsiderate menaces; and we can very easily understand how a mind, disposed to misconstrue the words and actions of ardent partisans, might, in the midst of such excitement, become haunted with suspicions and visionary conspiracies. We think it very creditable to our country that, in passing through the stormy season of which we have spoken, it teemed with no more panics and inventions of secret treasons; that so few plots were feigned or feared. We exceedingly regret that Mr. Adams has made it necessary to his reputation to fasten a reproach of this nature on a portion of his fellow-citizens. We regret, not only for public reasons, but for his own sake, that, on retiring from office, he cannot promise himself the happiness of his predecessors, the happiness of a calm and dignified retirement from public strife.

Our aim in the present article is to call the attention of our readers to a subject of great moment, which is directly brought before us by the Correspondence, — we mean, the importance of our National Union. This topic is one of transcendent and universal interest, and therefore deserves a place in a work devoted to the inculcation of those great principles which involve the virtue and happiness of the community. In the discussion of such a topic, we shall of necessity recur to the events and struggles of the last thirty or forty years. But we shall do so, not for the purpose of reviving half-extinguished animosities, but in the hope of pointing out our danger as a nation, and of awakening a more enlightened attachment to our common country. We trust that we claim for ourselves no singular virtue in saying that we look back on the conflicts and revolutions of this period as on matters of history, and that we identify ourselves with them scarcely more than with events preceding our birth. It seems to us that a good degree of impartiality in relation to this period, instead of requiring a

high moral effort, is almost forced upon us by the circumstances of our times. Our age has been marked above all others by the suddenness, variety, and stupendousness of its revolutions. The events of centuries have been crowded into a single life. The history of the civilized world, since the bursting forth of the French Revolution, reminds us of one of the irregular dramas of Shakspeare, in which the incidents of a reign are compressed into an hour. Overwhelming changes have rushed upon one another too rapidly to give us time to comprehend them, and have been so multiplied as to exhaust our capacity of admiration. In consequence of this thronging and whirl of events, the revolutions which we have witnessed seem to be thrown back, and to belong to a previous age. Our interest in them as contemporaries is diminished to a degree which excites our own wonder, and we think that we recall them with as little selfish partiality as we experience on looking back on the transactions of past centuries. Perhaps we are deceived; but we can assure our readers that we should not trust ourselves to speak as frankly as we may of the past, did we not believe that our personal interest in it differs little from what we feel in other important periods of human history.

We have said that our present topic is the importance of the Union, and we have selected it because it cannot, we apprehend, be too deeply impressed. No lesson should be written more indelibly on the hearts of our citizens. To secure to it the strong conviction with which it ought to be received, we have thought that we might usefully insist on the chief good which the Union confers; and we are the more disposed to do this, because we are not sure that this subject is sufficiently understood, because we sometimes apprehend that the people are not aware of the most essential benefit which they derive from the confederation, but are looking to it for advantages which it cannot bestow, and are in danger of exposing it to hazard by expecting from it more than it can accomplish. Of all governments we may say that the good which they promote is chiefly negative, and this is especially true of the federal institutions which bind these States together. Their highest function is, to avert evil. Nor let their efficiency on this account be disparaged. The highest political good, liberty, is negative. It is the removal of obstructions. It is security from wrong. It confers no positive happiness, but opens a field in which the individual may achieve his happiness by his own unfettered powers. The great good of the Union we may express almost in a word. It preserves us from wasting and destroying one another. It preserves relations of peace among communities, which, if broken into separate nations, would be arrayed against one another in perpetual, merciless, and ruinous war. It indeed contributes to our defence against foreign states, but still more it defends us from one another. This we apprehend to be the chief boon of the Union, and its importance we apprehend is not sufficiently felt. So highly do we estimate it, that we ask nothing of the General Government but to hold us together, to establish among the different States relations of friendship and peace; and we are sure that our State Governments and individual energies will work out for us a happiness such as no other people have yet secured.

The importance of this benefit is easy to be understood, by considering the sure and tremendous miseries which would follow disunion. For ourselves, we fear that, bloody and mournful as human history now is, a sadder page than has yet been written might record the sufferings of this country, should we divide ourselves into separate communities. Our impressions on this subject are so strong, that we cannot resist the desire of communicating them to others. We fear that our country, in case of disunion, would be broken into communities, which would cherish towards one another singularly fierce and implacable enmities. We do not refer to the angry and vindictive feelings which would grow out of the struggles implied in a separation. There are other and more permanent causes of hatred and hostility.

One cause, we think, would be found in the singularly active, bold, enterprising spirit which actuates this whole country. Perhaps, as a people, we have no stronger distinction than a thirst for adventure and new acquisitions. A quiet, cold, phlegmatic race might be

divided with comparatively little peril. But a neighborhood of restless, daring, all-grasping communities, would contain within itself the seeds of perpetual hostility. Our feverish activity would break out in endless competitions and jealousies. In every foreign market, we should meet as rivals. The same great objects would be grasped at by all. Add to this, that the necessity of preserving some balance of power would lead each republic to watch the others with a suspicious eye; and this balance could not be maintained, in these young and growing communities, as easily as in the old and stationary ones of Europe. Among nations, such as we should form, which would only have begun to develop their resources, and in which the spirit of liberty would favor an indefinite expansion, the political equilibrium would be perpetually disturbed. Under such influences an irritable and almost justifiable sensitiveness to one another's progress would fester into unrelenting hatred. Our neighbor's good would become to us a curse. Among such communities there could be no love, and would be no real peace. To obstruct one another's growth would be deemed the perfection of policy. Slight collisions of interest, which must perpetually recur, would be exaggerated by jealousy and hatred into unpardonable wrongs; and unprincipled statesmen would find little difficulty in swelling imaginary grievances into causes of war. When we look at the characteristic spirit of this country, stimulated as it is by our youth and capacities of improvement, we cannot conceive of more active springs of contention and hatred than would be created at once by our disunion into separate nations.

We proceed to the second and a very important consideration. Our possession of a common language, which is now an unspeakable good, would, in case of disunion, prove as great a calamity; for it would serve, above all things to multiply jealousies and exasperate bad passions. In Europe, different nations, having each its own language, and comparatively small communication, can act but little on each other. Each expresses its own self-esteem and its scorn of other communities in writings which seldom pass its own bounds, and which minister to its own vanity and prejudices without inflaming other states. But suppose this country broken up into contiguous nations, all speaking the same language, all enjoying unrestrained freedom of the press, and all giving utterance to their antipathies and recriminations in newspapers, which would fly through all on the wings of the winds. Who can set bounds to the madness which such agents of mischief would engender? It is a fact, too well known, that feelings of animosity among us towards Great Britain have been kept alive chiefly by a few publications from the latter country, which have been read by a very small part of our population. What, then, are we to expect in case of our disunion, when the daily press of each nation would pour forth on the neighboring communities unceasing torrents of calumny, satire, ridicule, and invective? An exasperating article from the pen of a distinguished man in one republic would in less than a week have found its way to every house and cottage in the adjoining States. The passions of a whole people would be kindled at one moment; and who of us can conceive the intensity of hatred which would grow from this continued, maddening interchange of intemperate and unmeasured abuse?

Another source of discord, in case of our separation, is almost too obvious to be mentioned. Once divided, we should form stronger bonds of union with foreign nations than with one another. That Europe would avail itself of our broken condition to establish an influence among us; that belligerents in the Old World would strive to enlist us in their quarrels; that our eagerness for commercial favors and monopolies would lay us open to their intrigues; that at every quarrel among ourselves we should be willing to receive aid from abroad, and that distant nations would labor to increase our dependence upon themselves by inflaming and dividing us against each other; — these are considerations too obvious to need exposition, and as solemn and monitory as they are clear. From disunion we should reap in plentiful harvests destructive enmities at home, and degrading subserviency to the powers of Europe.

We pass to another topic, particularly worthy of notice. In case of separation, party-spirit, the worst foe of free States, would rage more furiously in each of the

new and narrower communities than now it does in our extensive Union; and this spirit would not only spread deadly hatred through each republic, but would perpetually embroil it with its neighbors. We complain of party rage even now; but it is mild and innocent compared with what we should experience were our Union dissolved. Party-spirit, when spread over a large country, is far less envenomed and ruinous than when shut up in small states. The histories of Greece and Rome are striking illustrations of this truth. In an extensive community, a party, depressed on one spot, finds sympathies and powerful protectors in another; and if not, it finds more generous enemies at a distance, who mitigate the violence of its nearer foes. The fury attending elections is exceedingly allayed by the knowledge that the issue does not depend on one or another city or district, and that failure in one place is not the loss of the cause. It may be added that, in a large country, party-spirit is necessarily modified and softened by the diversity of interests, views, and characters which must prevail among a widely scattered people. It is also no small advantage that the leaders of parties will generally be separated from one another by considerable distances, will move in remote spheres, instead of facing each other, and engaging perpetually in personal debate and conflict. Suppose these circumstances reversed; suppose the country broken into republics so small as to admit a perfect unity and sympathy among the members of the same party, as to keep the leaders of opposite parties perpetually in one another's sight and hearing, as to make the fate of elections dependent on definite efforts and votes in particular places; and who can calculate the increase of personal animosity, of private rancor, of public rage? Nor would the spirit of party convulse only the separate communities. It would establish between them the most injurious relations. No passion seems to overpower patriotism and moral sentiment more effectually than this spirit. Those whom it binds seem to throw off all other bonds. Inflamed parties are most unscrupulous as to means. Under great excitement, they of course look round them on other communities to find means of ensuring triumph over their opponents. Of consequence, the political relations which would subsist between the different republics that would spring up from our disunion would be determined chiefly by party-spirit; by a passion which is most reckless of consequences, most prolific of discord, most prodigal of blood. Each republic would be broken into two factions, one in possession, and the other in pursuit of power, and both prepared to link themselves with the factions of their neighbors, and to sacrifice the peace and essential interests of the state to the gratification of ambition and revenge. Through such causes, operating in the Grecian republics, civil war added its horrors to foreign contests. We see nothing to avert from ourselves, if ever divided, the same unspeakable calamity.

In this exposition of the evils which would spring from disunion, we have spoken strongly, but, we trust, calmly. There is no need of exaggeration. It seems to us that the imagination cannot easily exceed the truth. We do dread separation as the greatest of political evils, with the single exception of slavery. Undoubtedly a particular State may and ought to break the bond, if that bond is to be turned into a yoke of oppression. But much, very much, should be endured before we expose ourselves to the calamities of separation. We particularly recommend the views which we have taken to those among us whose interest in the Union is weakened by a vague idea that a large community cannot be as well governed as a small. The reverse of this maxim, as we have seen, is true of a federal republic. Under despotisms, indeed, a vast territory may increase the sufferings of the people, because the sovereign at the centre, however well disposed, cannot spread himself to the extremities, and distant provinces are almost of necessity given up to the spoliations of irresponsible governors. But, under the wise distribution of power in this country, we enjoy the watchful and minute protection of a local government, combined with the immense advantage of a widespread community. Greater means of prosperity a people cannot enjoy. Let us not be defrauded of them by selfish or malignant passions.

From the remarks now made, it will

at once be understood on what account chiefly we prize and would uphold our National Government. We prize it as our bond of union; as that which constitutes us one people; as preserving the different States from mutual jealousies and wars, and from separate alliances with foreign nations; as mitigating party-spirit; in one word, as perpetuating our peace. So great, so inestimable is this good, that all other benefits and influences of the Federal Government seem to us as nothing. We would lay down this as the fundamental principle of its administration. The bearing of measures on our Union should be the chief aspect under which they should be regarded by Congress. Taking this position, we are naturally led to some great maxims by which, as we conceive, our public affairs should be guided, and we now proceed to develop these, as well as to point out other means for securing our confederation.

In the first place, it seems to be important that the administration of our government should be marked by the greatest possible simplicity. We hold this to be no unimportant means of perpetuating our Union. Laws and measures should be intelligible, founded on plain principles, and such as common minds may comprehend. This, indeed, is a maxim to be applied to republican governments universally. The essential idea of a republic is that the sovereignty is in the people. In choosing representatives they do not devolve the supreme power on others. By the frequency of elections, they are called to pass judgment on the representatives. It is essential to this mode of government that, through a free press, all public measures should be brought before the tribunal of the people. Of course, a refined and subtile policy, or a complicated legislation, which cannot be understood but by laborious research and reasoning, is hostile to the genius of republican institutions. Laws should be plain and few, intended to meet obvious wants, and such as are clearly required by the great interests of the community. For ourselves, we are satisfied that all governments, without exception, can adopt no safer rule than the simplicity which we have now recommended. The crying sin of all governments is, that they intermeddle injuriously with human affairs, and obstruct the processes of nature by excessive regulation. To us, society is such a complicated concern, its interests are affected by so many and such subtile causes, there are so many secret springs at work in its bosom, and such uncertainty hangs over the distant issues of human arrangements, that we are astonished and shocked at the temerity of legislators in interposing their contrivances and control, except where events and experience shed a clear light. Above all, in a country like our own, where public measures are to be judged by millions of people scattered over a vast territory, and most of whom are engaged in laborious occupations, we know not a plainer principle than that the domestic and foreign policy of government should be perspicuous and founded on obvious reasons, so that plain cases may in the main, if not always, be offered to popular decision. Measures which demand profound thought for their justification, about which intelligent and honest men differ, and the usefulness of which cannot be made out to the common mind, are unfit for a republic. If in this way important national advantages should be sometimes lost, we ought to submit to the evil as inseparable from our institutions, and should comfort ourselves with thinking that Providence never bestows an unmixed good, that the best form of government has its inconveniences, and that a people, possessing freedom, can afford to part with many means of immediate wealth. We have no fear, however, that a people will ever suffer by a rigid application of our rule. Legislators cannot feel too deeply the delicacy of their work, and their great ignorance of the complicated structure and of the multiplied and secret relations of the social state; and they ought not to hasten, nay, more, they ought to distrust, a policy, to the justice and wisdom of which the suffrage of public opinion cannot be decidedly and intelligently secured. In our republic, the aim of Congress should be to stamp its legislation with all possible simplicity, and to abstain from measures which, by their complication, obscurity, and uncertainty, must distract the public mind, and throw it into agitation and angry controversy. Let it be their aim to cast among the

people as few brands of discord as possible; and for this end let the spirit of adventurous theory be dismissed, and the spirit of modesty, caution, and prudent simplicity preside over legislation. In these remarks we have not forgotten that there are exigencies in which government is compelled to determine its course without delay, amidst great hazards, and in a stormy, distracted state of the public mind. But these are exceptions to the ordinary course of human affairs, and to these the principle which we have advanced is not to be applied.

We here proceed to another principle, still more important to the preservation of the Union. The General Government should correspond to its name; that is, should be general, or universal, in its spirit and operations. It should be characterized by nothing so strikingly as by impartiality, by the absence of sectional feeling, by a solicitude to distribute equally the public burdens, and to extend equal benefits to all members of the confederation. On this principle the Union chiefly depends. In a free community the strongest of all feelings is a jealousy of rights, and states cannot be long held together, if it shall be thought that the power, given for the general weal, is, through intrigue and selfish combinations, perverted to build up a portion of the confederacy at the expense of the rest. No stronger argument can be urged against a public measure than that it has the appearance of a partial or unequal bearing on the country, or seems to indicate a disposition in the majority to sacrifice the common good to factious or sectional views. To guard against the jealousies of the States should be the most anxious desire of our national legislators; and, for this purpose, they should aim to restrict themselves to general objects in which all may find a benefit, to refrain from touching narrow or local interests, especially those between which a rivalry subsists, to proportion the pressure of taxation according to the most rigorous justice, to watch equally over the rights of all, and to exact no sacrifices but such as the common good plainly demands.

A weighty argument for limiting government to the simple and general legislation which we have now recommended, though not intimately connected with our main subject, deserves a brief notice. It is found in the great and growing extent of the country. The attention of Congress is already distracted and overwhelmed by the multiplicity of affairs, and every session it is more and more in danger of neglecting its proper objects and doing nothing well. We fear that the most pressing business is the most frequently postponed. We refer to the claims of individuals on the government; and we call these the most pressing concerns, because the man who has been wronged by an unanticipated operation of the laws or of any public measures, has a right to immediate redress, and because delay of justice may be his ruin. Already we hear angry complaint and derision of the inefficiency of Congress, and the evil will increase until that body shall select from a bewildering crowd of applications its appropriate objects, and shall confine itself to a legislation demanded by the general voice, and by the obvious wants of the community.

The principles of legislation now laid down seem to us to have an important bearing on two great questions which have already agitated the country, and which, we fear, bode no good to the Union. We refer to the restrictive system and to internal improvement. The first, which proposes to protect certain branches of domestic industry, seems to us singularly wanting in that simplicity and impartiality which, as we have said, should characterize our legislation. It cannot be understood by the mass of the people, and it will certainly divide them. In the first place, the restrictive system involves a constitutional difficulty. We of this region, indeed, generally concede to Congress the right of limiting trade in general, or of annihilating particular branches of it, for the encouragement of domestic industry; but the argument for a narrower construction of the Constitution is certainly specious, and certainly strong enough to give to those on whom a tariff may press heavily, the consciousness of being wronged. In the next place, the general question of the expediency of restriction must be allowed by its advocates to be a difficult one. The growing light of the age certainly seems to oppose it, and the statements and reasonings by which it is defended,

even if founded in truth, are yet so intricate and so open to objection, that vast numbers even of the enlightened cannot be satisfied of their validity. But supposing restriction to be admitted, the question as to its extent, as to the kinds of industry which shall be protected, as to the branches of trade which shall be sacrificed, this question is the most perplexing which can be offered to popular discussion, and cannot fail to awaken cupidity, jealousy, and hatred. From the nature of the case, the protection must be unequally extended, nor can any wisdom balance the losses to which different States will be exposed. A restrictive tariff is necessarily a source of discord. To some portions of the country it must be an evil, nor will they suffer patiently. Disadvantages imposed by nature, communities will bear, but not those which are brought on them by legislation. We have, indeed, various objections to the whole system of protection. We believe it to be deceptive throughout. We also oppose it on the ground that our country, in adopting it, abandons its true and honorable position. To this country, above all others, belongs, as its primary duty and interest, the support of liberal principles. It has nothing in its institutions congenial with the maxims of barbarous ages, with the narrow, monopolizing, restrictive legislation of antiquated despotisms. Freedom, in all its forms, is our life, strength, prosperity; and every system at war with it, however speciously maintained, is a contradiction to our character, and, wanting harmony with our spirit, must take something, however silently, from the energy of the institutions which hold us together. As citizens of the world, we grieve that this country should help to prolong prejudices which even monarchy is outgrowing; should, in imitation of meddling despotisms, undertake to direct the industry and capital of the citizen, and especially should lose sight of that sublime object of philanthropy, the promotion of free, unrestricted commerce through the world. As patriots, we grieve that a precedent has been afforded for a kind of legislation which, if persisted in, will almost certainly loosen, and may rupture, the Union. The principal excellence of the late tariff is, that it is so constructed as to please no one, that even its friends pronounce it an abomination; for, by offending and injuring all, it excites less animosity in the principal sufferers. Tariffs never will be impartial. They will always, in a greater or less degree, be the results of selfish combinations of private and public men, through which a majority will be secured to particular interests; and such is the blindness of avarice, that to grasp a short-lived, partial good, the infinite blessings of union will be hazarded, and may be thrown away.

If we may be allowed a short digression, we would say that we have no partiality to tariffs of any kind, not even to those which are laid on imports for the purpose of raising revenue. We suppose that they are necessary at present, especially where they have become the habit of the people, and we are not insensible to the facility they afford for collecting the revenue. But we should rejoice if by some great improvement in finance every custom-house could be shut from Maine to Louisiana. The interests of human nature require that every fetter should be broken from the intercourse of nations, that the most distant countries should exchange all their products, whether of manual or intellectual labor, as freely as the members of the same community. An unrestricted commerce we regard as the most important means of diffusing through the world knowledge, arts, comforts, civilization, religion, and liberty; and to this great cause we would have our country devoted. We will add, that we attach no importance to what is deemed the chief benefit of tariffs, that they save the necessity of direct taxation, and draw from a people a large revenue without their knowledge. In the first place, we say that a free people ought to know what they pay for freedom, and to pay it joyfully, and that they should as truly scorn to be cheated into the support of their government as into the support of their children. In the next place, a large revenue is no blessing. An overflowing treasury will always be corrupting to the governors and the governed. A revenue, rigorously proportioned to the wants of a people, is as much as can be trusted safely to men in power. The only valid argument against substituting

direct for indirect taxation is the difficulty of ascertaining with precision the property of the citizen. Happy would it be for us could tariffs be done away, for with them would be abolished fruitful causes of national jealousies, of war, of perjury, of smuggling, of innumerable frauds and crimes, and of harassing restraint on that commerce which should be free as the winds.

We consider many of the remarks made in reference to tariffs as applicable to internal improvements. These also involve a constitutional question of no small difficulty; and it seems impossible that they should be prosecuted with any degree of impartiality. We will not say that an extensive system of internal improvements, comprehending and connecting the whole country, and promising great, manifest, and universal good, may not be framed. But let Congress propose narrow, local improvements, and we need no prophet to foretell the endless and ever-multiplying intrigues, the selfish combinations, the jealousies, and discontents which will follow by a necessity as sure as the laws of nature. An irresistible temptation will be offered to unprincipled bargains between States and legislators, and the treasury, sending out partial streams, will become a fountain of bitterness and discord.

Let it not be said that most of the proposed improvements are designed to promote intercourse, and that thus they favor what we conceive to be the great end of government, by binding us together. We answer, that the General Government already promotes intercourse incomparably more than all other causes combined, and we are unwilling to put to hazard this actual beneficent influence by striving to extend it. Government already does more for this object than all the canals, railroads, and other internal improvements which human ingenuity can devise, and this it does by that negative influence which, as we have often said, is its chief function. This it does by making us one people, by preserving us from being broken into different communities, by preventing those obstructions to a free interchange of commodities which, in case of disunion, would at once rise up between us; by preserving us from national rivalries, from the war of tariffs, and from open and ruinous hostility. We grant that cases may occur in which national advantage may be lost, or useful objects delayed, for want of positive interference of government in the work of internal improvement. But the wisdom of nations, like that of individuals, consists very much in a willingness to forego near and inferior benefits for permanent security. We have, however, little apprehension of much injury resulting from the forbearance of government in this particular. Let Congress hold us together, and keep us in peace, and the spirit of the people will not slumber. It will pour itself forth through our State Governments, through corporations, and through individual enterprise; and who that observes what it has already done can set limits to its efficiency? Since the adoption of the Federal Constitution, nothing has contributed so much to extend intercourse through the States as the invention of steamboats. No legislation, and no possible direction of the revenue to public improvements, could have effected so much as the steam-engine; and this was contrived, perfected, and applied to navigation by the genius and wealth of individuals. Next to this agent, the most important service to internal communication has been rendered by the New York canal, and this was the work of a State. With such examples, we need not fear that our progress will be arrested by the confinement of the General Government to general objects. We are not sure that, were every objection which we have stated removed, we should be anxious to interest our national legislature in public improvements. As a people, we want no new excitement. Our danger is from over-action, from impatient and selfish enterprise, from feverish energy, from too rapid growth, rather than from stagnation and lethargy. A calm, sober, steady government is what we chiefly need. May it be kept from the hands of theorists and speculators!

We have not yet exhausted the question how government may best strengthen and perpetuate our Union. There is one of its establishments which, in this point of view, we highly value, and which we fear is not sufficiently prized for the highest benefit which it confers. We refer to the post-office. The facilities which this institution affords to the

government for communication with all parts of the country, are probably regarded by many as the most important national service which it renders. But it does incomparably more for us as a community. It does much towards making us one, by admitting free communication between distant parts of the country, which no other channel of intercourse could bring together. It binds the whole country in a chain of sympathies, and makes it in truth one great neighborhood. It promotes a kind of society between the seashore and the mountains. It perpetuates friendships between those who are never to meet again. It binds the family in the new settlement and the half-cleared forest to the cultivated spot from which it emigrated. It facilitates, beyond calculation, commercial connections, and the interchange of products. On this account, we always grieve to see a statement of the revenue accruing to government from the post-office. It ought not to yield a cent to the treasury. It should simply support itself. Such importance do we attach to the freest communication between all parts of the country, so much do we desire that the poor, as well as rich, may enjoy the means of intercourse, that we would sooner have the post-office a tax on the revenue than one of its sources.

We pass to another method by which the government is to strengthen the Union. We know not a more important one. It is, to give dignity and independence to the national judiciary. Let Congress feel, let the people feel, that to this department the security of the Union is especially committed, that it is the great preservative power among our institutions, and that its sanctity cannot be too jealously protected. Its office is, to settle peacefully the questions between the different States and their citizens, which, without it, would be settled by arms. What beneficence and dignity belong to this function! Nor is this all. It affords to citizens, who feel themselves aggrieved by what they deem an unconstitutional law, the means of peaceful resistance. It gives them an opportunity of being heard before a tribunal on which the most solemn obligations to justice are laid, and which is eminently fitted to be an umpire between the citizen and the legislature. We know not how government can contribute more effectually to its own stability than by reverencing and guarding the rights of the national judiciary. A Congress which should trench on its independence ought to be counted guilty of a species of sacrilege.

From considering the importance of the judiciary to our Union, we are naturally led to another department of the government, and one which is particularly worthy of attention, because at the present moment it seems to menace our confederation more seriously than any other cause. We refer to the executive department. We refer to the struggles which the election to the Presidency has again and again provoked. These are too solemn and fearful to be overlooked. A remedy must be found, or the country will be thrown into perpetual convulsions, and split into factions devoted each to a chief. We shall waste ourselves in struggles for a few leaders, who, by their prominence, will become dearer to a people than their institutions, and in fighting for our favorites we may become their slaves.

This evil we regard as a growing one; and we know but one remedy for it. The people must acquire a just self-respect. This they want. It has been repressed by false notions about government, which have come down from ages of monarchy. The spirit of freedom, of which we so much boast, has not yet given a due elevation of sentiment to the community: and therefore the community basely binds itself to leaders as if they were its superiors. A people should understand its own greatness and dignity too well to attach much importance to any individual. It should regard no individual as necessary to it, nor should it suffer any one to urge his claims on its gratitude. It should feel that it has a right to the services of its members, and that there is no member with whose services it cannot dispense. It should have no idols, no favorites. It should annihilate with its frown those who would monopolize its power, or bring it into subserviency to their own glory. No man's name should be much on its lips. It should bind up in no man its prosperity and honor.

A free community, indeed, has need of a presiding officer, but it depends on no individual as alone fitted for the

office; and, still more, it needs a President, not to be its master, but to express and execute its own will. This last thought is fundamental, and never to be forgotten. The only law of a free people is the will of the majority, or public sentiment: and to collect, embody, utter, and execute this, is the great end of its civil institutions. Self-government is its great attribute, its supreme distinction, and this gives to office in a free state an entirely different character from what it possesses in despotic countries. The difference, however, is overlooked among us, and the same importance is attached to office as if it conferred absolute power.

We repeat it, the supreme law in a free state is its own will, and, consequently, among such a people, the highest power does not necessarily belong to him who is clothed with office, but to him who does most, in whatever sphere, to guide and determine the public mind. Office is a secondary influence, and, indeed, its most enviable distinction consists in the opportunities which it affords for swaying the opinions and purposes of the community. The nominal legislator is not always the real one. He is often the organ of superior minds, and, if the people be truly free, his chief function is to give form and efficiency to the general will. Even in monarchies, where a free press is enjoyed, the power passes more and more from the public functionary to the master-spirits who frame the nation's mind. Thus the pen of Burke rivalled the sceptre of his sovereign. The progress of freedom and of society is marked by this fact, that official gives place to personal, intellectual, and moral dignity. It is a bad omen where office is thought the supreme good, and where a people sees in the public functionary, not an organ of its own will, but a superior being, on whom its peace and happiness depend.

We mean not to deny the necessity of office. We know that the President fills an important place. We know that the community has an interest in his integrity and wisdom, and that it is disgraced and injured by placing an incompetent or unprincipled man in the most conspicuous station. To the President are confided important functions, but not such functions as can be discharged only by one or two individuals in the country, not such as ought to make him an object of idolatry or dread, not such as should draw to him any extraordinary homage, not such as to justify intense desire in the candidate, or intense excitement in the people. Under institutions really free, no office can exist which deserves the struggles of ambition. Did our Constitution create such an office, it would prove its authors to have been blind or false to their country's dignity and rights. But that noble charter is open to no such reproach. The Presidency, the highest function in the state, is exceedingly bounded by the Constitution, and still more by the spirit of the community. A President has been, and may often be, one of the least efficient men in the government. We need not go far for proof. In both houses of Congress there were men whose influence over the country was greater than that of the last President. He indeed contributed to keep the wheel of government in motion. But we ask, What new impulse did he give it? What single important measure did he originate? Was there a man in office more fettered and thwarted? We talk of the administrations of Mr. Monroe and Mr. Adams. We ask, What impression of themselves have they left on legislation and on public affairs? They gave no spring to the public mind. A popular senator or representative did more to sway the community. And this is as it should be. We rejoice that official influence is so restricted that the people are not mere echoes of a single voice, that no man can master his fellow-citizens, that there is a general, all-pervading intelligence, which modifies, controls, and often neutralizes, the opinion and will of the highest public functionary.

We have spoken of the Presidency as it has actually existed, and as it must in a great measure exist whilst we are free; and yet, through a delusion which has come down from past ages, this office, so limited in power, so obstructed by the legislative branches and by public opinion, which is conferred on the individual at the longest but for eight years, and from which he retires to a seclusion where scarcely an eye follows, or a voice of approbation cheers him, this office, to our disgrace, is coveted by an insane ambition, as if it were an hereditary throne, and the people are as much ex-

cited and disturbed, when called to fill it, as if they were choosing a master for life at whose feet the country was to be laid an unprotected victim. To our shame be it said, for the last eight years every interest of the nation has been postponed to the comparatively inferior concern of choosing a President. The national legislature, forgetting its appointment to watch over the general weal, has wasted, and worse than wasted, its annual sessions in intrigues for the advancement of rival candidates. The most important measures have been discussed and decided, not with reference to the country, but chiefly according to their bearings on what has been called the Presidential election. So sadly have we wanted the self-respect which belongs to freemen! In these disgraceful transactions, in this shameful excitement spread through the community, we see that, as a people, we have not drunk as deeply as we imagine into the lofty spirit of liberty. In proportion as a people become free, in proportion as public sentiment reigns, office ceases to be a distinction, political ambition expires, the prizes of political ambition are withdrawn, the self respect of the people preserves it from bowing to favorites or idols. Whilst it is the characteristic of despotism that the ruler is every thing and the people comparatively nothing, the reverse is the grand distinction of a free state. This distinction we have yet to learn; and it cannot be learned too thoroughly. Unless we are preserved by a just self-respect from dividing into factions for the elevation of leaders, we shall hold our Union and our rights by a very uncertain tenure. Better were it to choose a President by lot from a hundred names to which each State shall contribute its fair proportion, than repeat the degrading struggle through which we have recently passed.

We close this topic by entreating our citizens to remember the great argument in favor of hereditary monarchy. It may be expressed in few words. "The highest office in a nation," says the monarchist, "ought to be hereditary, because it is an object too dazzling and exciting to be held up for competition. Such a prize, offered to the aspiring, must inflame to madness the lust of power, and engender perpetual strife. A people having such a gift to bestow will be exposed to perpetual arts and machinations. Its passions will never be allowed to sleep. Factions, headed by popular chiefs and exasperated by conflict, will at length resort to force, and, in the storms which will follow, the Constitution will be prostrated, and the supreme power be the prey of a successful usurper. The peace and stability of a nation demand that the supreme power should be placed above rivalry, and beyond the hopes of ambition, and this can only be done by making it hereditary." Such is the grand argument in favor of monarchy. As a people, we have done too much to confirm it. It is time that we proved ourselves more loyal to freedom. We shall do well to remember that a republic, broken into parties which have the chief magistracy for their aim, and thrown into perpetual agitation by the rivalry of popular leaders, is lending a mournful testimony to the reasonings of monarchists, and accelerating the fulfilment of their sinister forebodings.

Much remains to be said of the means of perpetuating the Union, and of the dangers to which it is exposed. But we want time to prosecute the subject. The injuries with which the confederation is menaced by party-spirit and a sectional spirit are too obvious to need exposition. The importance of a national literature to our Union and honor deserves particular consideration. But the topic is too great for our present limits, and we reserve it for future discussion.*

We intended to close this article with some remarks on the conduct of the different parties in this country in relation to the Union, for the purpose of showing that all have occasionally been wanting in fidelity to it. But the subject would necessarily expand itself beyond the space allowed us. Still we cannot wholly abandon it. One branch of it is particularly recommended to us by the Correspondence at the head of this review. The merits or the demerits of the Federal party in respect to our Union seem to be in a measure forced on our consideration; and we are the more willing to give a few thoughts to the topic, because we think that we understand it, and because we trust that we can treat it dispassionately. Our attach-

* See "Remarks on National Literature," p. 124.

ment to this party we have no desire to conceal; but our ideas of the allegiance due to a party are exceedingly liberal. We claim the privilege of censuring those with whom we generally agree; and we indignantly disclaim the obligation of justifying in the mass whatever they may please to do. Of the Federalists, therefore, we shall speak freely. We have no desire to hide what we deem to be their errors. They belong now to history, and the only question is, how their history may be made most useful to their country and to the cause of freedom. Before we proceed, however, we beg to remark that in this, as in every part of the present review, we write from our own convictions alone, that we hold no communication with political leaders, and that we are far from being certain of the reception which our views will meet from our best friends.

A purer party than that of the Federalists, we believe, never existed under any government. Like all other combinations, it indeed contained weak and bad men. In its prosperity, it drew to itself seekers for office. Still, when we consider that it enjoyed the confidence of Washington to his last hour; that its leaders were his chosen friends; that it supported and strengthened his whole administration; that it participated with him in the proclamation and system of neutrality, through which that great man served his country as effectually as during the revolutionary war: when we consider that it contributed chiefly to the organization of the Federal Government in the civil, judicial, financial, military, and naval departments: that it carried the country safely and honorably through the most tempestuous days of the French Revolution; that it withstood the frenzied tendencies of multitudes to alliance with that power, and that it averted war with Great Britain during a period when such a war would have bowed us into ruinous subserviency to the despot of France; when we consider these things, we feel that the debt of this country to the Federal party is never to be extinguished.

Still, we think that this party in some respects failed of its duty to the cause of the Union and of freedom. But it so failed not through treachery; for truer spirits the world could not boast. It failed through despondence. Here was the rock on which Federalism split. Too many of its leading men wanted a just confidence in our free institutions and in the moral ability of the people to uphold them. Appalled by the excesses of the French Revolution, by the extinction of liberty in that republic, and by the fanaticism with which the cause of France was still espoused among ourselves, they began to despair of their own country. The sympathies of the majority of our people with the despotism of France were indeed a fearful symptom. There seemed a fascination in that terrible power. An insane admiration for the sworn foe of freedom, joined with as deadly a hatred towards England, so far pervaded the country, that to the Federalists we seemed enlisted as a people on the side of despotism, and fated to sink under its yoke. That they had cause for fear, we think. That they were criminal in the despondence to which they yielded, we also believe. They forgot that great perils call on us for renewed efforts, and for increased sacrifices in a good cause. That some of them considered the doom of the country as sealed, we have reason to believe. Some, disappointed and irritated, were accustomed to speak in bitter scorn of institutions which, bearing the name of free, had proved unable to rescue us from base subserviency to an all-menacing despot. The Federalists, as a body, wanted a just confidence in our national institutions. They wanted that faith which hopes against hope, and which freedom should inspire. Here was their sin, and it brought its penalty; for through this, more than any cause, they were driven from power. By not confiding in the community, they lost its confidence. By the depressed tone with which they spoke of liberty, their attachment to it became suspected. The taint of anti-republican tendencies was fastened upon them by their opponents, and this reproach no party could survive.

We know not in what manner we can better communicate our views of the Federal party, of its merits and defects, than by referring to that distinguished man who was so long prominent in its ranks, — we mean the late George Cabot. If any man in this region deserved to be called its leader, it was he,

and a stronger proof of its political purity cannot be imagined than is found in the ascendency which this illustrious individual maintained over it. He was the last man to be charged with a criminal ambition. His mind rose far above office. The world had no station which would have tempted him from private life. But in private life he exerted the sway which is the worthiest prize of a lofty ambition. He was consulted with something of the respect which was paid to an ancient oracle, and no mind among us contributed so much to the control of public affairs. It is interesting to inquire by what intellectual attributes he gained this influence; and, as his character now belongs to history, perhaps we may render no unacceptable service in delineating its leading features.

We think that he was distinguished by nothing so much as by the power of ascending to general principles, and by the reverence and constancy with which he adhered to them. The great truths of history and experience, the immutable laws of human nature, according to which all measures should be framed, shone on his intellectual eye with an unclouded brightness. No impatience of present evils, no eagerness for immediate good, ever tempted him to think that these might be forsaken with impunity. To these he referred all questions on which he was called to judge, and accordingly his conversation had a character of comprehensive wisdom which, joined with his urbanity, secured to him a singular sway over the minds of his hearers. With such a mind, he of course held in contempt the temporary expedients and motley legislation of commonplace politicians. He looked with singular aversion on every thing factitious, forced, and complicated in policy. We have understood that by the native strength and simplicity of his mind, he anticipated the lights which philosophy and experience have recently thrown on the importance of leaving enterprise, industry, and commerce free. He carried into politics the great axiom which the ancient sages carried into morals, "Follow Nature." In an age of reading, he leaned less than most men on books. A more independent mind our country perhaps has not produced. When we think of his whole character, when with the sagacity of his intellect we combine the integrity of his heart, the dignified grace of his manners, and the charm of his conversation, we hardly know the individual, with the exception of Washington, whom we should have offered more willingly to a foreigner as a specimen of the men whom America can produce.

Still, we think that his fine qualities were shaded by what to us is a great defect, though to some it may appear a proof of his wisdom. He wanted a just faith in man's capacity of freedom, at least in that degree of it which our institutions suppose. He inclined to dark views of the condition and prospects of his country. He had too much the wisdom of experience. He wanted what may be called the wisdom of hope. In man's past history he read too much what is to come, and measured our present capacity of political good too much by the unsuccessful experiments of former times. We apprehend that it is possible to make experience too much our guide: and such was the fault of this distinguished man. There are seasons, in human affairs, of inward and outward revolution, when new depths seem to be broken up in the soul, when new wants are unfolded in multitudes, and a new and undefined good is thirsted for. These are periods when the principles of experience need to be modified, when hope and trust and instinct claim a share with prudence in the guidance of affairs, when, in truth, *to dare* is the highest wisdom. Now, in the distinguished man of whom we speak, there was little or nothing of that enthusiasm which, we confess, seems to us sometimes the surest light. He lived in the past, when the impulse of the age was towards the future. He was slow to promise himself any great melioration of human affairs; and, whilst singularly successful in discerning the actual good which results from the great laws of nature and Providence, he gave little hope that this good was to be essentially enlarged. To such a man, the issue of the French Revolution was a confirmation of the saddest lessons of history, and these lessons he applied too faithfully to his own country. His influence in communicating sceptical, disheartening views of human affairs, seems to us to have been so important as to form a part of our history, and it throws

much light on what we deem the great political error of the Federalists.

That the Federalists did at one period look with an unworthy despondence on our institutions, is true. Especially when they saw the country, by a declaration of war against England, virtually link itself with that despotism which menaced the whole civilized world, their hearts sunk within them; and we doubt not that, in some cases, their mixed anger and gloom broke forth in reckless speeches, which, to those who are ignorant of the workings of the passions, might seem to argue a scorn for the confederation and for all its blessings. So far they failed of their duty; for a good citizen is never to despair of the republic, never to think freedom a lost cause.

The political sin of the Federal party we have stated plainly. In the other great party, examples of unfaithfulness to the Union might also be produced. Whoever reverts to the language of Virginia on the subject of the alien and sedition laws, or to the more recent proceedings and declarations of Georgia in respect to the Indian territories within her jurisdiction, or to the debates and resolutions of the legislature of South Carolina at its last session, will learn that a sense of the sacredness of the Union, and of the greatness of its blessings, is but faintly apprehended, even by that party which boasts of unfaltering adherence to it.

In closing this article, we are aware that we have said much in which many of our fellow-citizens will not concur. Men of all parties will probably dissent from some of our positions. But has not the time come when the vassalage of party may be thrown off? when we may speak of the past and present without asking whether our opinion will be echoed by this or that class of politicians? when we may cease to condemn and justify in the mass? when a more liberal and elevated style of discussion may be introduced? when we may open our eyes on the faults of our friends, and may look at subjects which involve our country's welfare in the broad, clear light of day? This style of discussion we are anxious to promote; and we feel that whoever may encourage and diffuse it, will deserve a place among the most faithful friends of freedom.

WAR.

Discourse before the Congregational Ministers of Massachusetts, Boston, 1816.

ISAIAH ii. 4: "Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

I HAVE chosen a subject which may seem at first view not altogether appropriate to the present occasion, — the subject of WAR. It may be thought that an address to an assembly composed chiefly of the ministers of religion should be confined to the duties, dangers, encouragements of the sacred office. But I have been induced to select this topic because, after the slumber of ages, Christians seem to be awakening to a sense of the pacific character of their religion, and because I understood that this Convention were at this anniversary to consider the interesting question, whether no method could be devised for enlightening the public mind on the nature and guilt of war. I was unwilling that this subject should be approached and dismissed as an ordinary affair. I feared that, in the pressure of business, we might be satisfied with the expression of customary disapprobation; and that, having in this way relieved our consciences, we should relapse into our former indifference, and continue to hear the howlings of this dreadful storm of human passions with as much unconcern as before. I resolved to urge on you the duty, and I hoped to excite in you the purpose, of making some new and persevering efforts for the abolition

of this worst vestige of barbarism, this grossest outrage on the principles of Christianity. The day, I trust, is coming when Christians will look back with gratitude and affection on those men who, in ages of conflict and bloodshed, cherished generous hopes of human improvement, withstood the violence of corrupt opinion, held forth, amidst the general darkness, the pure and mild light of Christianity, and thus ushered in a new and peaceful era in the history of mankind. May you, my brethren, be included in the grateful recollection of that day!

The *miseries* and *crimes* of war, its *sources*, its *remedies*, will be the subjects of our present attention.

In detailing its miseries and crimes, there is no temptation to recur to unreal or exaggerated horrors. No depth of coloring can approach reality. It is lamentable that we need a delineation of the calamities of war to rouse us to exertion. The mere idea of human beings employing every power and faculty in the work of mutual destruction ought to send a shuddering through the frame. But on this subject our sensibilities are dreadfully sluggish and dead. Our ordinary sympathies seem to forsake us when war is named. The sufferings and death of a single fellow-being often excite a tender and active compassion; but we hear without emotion of thousands enduring every variety of woe in war. A single murder in peace thrills through our frames. The countless murders of war are heard as an amusing tale. The execution of a criminal depresses the mind, and philanthropy is laboring to substitute milder punishments for death. But benevolence has hardly made an effort to snatch from sudden and untimely death the innumerable victims immolated on the altar of war. This insensibility demands that the miseries and crimes of war should be placed before us with minuteness, with energy, with strong and indignant feeling.

The miseries of war may be easily conceived from its very nature. By war, we understand the resort of nations to force, violence, and the most dreaded methods of destruction and devastation. In war, the strength, skill, courage, energy, and resources of a whole people are concentrated for the infliction of pain and death. The bowels of the earth are explored, the most active elements combined, the resources of art and nature exhausted, to increase the power of man in destroying his fellow-creatures.

Would you learn what destruction man, when thus aided, can spread around him? Look, then, at that extensive region, desolate and overspread with ruins; its forests rent, as if blasted by lightning; its villages prostrated, as by an earthquake; its fields barren, as if swept by storms. Not long ago, the sun shone on no happier spot. But ravaging armies prowled over it; war frowned on it; and its fruitfulness and happiness are fled. Here thousands and ten thousands were gathered from distant provinces, not to embrace as brethren, but to renounce the tie of brotherhood; and thousands in the vigor of life, when least prepared for death, were hewn down and scattered like chaff before the whirlwind.

Repair, my friends, in thought, to a field of recent battle. Here are heaps of slain, weltering in their own blood, their bodies mangled, their limbs shattered, and almost every vestige of the human form and countenance destroyed. Here are multitudes trodden under foot, and the war-horse has left the trace of his hoof in many a crushed and mutilated frame. Here are severer sufferers; they live, but live without hope or consolation. Justice despatches the criminal with a single stroke; but the victims of war, falling by casual, undirected blows, often expire in lingering agony, their deep groans moving no compassion, their limbs writhing on the earth with pain, their lips parched with a burning thirst, their wounds open to the chilling air, the memory of home rushing on their minds, but not a voice of friendship or comfort reaching their ears. Amidst this scene of horrors, you see the bird and beast of prey gorging themselves with the dead or dying, and human plunderers rifling the warm and almost palpitating remains of the slain. If you extend your eye beyond the immediate field of battle, and follow the track of the victorious and pursuing army, you see the roads strewed with the dead: you see scattered flocks, and harvests trampled under foot, the smoking ruins of cottages, and the miserable inhabitants flying in want and despair;

and even yet, the horrors of a single battle are not exhausted. Some of the deepest pangs which it inflicts are silent, retired, enduring, to be read in the widow's countenance, in the unprotected orphan, in the aged parent, in affection cherishing the memory of the slain, and weeping that it could not minister to their last pangs.

I have asked you to traverse, in thought, a field of battle. There is another scene often presented in war, perhaps more terrible. I refer to a besieged city. The most horrible pages in history are those which record the reduction of strongly fortified places. In a besieged city are collected all descriptions and ages of mankind, women, children, the old, the infirm. Day and night the weapons of death and conflagration fly around them. They see the approaches of the foe, the trembling bulwark, and the fainting strength of their defenders. They are worn with famine, and on famine presses pestilence. At length the assault is made, every barrier is broken down, and a lawless soldiery, exasperated by resistance, and burning with lust and cruelty, are scattered through the streets. The domestic retreat is violated; and even the house of God is no longer a sanctuary. Venerable age is no protection, female purity no defence. Is woman spared amidst the slaughter of father, brother, husband, and son? She is spared for a fate which makes death in comparison a merciful doom. With such heart-rending scenes history abounds; and what better fruits can you expect from war?

These views are the most obvious and striking which war presents. There are more secret influences, appealing less powerfully to the senses and imagination, but deeply affecting to a reflecting and benevolent mind. Consider, first, the condition of those who are immediately engaged in war. The sufferings of soldiers from battle we have seen; but their sufferings are not limited to the period of conflict. The whole of war is a succession of exposures too severe for human nature. Death employs other weapons than the sword. It is computed that in ordinary wars greater numbers perish by sickness than in battle. Exhausted by long and rapid marches, by unwholesome food, by exposure to storms, by excessive labor under a burning sky through the day, and by interrupted and restless sleep on the damp ground and in the chilling atmosphere of night, thousands after thousands of the young pine away and die. They anticipated that they should fall, if to fall should be their lot, in what they called the field of honor; but they perish in the inglorious and crowded hospital, surrounded with sights and sounds of woe, far from home and every friend, and denied those tender offices which sickness and expiring nature require.

Consider, next, the influence of war on the character of those who make it their trade. They let themselves for slaughter, place themselves servile instruments, passive machines, in the hands of rulers, to execute the bloodiest mandates, without a thought on the justice of the cause in which they are engaged. What a school is this for the human character! From men trained in battle to ferocity, accustomed to the perpetration of cruel deeds, accustomed to take human life without sorrow or remorse, habituated to esteem an unthinking courage a substitute for every virtue, encouraged by plunder to prodigality, taught improvidence by perpetual hazard and exposure, restrained only by an iron discipline which is withdrawn in peace, and unfitted by the restless and irregular career of war for the calm and uniform pursuits of ordinary life; from such men, what ought to be expected but contempt of human rights and of the laws of God? From the nature of his calling, the soldier is almost driven to sport with the thought of death, to defy and deride it, and, of course, to banish the thought of that retribution to which it leads; and though of all men the most exposed to sudden death, he is too often of all men most unprepared to appear before his Judge.

The influence of war on the community at large, on its prosperity, its morals, and its political institutions, though less striking than on the soldiery, is yet baleful. How often is a community impoverished to sustain a war in which it has no interest? Public burdens are aggravated, whilst the means of sustaining them are reduced. Internal improvements are neglected. The revenue of the state is exhausted in military

establishments, or flows through secret channels into the coffers of corrupt men, whom war exalts to power and office. The regular employments of peace are disturbed. Industry in many of its branches is suspended. The laborer, ground with want, and driven to despair by the clamor of his suffering family, becomes a soldier in a cause which he condemns, and thus the country is drained of its most effective population. The people are stripped and reduced, whilst the authors of war retrench not a comfort, and often fatten on the spoils and woes of their country.

The influence of war on the morals of society is also to be deprecated. The suspension of industry multiplies want; and criminal modes of subsistence are the resource of the suffering. Commerce, shackled and endangered, loses its upright and honorable character, and becomes a system of stratagem and collusion. In war, the moral sentiments of a community are perverted by the admiration of military exploits. The milder virtues of Christianity are eclipsed by the baleful lustre thrown round a ferocious courage. The disinterested, the benignant, the merciful, the forgiving, those whom Jesus has pronounced blessed and honorable, must give place to the hero, whose character is stained not only with blood, but sometimes with the foulest vices, but all whose stains are washed away by victory. War especially injures the moral feelings of a people by making human nature cheap in their estimation, and human life of as little worth as that of an insect or a brute.

War diffuses through a community unfriendly and malignant passions. Nations, exasperated by mutual injuries, burn for each others' humiliation and ruin. They delight to hear that famine, pestilence, want, defeat, and the most dreadful scourges which Providence sends on a guilty world, are desolating a hostile community. The slaughter of thousands of fellow-beings, instead of awakening pity, flushes them with delirious joy, illuminates the city, and dissolves the whole country in revelry and riot. Thus the heart of man is hardened. His worst passions are nourished. He renounces the bonds and sympathies of humanity. Were the prayers, or rather the curses, of warring nations prevalent in heaven, the whole earth would long since have become a desert. The human race, with all their labors and improvements, would have perished under the sentence of universal extermination.

But war not only assails the prosperity and morals of a community; its influence on the political condition is threatening. It arms government with a dangerous patronage, multiplies dependents and instruments of oppression, and generates a power which, in the hands of the energetic and aspiring, endangers a free constitution. War organizes a body of men who lose the feelings of the citizen in the soldier; whose habits detach them from the community; whose ruling passion is devotion to a chief; who are inured in the camp to despotic sway; who are accustomed to accomplish their ends by force, and to sport with the rights and happiness of their fellow-beings; who delight in tumult, adventure, and peril; and turn with disgust and scorn from the quiet labors of peace. Is it wonderful that such protectors of a state should look with contempt on the weakness of the protected, and should lend themselves base instruments to the subversion of that freedom which they do not themselves enjoy? In a community, in which precedence is given to the military profession, freedom cannot long endure. The encroachments of power at home are expiated by foreign triumphs. The essential interests and rights of the state are sacrificed to a false and fatal glory. Its intelligence and vigor, instead of presenting a bulwark to domestic usurpation, are expended in military achievements. Its most active and aspiring citizens rush to the army, and become subservient to the power which dispenses honor. The nation is victorious, but the recompense of its toils is a yoke as galling as that which it imposes on other communities.

Thus war is to be ranked among the most dreadful calamities which fall on a guilty world; and, what deserves consideration, it tends to multiply and perpetuate itself without end. It feeds and grows on the blood which it sheds. The passions from which it springs gain strength and fury from indulgence. The successful nation, flushed by vic-

tory, pants for new laurels; whilst the humbled nation, irritated by defeat, is impatient to redeem its honor and repair its losses. Peace becomes a truce, a feverish repose, a respite to sharpen anew the sword, and to prepare for future struggles. Under professions of friendship lurk hatred and distrust; and a spark suffices to renew the mighty conflagration. When, from these causes, large military establishments are formed, and a military spirit kindled, war becomes a necessary part of policy. A foreign field must be found for the energies and passions of a martial people. To disband a numerous and veteran soldiery would be to let loose a dangerous horde on society. The blood-hounds must be sent forth on other communities, lest they rend the bosom of their own country. Thus war extends and multiplies itself. No sooner is one storm scattered, than the sky is darkened with the gathering horrors of another. Accordingly, war has been the mournful legacy of every generation to that which succeeds it. Every age has had its conflicts. Every country has in turn been the seat of devastation and slaughter. The dearest interests and rights of every nation have been again and again committed to the hazards of a game, of all others the most uncertain, and in which, from its very nature, success too often attends on the fiercest courage and the basest fraud.

Such, my friends, is an unexaggerated, and, I will add, a faint delineation of the miseries of war; and to all these miseries and crimes the human race have been continually exposed, for no worthier cause than to enlarge an empire already tottering under its unwieldy weight, to extend an iron despotism, to support some idle pretension, to repel some unreal or exaggerated injury. For no worthier cause, human blood has been poured out as water, and millions of rational and immortal beings have been driven like sheep to the field of slaughter.

Having considered the crimes and miseries of war, I proceed, as I proposed, to inquire into its sources, — an important branch of our subject, for it is only by a knowledge of the sources that we can be guided to the remedies of war. And here, I doubt not, many will imagine that the first place ought to be given to malignity and hatred. But justice to human nature requires that we ascribe to national animosities a more limited operation than is usually assigned to them in the production of this calamity. It is, indeed, true that ambitious men, who have an interest in war, too often accomplish their views by appealing to the malignant feelings of a community, by exaggerating its wrongs, ridiculing its forbearance, and reviving ancient jealousies and resentments. But it is believed that, were not malignity and revenge aided by the concurrence of higher principles, the false splendor of this barbarous custom might easily be obscured, and its ravages stayed.

One of the great springs of war may be found in a very strong and general propensity of human nature, in the love of excitement, of emotion, of strong interest, — a propensity which gives a charm to those bold and hazardous enterprises which call forth all the energies of our nature. No state of mind, not even positive suffering, is more painful than the want of interesting objects. The vacant soul preys on itself, and often rushes with impatience from the security which demands no effort to the brink of peril. This part of human nature is seen in the kind of pleasures which have always been preferred. Why has the first rank among sports been given to the chase? Because its difficulties, hardships, hazards, tumults, awaken the mind, and give to it a new consciousness of existence, and a deep feeling of its powers. What is the charm which attaches the statesman to an office which almost weighs him down with labor and an appalling responsibility? He finds much of his compensation in the powerful emotion and interest awakened by the very hardships of his lot, by conflict with vigorous minds, by the opposition of rivals, and by the alternations of success and defeat. What hurries to the gaming table the man of prosperous fortune and ample resource? The dread of apathy, the love of strong feeling and of mental agitation. A deeper interest is felt in hazarding than in securing wealth, and the temptation is irresistible. One more example of this propensity may be seen in the attachment of pirates and highwaymen to their dreadful employment.

Its excess of peril has given it a terrible interest; and to a man who has long conversed with its dangers, the ordinary pursuits of life are vapid, tasteless, and disgusting. We have here one spring of war. War is of all games the deepest, awakening most powerfully the soul, and, of course, presenting powerful attraction to those restless and adventurous minds which pant for scenes of greater experiment and exposure than peace affords. The savage, finding in his uncultivated modes of life few objects of interest, few sources of emotion, burns for war as a field for his restless energy. Civilized men, too, find a pleasure in war, as an excitement of the mind. They follow, with an eager concern, the movements of armies, and wait the issue of battles with a deep suspense, an alternation of hope and fear, inconceivably more interesting than the unvaried uniformity of peaceful pursuits.

Another powerful principle of our nature, which is the spring of war, is the passion for superiority, for triumph, for power. The human mind is aspiring, impatient of inferiority, and eager for pre-eminence and control. I need not enlarge on the predominance of this passion in rulers whose love of power is influenced by the possession, and who are ever restless to extend their sway. It is more important to observe that, were this desire restrained to the breasts of rulers, war would move with a sluggish pace. But the passion for power and superiority is universal: and as every individual, from his intimate union with the community, is accustomed to appropriate its triumphs to himself, there is a general promptness to engage in any contest by which the community may obtain an ascendency over other nations. The desire that our country should surpass all others would not be criminal did we understand in what respects it is most honorable for a nation to excel: did we feel that the glory of a state consists in intellectual and moral superiority, in pre-eminence of knowledge, freedom, and purity. But to the mass of a people this form of pre-eminence is too refined and unsubstantial. There is another kind of triumph, which they better understand, the triumph of physical power, triumph in battle, triumph, not over the minds, but the territory of another state. Here is a palpable, visible superiority; and for this a people are willing to submit to severe privations. A victory blots out the memory of their sufferings, and in boasting of their extended power, they find a compensation for many woes.

I now proceed to another powerful spring of war: and it is the admiration of the brilliant qualities displayed in war. These qualities, more than all things, have prevented an impression of the crimes and miseries of this savage custom. Many delight in war, not for its carnage and woes, but for its valor and apparent magnaminity, for the self-command of the hero, the fortitude which despises suffering, the resolution which courts danger, the superiority of the mind to the body, to sensation, to fear. Let us be just to human nature even in its errors and excesses. Men seldom delight in war, considered merely as a source of misery. When they hear of battles, the picture which rises to their view is not what it should be, a picture of extreme wretchedness, of the wounded, the mangled, the slain. These horrors are hidden under the splendor of those mighty energies which break forth amidst the perils of conflict, and which human nature contemplates with an intense and heart-thrilling delight. Attention hurries from the heaps of the slaughtered to the victorious chief, whose single mind pervades and animates a host, and directs with stern composure the storm of battle; and the ruin which he spreads is forgotten in admiration of his power. This admiration has, in all ages, been expressed by the most unequivocal signs. Why that garland woven? that arch erected? that festive board spread? These are tributes to the warrior. Whilst the peaceful sovereign, who scatters blessings with the silence and constancy of Providence, is received with a faint applause, men assemble in crowds to hail the conqueror, perhaps a monster in human form, whose private life is blackened with lust and crime, and whose greatness is built on perfidy and usurpation. Thus war is the surest and speediest road to renown; and war will never cease while the field of battle is the field of glory, and the most luxuriant laurels grow from a root nourished with blood.

Another cause of war is a false patriotism. It is a natural and generous

impulse of nature to love the country which gave us birth, by whose institutions we have been moulded, by whose laws defended, and with whose soil and scenery innumerable associations of early years, of domestic affection, and of friendship, have been formed. But this sentiment often degenerates into a narrow, partial, exclusive attachment, alienating us from other branches of the human family, and instigating to aggression on other states. In ancient times this principle was developed with wonderful energy, and sometimes absorbed every other sentiment. To the Roman, Rome was the universe. Other nations were of no value but to grace her triumphs and illustrate her power; and he who in private life would have disdained injustice and oppression, exulted in the successful violence by which other nations were bound to the chariot-wheels of this mistress of the world. This spirit still exists. The tie of country is thought to absolve men from the obligations of universal justice and humanity. Statesmen and rulers are expected to build up their own country at the expense of others; and, in the false patriotism of the citizen, they have a security for any outrages which are sanctioned by success.

Let me mention one other spring of war, — I mean the impressions we receive in early life. In our early years we know war only as it offers itself to us at a review; not arrayed in terror, not stalking over fields of the slain, and desolated regions, its eye flashing with fury, and its sword reeking with blood. War, as we first see it, is decked with gay and splendid trappings, and wears a countenance of joy. It moves with a measured and graceful step to the sound of the heart-stirring fife and drum. Its instruments of death wound only the air. Such is war; the youthful eye is dazzled with its ornaments; the youthful heart dances to its animated sounds. It seems a pastime full of spirit and activity, the very sport in which youth delights. These false views of war are confirmed by our earliest reading. We are intoxicated with the exploits of the conqueror, as recorded in real history or in glowing fiction. We follow, with a sympathetic ardor, his rapid and triumphant career in battle, and, unused as we are to suffering and death, forget the fallen and miserable who are crushed under his victorious car. Particularly by the study of the ancient poets and historians, the sentiments of early and barbarous ages on the subject of war are kept alive in the mind. The trumpet which roused the fury of Achilles and of the hordes of Greece still resounds in our ears; and, though Christians by profession, some of our earliest and deepest impressions are received in the school of uncivilized antiquity. Even where these impressions in favor of war are not received in youth, we yet learn from our early familiarity with it to consider it as a necessary evil, an essential part of our condition. We become reconciled to it as to a fixed law of our nature; and consider the thought of its abolition as extravagant as an attempt to chain the winds or arrest the lightning.

I have thus attempted to unfold the principal causes of war. They are, you perceive, of a moral nature. They may be resolved into wrong views of human glory, and into excesses of passions and desires which, by right direction, would promote the best interests of humanity. From these causes we learn that this savage custom is to be repressed by moral means, by salutary influences on the sentiments and principles of mankind. And thus we are led to our last topic, — the remedies of war. In introducing the observations which I have to offer on this branch of the subject, I feel myself bound to suggest an important caution. Let not the cause of peace be injured by the assertion of extreme and indefensible principles. I particularly refer to the principle, that war is absolutely, and in all possible cases, unlawful, and prohibited by Christianity. This doctrine is considered, by a great majority of the judicious and enlightened, as endangering the best interests of society; and it ought not therefore to be connected with our efforts for the diffusion of peace, unless it appear to us a clear and indubitable truth. War, as it is commonly waged, is indeed a tremendous evil; but national subjugation is a greater evil than a war of defence; and a community seems to me to possess an indisputable right to resort to such a war, when all other means have failed for the security of its existence or freedom. It is universally ad-

mitted that a community may employ force to repress the rapacity and violence of its own citizens, to disarm and restrain its internal foes; and on what ground can we deny to it the right of repelling the inroads and aggressions of a foreign power? If a government may not lawfully resist a foreign army, invading its territory to desolate and subdue, on what principles can we justify a resistance of a combination of its own citizens for the same injurious purpose? Government is instituted for the very purpose of protecting the community from all violence, no matter by what hands it may be offered; and rulers would be unfaithful to their trust were they to abandon the rights, interests, and improvements of society to unprincipled rapacity, whether of domestic or foreign foes.

We are indeed told that the language of Scripture is, "Resist not evil." But the Scriptures are given to us as reasonable beings. We must remember that to the renunciation of reason in the interpretation of Scripture we owe those absurdities which have sunk Christianity almost to the level of Heathenism. If the precept to "resist not evil" admit no exception, then civil government is prostrated; then the magistrate must in no case resist the injurious; then the subject must in no case employ the aid of the laws to enforce his rights. The very end and office of government is, to *resist* evil men. For this, the civil magistrate bears the sword; and he should beware of interpretations of the Scriptures which would lead him to bear it in vain. The doctrine of the absolute unlawfulness of war is thought by its advocates to be necessary to a successful opposition to this barbarous custom. But were we employed to restore peace to a contentious neighborhood, we should not consider ourselves as obliged to teach that self-defence is in every possible case a crime; and equally useless is this principle in our labors for the pacification of the world. Without taking this uncertain and dangerous ground, we may and ought to assail war, by assailing the principles and passions which gave it birth, and by improving and exalting the moral sentiments of mankind.

For example; important service may be rendered to the cause of peace by communicating and enforcing just and elevated sentiments in relation to the true honor of rulers. Let us teach that the prosperity, and not the extent, of a state is the measure of a ruler's glory; that the brute force and crooked policy which annex a conquest are infinitely inferior to the wisdom, justice, and beneficence which make a country happy; and that the earth holds not a more abandoned monster than the sovereign who, intrusted with the dearest interests of a people, commits them to the dreadful hazards of war, that he may extend his prostituted power, and fill the earth with his worthless name. Let us exhibit to the honor and veneration of mankind the character of the Christian ruler, who, disdaining the cheap and vulgar honor of a conqueror, aspires to a new and more enduring glory; who, casting away the long-tried weapons of intrigue and violence, adheres with a holy and unshaken confidence to justice and philanthropy, as a nation's best defence; and who considers himself as exalted by God only that he may shed down blessings and be as a beneficent deity to the world.

To these instructions, in relation to the true glory of rulers, should be added just sentiments as to the glory of nations. Let us teach that the honor of a nation consists, not in the forced and reluctant submission of other states, but in equal laws and free institutions, in cultivated fields and prosperous cities; in the development of intellectual and moral power, in the diffusion of knowledge, in magnanimity and justice, in the virtues and blessings of peace. Let us never be weary in reprobating that infernal spirit of conquest by which a nation becomes the terror and abhorrence of the world, and inevitably prepares a tomb — at best a splendid tomb — for its own liberties and prosperity. Nothing has been more common than for nations to imagine themselves great and glorious on the ground of foreign conquest, when at home they have been loaded with chains. Cannot these gross and monstrous delusions be scattered? Can nothing be done to persuade Christian nations to engage in a new and untried race of glory, in generous competitions, in a noble contest for superiority in wise legislation and internal improvements, in the spirit of liberty and humanity?

Another most important method of promoting the cause of peace is to turn men's admiration from military courage to qualities of real nobleness and dignity. It is time that the childish admiration of courage should give place to more manly sentiments: and in proportion as we effect this change, we shall shake the main pillar of war, we shall rob military life of its chief attraction. Courage is a very doubtful quality, springing from very different sources, and possessing a corresponding variety of character. Courage sometimes results from mental weakness. Peril is confronted, because the mind wants comprehension to discern its extent. This is often the courage of youth, the courage of unreflecting ignorance, — a contempt of peril because peril is but dimly seen. Courage still more frequently springs from physical temperament, from a rigid fibre and iron nerves, and deserves as little praise as the proportion of the form or the beauty of the countenance. Again, every passion which is strong enough to overcome the passion of fear, and to exclude by its vehemence the idea of danger, communicates at least a temporary courage. Thus revenge, when it burns with great fury, gives a terrible energy to the mind, and has sometimes impelled men to meet certain death, that they might inflict the same fate on an enemy. You see the doubtful nature of courage. It is often associated with the worst vices. The most wonderful examples of it may be found in the history of pirates and robbers, whose fearlessness is generally proportioned to the insensibility of their consciences, and to the enormity of their crimes. Courage is also exhibited with astonishing power in barbarous countries, where the child is trained to despise the hardships and pains to which he is exposed by his condition; where the absence of civil laws obliges every man to be his own defender; and where, from the imperfection of moral sentiment, corporeal strength and ferocious courage are counted the noblest qualities of human nature. The common courage of armies is equally worthless with that of the pirate and the savage. A considerable part of almost every army, so far from deriving their resolution from love of country and a sense of justice, can hardly be said to have a country, and have been driven into the ranks by necessities which were generated by vice. These are the brave soldiers, whose praises we hear; brave, from the absence of all reflection, prodigal of life, because their vices have robbed life of its blessings; brave, from sympathy; brave, from the thirst of plunder; and especially brave, because the sword of martial law is hanging over their heads. Accordingly, military courage is easily attained by the most debased and unprincipled men. The common drunkard of the streets, who is enlisted in a fit of intoxication, when thrown into the ranks among the unthinking and profane, subjected to the rigor of martial discipline, familiarized by exposure to the idea of danger, and menaced with death if he betray a symptom of fear, becomes as brave as his officer, whose courage may often be traced to the same dread of punishment, and to fear of severer infamy than attends on the cowardice of the common soldier. Let the tribute of honor be freely and liberally given to the soldier of principle, who exposes his life for a cause which his conscience approves, and who mingles clemency and mercy with the joy of triumph. But as for the multitude of military men, who regard war as a trade by which to thrive, who hire themselves to fight and slay in any cause, and who destroy their fellow-beings with as little concern as the husbandman does the vermin that infest his fields, I know no class of men on whom admiration can more unjustly and more injuriously be bestowed. Let us labor, my brethren, to direct the admiration and love of mankind to another and infinitely higher kind of greatness, to that true magnanimity which is prodigal of ease and life in the service of God and mankind, and which proves its courage by unshaken adherence, amidst scorn and danger, to truth and virtue. Let the records of past ages be explored, to rescue from oblivion, not the wasteful conqueror, whose path was as the whirlwind, but the benefactors of the human race, martyrs to the interests of freedom and religion, men who have broken the chain of the slave, who have traversed the earth to shed consolation into the cell of the prisoner, or whose sublime faculties have explored and revealed useful and ennobling truths. Can noth-

ing be done to hasten the time when to such men eloquence and poetry shall offer their glowing homage, — when for these the statue and monument shall be erected, the canvass be animated, and the laurel entwined, — and when to these the admiration of the young shall be directed as their guides and forerunners to glory and immortality?

I proceed to another method of promoting the cause of peace. Let Christian ministers exhibit, with greater clearness and distinctness than ever they have done, the pacific and benevolent spirit of Christianity. My brethren, this spirit ought to hold the same place in our preaching which it holds in the gospel of our Lord. Instead of being crowded and lost among other subjects, it should stand in the front of Christian graces; it should be inculcated as the life and essence of our religion. We should teach men that charity is greater than faith and hope; that God is love, or benevolence; and that love is the brightest communication of divinity to the human soul. We should exhibit Jesus in all the amiableness of his character, now shedding tears over Jerusalem, and now his blood on Calvary, and in his last hours recommending his own sublime love as the badge and distinction of his followers. We should teach men that it is the property of the benevolence of Christianity to diffuse itself like the light and rain of heaven, to disdain the limits of rivers, mountains, or oceans, by which nations are divided, and to embrace every human being as a brother. Let us never forget that our preaching is evangelical just in proportion as it inculcates and awakens this disinterested and unbounded charity: and that our hearers are Christians just as far and no farther than they delight in peace and beneficence.

It is a painful truth, which ought not to be suppressed, that the pacific influence of the gospel has been greatly obstructed by the disposition which has prevailed in all ages, and especially among Christian ministers, to give importance to the peculiarities of sects, and to rear walls of partition between different denominations. Shame ought to cover the face of the believer, when he remembers that under no religion have intolerance and persecution raged more fiercely than under the gospel of the meek and forbearing Saviour. Christians have made the earth to reek with blood and to resound with denunciation. Can we wonder that, while the spirit of war has been cherished in the very bosom of the church, it has continued to ravage among the nations? Were the true spirit of Christianity to be inculcated with but half the zeal which has been wasted on doubtful and disputed doctrines, a sympathy, a co-operation might in a very short time be produced among Christians of every nation, most propitious to the pacification of the world. In consequence of the progress of knowledge and the extension of commerce, Christians of both hemispheres are at this moment brought nearer to one another than at any former period; and an intercourse, founded on religious sympathies, is gradually connecting the most distant regions. What a powerful weapon is furnished by this new bond of union to the ministers and friends of peace! Should not the auspicious moment be seized to inculcate on all Christians, in all regions, that they owe their first allegiance to their common Lord in heaven, whose first, and last, and great command is, love? Should they not be taught to look with a shuddering abhorrence on war, which continually summons to the field of battle, under opposing standards, the followers of the same Saviour, and commands them to imbrue their hands in each others' blood? Once let Christians of every nation be brought to espouse the cause of peace with one heart and one voice, and their labor will not be in vain in the Lord. Human affairs will rapidly assume a new and milder aspect. The predicted ages of peace will dawn on the world. Public opinion will be purified. The false lustre of the hero will grow dim. A nobler order of character will be admired and diffused. The kingdoms of the world will gradually become the kingdoms of God and of his Christ.

My friends, I did intend, but I have not time, to notice the arguments which are urged in support of war. Let me only say that the common argument, that war is necessary to awaken the boldness, energy, and noblest qualities of human nature, will, I hope, receive a practical refutation in the friends of

philanthropy and peace. Let it appear in your lives that you need not this spark from hell to kindle a heroic resolution in your breasts. Let it appear that a pacific spirit has no affinity with a tame and feeble character. Let us prove that courage, the virtue which has been thought to flourish most in the rough field of war, may be reared to a more generous height, and to a firmer texture, in the bosom of peace. Let it be seen that it is not fear, but principle, which has made us the enemies of war. In every enterprise of philanthropy which demands daring and sacrifice and exposure to hardship and toil, let us embark with serenity and joy. Be it our part to exhibit an undaunted, unshaken, unwearied resolution, not in spreading ruin, but in serving God and mankind, in alleviating human misery, in diffusing truth and virtue, and especially in opposing war. The doctrines of Christianity have had many martyrs. Let us be willing, if God shall require it, to be martyrs to its spirit, — the neglected, insulted spirit of peace and love. In a better service we cannot live; in a nobler cause we cannot die. It is the cause of Jesus Christ, supported by Almighty Goodness, and appointed to triumph over the passions and delusions of men, the customs of ages, and the fallen monuments of the forgotten conqueror.

Note to the First Discourse on War.

I have deferred to this place a few remarks on the arguments which are usually adduced in support of war.

War, it is said, kindles patriotism; by fighting for our country, we learn to love it. But the patriotism which is cherished by war is ordinarily false and spurious, a vice and not a virtue, a scourge to the world, a narrow, unjust passion, which aims to exalt a particular state on the humiliation and destruction of other nations. A genuine, enlightened patriot discerns that the welfare of his own country is involved in the general progress of society; and in the character of a patriot, as well as of a Christian, he rejoices in the liberty and prosperity of other communities, and is anxious to maintain with them the relations of peace and amity.

It is said that a military spirit is the defence of a country. But it more frequently endangers the vital interests of a nation by embroiling it with other states. This spirit, like every other passion, is impatient for gratification, and often precipitates a country into unnecessary war. A people have no need of a military spirit. Let them be attached to their government and institutions by habit, by early associations, and especially by experimental conviction of their excellence, and they will never want means or spirit to defend them.

War is recommended as a method of redressing national grievances. But, unhappily, the weapons of war, from their very nature, are often wielded most successfully by the unprincipled. Justice and force have little congeniality. Should not Christians everywhere strive to promote the reference of national as well as of individual disputes to an impartial umpire? Is a project of this nature more extravagant than the idea of reducing savage hordes to a state of regular society? The last has been accomplished. Is the first to be abandoned in despair?

It is said that war sweeps off the idle, dissolute, and vicious members of the community. Monstrous argument! If a government may for this end plunge a nation into war, it may with equal justice consign to the executioner any number of its subjects whom it may deem a burden on the state. The fact is, that war commonly generates as many profligates as it destroys. A disbanded army fills the community with at least as many abandoned members as at first it absorbed. There is another method, not quite so summary as war, of ridding a country of unprofitable and injurious citizens, but vastly more effectual; and a method which will be applied with spirit and success just in proportion as war shall yield to the light and spirit of Christianity. I refer to the exertions which Christians have commenced for the reformation and improvement of the ignorant and poor, and especially for the instruction and moral culture of indigent children. Christians are entreated to persevere and abound in these godlike efforts. By diffusing moral and religious principles, and sober and industrious habits through the laboring classes of society, they will dry up one important source of war. They will destroy

in a considerable degree the materials of armies. In proportion as these classes become well principled and industrious, poverty will disappear, the population of a country will be more and more proportioned to its resources, and of course the number will be diminished of those who have no alternative but beggary or a camp. The moral care which is at the present day extended to the poor is one of the most honorable features of our age. Christians! remember that your proper warfare is with ignorance and vice, and exhibit here the same unwearied and inventive energy which has marked the warriors of the world.

It is sometimes said that a military spirit favors liberty. But how is it that nations, after fighting for ages, are so generally enslaved? The truth is, that liberty has no foundation but in private and public virtue; and virtue, as we have seen, is not the common growth of war.

But the great argument remains to be discussed. It is said that without war to excite and invigorate the human mind, some of its noblest energies will slumber, and its highest qualities, courage, magnanimity, fortitude, will perish. To this I answer that, if war is to be encouraged among nations, because it nourishes energy and heroism, on the same principle war in our families, and war between neighborhoods, villages, and cities ought to be encouraged; for such contests would equally tend to promote heroic daring and contempt of death. Why shall not different provinces of the same empire annually meet with the weapons of death, to keep alive their courage? We shrink at this suggestion with horror: but why shall contests of nations, rather than of provinces or families, find shelter under this barbarous argument?

I observe again; if war be a blessing because it awakens energy and courage, then the savage state is peculiarly privileged; for every savage is a soldier, and his whole modes of life tend to form him to invincible resolution. On the same principle, those early periods of society were happy, when men were called to contend not only with one another but with beasts of prey; for to these excitements we owe the heroism of Hercules and Theseus. On the same principle, the feudal ages were more favored than the present; for then every baron was a military chief, every castle frowned defiance, and every vassal was trained to arms. And do we really wish that the earth should again be overrun with monsters, or abandoned to savage or feudal violence, in order that heroes may be multiplied? If not, let us cease to vindicate war as affording excitement to energy and courage.

I repeat, what I have observed in the preceding discourse, we need not war to awaken human energy. There is at least equal scope for courage and magnanimity in blessing as in destroying mankind. The condition of the human race offers inexhaustible objects for enterprise, and fortitude, and magnanimity. In relieving the countless wants and sorrows of the world, in exploring unknown regions, in carrying the arts and virtues of civilization to unimproved communities, in extending the bounds of knowledge, in diffusing the spirit of freedom, and especially in spreading the light and influence of Christianity, how much may be dared, how much endured! Philanthropy invites us to services which demand the most intense, and elevated, and resolute, and adventurous activity. Let it not be imagined that, were nations imbued with the spirit of Christianity, they would slumber in ignoble ease; that, instead of the high-minded murderers, who are formed on the present system of war, we should have effeminate and timid slaves. Christian benevolence is as active as it is forbearing. Let it once form the character of a people, and it will attach them to every important interest of society. It will call forth sympathy in behalf of the suffering in every region under heaven. It will give a new extension to the heart, open a wider sphere to enterprise, inspire a courage of exhaustless resource, and prompt to every sacrifice and exposure for the improvement and happiness of the human race. The energy of this principle has been tried and displayed in the fortitude of the martyr, and in the patient labors of those who have carried the gospel into the dreary abodes of idolatry. Away, then, with the argument that war is needed as a nursery of heroism. The school of the peaceful Redeemer is infinitely more adapted to teach the nobler, as well as the milder virtues, which adorn humanity.

WAR.

Discourse delivered January 25, 1835.

JAMES v. 1: "Whence come wars and fightings among you?"

I ASK your attention to the subject of public war. I am aware that to some this topic may seem to have political bearings, which render it unfit for the pulpit; but to me it is eminently a moral and religious subject. In approaching it, political parties and interest vanish from my mind. They are forgotten amidst the numerous miseries and crimes of war. To bring war to an end was one of the purposes of Christ, and his ministers are bound to concur with him in the work. The great difficulty on the present occasion is, to select some point of view from the vast field which opens before us. After some general remarks, I shall confine myself to a single topic, which at present demands peculiar attention.

Public war is not an evil which stands alone, or has nothing in common with other evils. It belongs, as the text intimates, to a great family. It may be said that society, through its whole extent, is deformed by war. Even in families we see jarring interests and passions, invasions of rights, resistance of authority, violence, force; and in common life, how continually do we see men struggling with one another for property or distinction, injuring one another in word or deed, exasperated against one another by jealousies, neglects, and mutual reproach. All this is essentially war, but war restrained, hemmed in, disarmed by the opinions and institutions of society. To limit its ravages, to guard reputation, property, and life, society has instituted government, erected the tribunal of justice, clothed the legislator with the power of enacting equal laws, put the sword into the hand of the magistrate, and pledged its whole force to his support. Human wisdom has been manifested in nothing more conspicuously than in civil institutions for repressing war, retaliation, and passionate resort to force, among the citizens of the same state. But here it has stopped. Government, which is ever at work to restrain the citizen at home, often lets him loose, and arms him with fire and sword against other communities, sends out hosts for desolation and slaughter, and concentrates the whole energies of a people in the work of spreading misery and death. Government, the peace-officer at home, breathes war abroad, organizes it into a science, reduces it to a system, makes it a trade, and applauds it as if it were the most honorable work of nations. Strange, that the wisdom which has so successfully put down the wars of individuals, has never been inspired and emboldened to engage in the task of bringing to an end the more gigantic crimes and miseries of public war! But this universal pacification, until of late, has hardly been thought of: and in reading history we are almost tempted to believe that the chief end of government in promoting internal quiet, has been to accumulate greater resources for foreign hostilities. Bloodshed is the staple of history, and men have been butchered and countries ravaged, as if the human frame had been constructed with such exquisite skill only to be mangled, and the earth covered with fertility only to attract the spoiler.

These reflections, however, it is not my intention to pursue. The miseries of war are not my present subject. One remark will be sufficient to place them in their true light. What gives these miseries pre-eminence among human woes — what should compel us to look on them with peculiar horror — is, not their awful amount, but their origin, their source. They are miseries inflicted by man on man. They spring from depravity of will. They bear the impress of cruelty, of hardness of heart

The distorted features, writhing frames, and shrieks of the wounded and dying, — these are not the chief horrors of war: they sink into unimportance compared with the infernal passions which work this woe. Death is a light evil when not joined with crime. Had the countless millions destroyed by war been swallowed up by floods or yawning earthquakes, we should look back awe-struck, but submissive, on the mysterious providence which had thus fulfilled the mortal sentence originally passed on the human race. But that man, born of woman, bound by ties of brotherhood to man, and commanded by an inward law and the voice of God to love and do good, should, through selfishness, pride, revenge, inflict these agonies, shed these torrents of human blood, — here is an evil which combines with exquisite suffering fiendish guilt. All other evils fade before it.

Such are the dark features of war. I have spoken of them strongly, because humanity and religion demand from us all a new and sterner tone on this master evil. But it is due to human nature to observe, that whilst war is, in the main, the offspring and riot of the worst passions, better principles often mix with it and throw a veil over its deformity. Nations fight not merely for revenge or booty. Glory is often the stirring word; and glory, though often misinterpreted and madly pursued by crime, is still an impulse of great minds, and shows a nature made to burn with high thoughts, and to pour itself forth in noble deeds. Many have girded themselves for battle from pure motives; and, as if to teach us that unmingled evil cannot exist in God's creation, the most ferocious conflicts have been brightened by examples of magnanimous and patriotic virtue. In almost all wars there is some infusion of enthusiasm; and in all enthusiasm there is a generous element.

Still war is made up essentially of crime and misery, and to abolish it is one great purpose of Christianity, and should be the earnest labor of philanthropy; nor is this enterprise to be scoffed at as hopeless. The tendencies of civilization are decidedly towards peace. The influences of progressive knowledge, refinement, arts, and national wealth, are pacific. The old motives for war are losing power. Conquest, which once maddened nations, hardly enters now into the calculation of statesmen. The disastrous and disgraceful termination of the last career of conquest which the world has known, is reading a lesson not soon to be forgotten. It is now thoroughly understood that the development of a nation's resources in peace is the only road to prosperity; that even successful war makes a people poor, crushing them with taxes and crippling their progress in industry and useful arts. We have another pacific influence at the present moment, in the increasing intelligence of the middle and poorer classes of society, who, in proportion as they learn their interests and rights, are unwilling to be used as materials of war, to suffer and bleed in serving the passions and glory of a privileged few. Again; science, commerce, religion, foreign travel, new facilities of intercourse, new exchanges of literature, new friendships, new interests, are overcoming the old antipathies of nations, and are silently spreading the sentiment of human brotherhood, and the conviction that the welfare of each is the happiness of all. Once more; public opinion is continually gaining strength in the civilized and Christian world; and to this tribunal all states must in a measure bow. Here are pacific influences. Here are encouragements to labor in the cause of peace.

At the present day, one of the chief incitements to war is to be found in false ideas of honor. Military prowess and military success are thought to shed peculiar glory on a people: and many, who are too wise to be intoxicated with these childish delusions, still imagine that the honor of a nation consists peculiarly in the spirit which repels injury, in sensibility to wrongs, and is therefore peculiarly committed to the keeping of the sword. These opinions I shall now examine, beginning with the glory attached to military achievements.

That the idea of glory should be associated strongly with military exploits, ought not to be wondered at. From the earliest ages, ambitious sovereigns and states have sought to spread the military spirit by loading it with rewards. Badges, ornaments, distinctions, the most flattering and intoxicating, have

been the prizes of war. The aristocracy of Europe, which commenced in barbarous ages, was founded on military talent and success; and the chief education of the young noble was, for a long time, little more than a training for battle, — hence the strong connection between war and honor. All past ages have bequeathed us this prejudice, and the structure of society has given it a fearful force. Let us consider it with some particularity.

The idea of honor is associated with war. But to whom does the honor belong? If to any, certainly not to the mass of the people, but to those who are particularly engaged in it. The mass of a people, who stay at home, and hire others to fight; who sleep in their warm beds, and hire others to sleep on the cold and damp earth; who sit at their well-spread board, and hire others to take the chance of starving; who nurse the slightest hurt in their own bodies, and hire others to expose themselves to mortal wounds, and to linger in comfortless hospitals, — certainly this mass reap little honor from war; the honor belongs to those immediately engaged in it. Let me ask, then, what is the chief business of war? It is to destroy human life; to mangle the limbs; to gash and hew the body; to plunge the sword into the heart of a fellow-creature; to strew the earth with bleeding frames, and to trample them under foot with horses' hoofs. It is to batter down and burn cities; to turn fruitful fields into deserts; to level the cottage of the peasant and the magnificent abode of opulence; to scourge nations with famine; to multiply widows and orphans. Are these honorable deeds? Were you called to name exploits worthy of demons, would you not naturally select such as these? Grant that a necessity for them may exist; it is a dreadful necessity, such as a good man must recoil from with instinctive horror: and though it may exempt them from guilt, it cannot turn them into glory. We have thought that it was honorable to heal, to save, to mitigate pain, to snatch the sick and sinking from the jaws of death. We have placed among the revered benefactors of the human race the discoverers of arts which alleviate human sufferings, which prolong, comfort, adorn, and cheer human life; and if these arts be honorable, where is the glory of multiplying and aggravating tortures and death?

It will be replied, that the honorableness of war consists not in the business which it performs, but in the motives from which it springs, and in the qualities which it indicates. It will be asked, Is it not honorable to serve one's country, and to expose one's life in its cause? Yes, our country deserves love and service; and let her faithful friends, her loyal sons, who, under the guidance of duty and disinterested zeal, have poured out their blood in her cause, live in the hearts of a grateful posterity. But who does not know that this moral heroism is a very different thing from the common military spirit? Who is so simple as to believe that this all-sacrificing patriotism of principle is the motive which fills the ranks of war, and leads men to adopt the profession of arms? Does this sentiment reign in the common soldier, who enlists because driven from all other modes of support, and hires himself to be shot at for a few cents a day? Or does it reign in the officer, who, for pay and promotion, from the sense of reputation, or dread of disgrace, meets the foe with a fearless front? There is, indeed, a vulgar patriotism nourished by war, — I mean that which burns to humble other nations, and to purchase for our own the exultation of triumph and superior force. But as for true patriotism, which has its root in benevolence, and which desires the real and enduring happiness of our country, nothing is more adverse to it than war, and no class of men have less of it than those engaged in war. Perhaps in no class is the passion for display and distinction so strong; and in accordance with this infirmity, they are apt to regard as the highest interest of the state, a career of conquests, which makes a show and dazzles the multitude, however desolating or unjust in regard to foreign nations, or however blighting to the prosperity of their own.

The motives which generally lead to the choice of a military life strip it of all claim to peculiar honor. There are employments which, from their peculiar character, should be undertaken only from high motives. This is peculiarly the case with the profession of arms. Its work is bloodshed, destruction, the

infliction of the most dreaded evils, not only on wrong-doers, oppressors, usurpers, but on the innocent, weak, defenceless. From this task humanity recoils, and nothing should reconcile us to it but the solemn conviction of duty to God, to our country, to mankind. The man who undertakes this work solely or chiefly to earn money or an epaulette, commits, however unconsciously, a great wrong. Let it be conceded that he who engages in military life is bound, as in other professions, to insure from his employers the means of support, and that he may innocently seek the honor which is awarded to faithful and successful service. Still, from the peculiar character of the profession, from the solemnity and terribleness of its agency, no man can engage in it innocently or honorably, who does not deplore its necessity, and does not adopt it from generous motives, from the power of moral and public considerations. That these are not the motives which now fill armies, is too notorious to need proof. How common is it for military men to desire war, as giving rich prizes and as advancing them in their profession. They are willing to slaughter their fellow-creatures for money and distinction; — and is the profession of such men peculiarly glorious? I am not prepared to deny that human life may sometimes be justly taken; but it ought to be taken under the solemn conviction of duty and for great public ends. To destroy our fellow-creatures for profit or promotion, is to incur a guilt from which most men would shrink, could it be brought distinctly before their minds. That there may be soldiers of principle, men who abhor the thought of shedding human blood, and who consent to the painful office only because it seems to them imposed by their country and the best interests of mankind, is freely granted. Such men spring up, especially in periods of revolution, when the liberties of a nation are at stake. But that this is not the spirit of the military profession, you know. That men generally enter this profession from selfish motives, that they hire themselves to kill for personal remuneration, you know. That they are ready to slay a fellow-creature, from inducements not a whit more disinterested than those which lead other men to fell an ox or crush a pernicious insect, you know; and, of consequence, the profession has no peculiar title to respect. It is particularly degraded by the offer of prize-money. The power of this inducement is well understood. But is it honorable to kill a fellow-creature for a share of his spoils? A nation which offers prize-money is chargeable with the crime of tainting the mind of the soldier. It offers him a demoralizing motive to the destruction of his fellow-creatures. It saps high principle in the minds of those who are susceptible of generous impulses. It establishes the most inhuman method of getting rich which civilized men can pursue. I know that society views this subject differently, and more guilt should be attached to society than to the soldier; but still the character of the profession remains degraded by the motives which most commonly actuate its members; and war, as now carried on, is certainly among the last vocations to be called honorable.

Let not these remarks be misconstrued. I mean not to deny to military men equal virtue with other classes of society. All classes are alike culpable in regard to war, and the burden presses too heavily on all to allow any to take up reproaches against others. Society has not only established and exalted the military profession, but studiously allures men into it by bribes of vanity, cupidity, and ambition. They who adopt it have on their side the suffrage of past ages, the sanction of opinion and law, and the applauding voice of nations; so that justice commands us to acquit them of peculiar deviations from duty, or of falling below society in moral worth or private virtue.

Much of the glare thrown over the military profession is to be ascribed to the false estimate of courage which prevails through the Christian world. Men are dazzled by this quality. On no point is popular opinion more perverted and more hostile to Christianity, and to this point I would therefore solicit particular attention. The truth is, that the delusion on this subject has come down to us from remote ages, and has been from the beginning a chief element of the European character. Our northern ancestors, who overwhelmed the Roman empire, were fanatical to the last degree in respect to military courage. They made it the first of virtues. One of the chief

articles of their creed was, that a man dying on the field of battle was transported at once to the hall of their god Odin, a terrible paradise, where he was to quaff for ever delicious draughts from the skulls of his enemies. So rooted was this fanaticism, that it was thought a calamity to die of disease or old age; and death by violence, even if inflicted by their own hands, was thought more honorable than to expire by the slow, inglorious processes of nature. This spirit, aided by other causes, broke out at length into chivalry, the strangest mixture of good and evil, of mercy and cruelty, of insanity and generous sentiment, to be found in human history. This whole institution breathed an extravagant estimation of courage. To be without fear was the first attribute of a good knight. Danger was thirsted for, when it might innocently be shunned. Life was sported with wantonly. Amusements full of peril, exposing even to mortal wounds, were pursued with passionate eagerness. The path to honor lay through rash adventures, the chief merit of which was the scorn of suffering and of death which they expressed. This fanaticism has yielded in a measure to good sense, and still more to the spirit of Christianity. But still it is rife; and not a few imagine fearless courage to be the height of glory.

That courage is of no worth, I have no disposition to affirm. It ought to be prized, sought, cherished. Though not of itself virtuous, it is an important aid to virtue. It gives us the command of our faculties when needed most. It converts the dangers which palsy the weak into springs of energy. Its firm look often awes the injurious, and silences insult. All great enterprises demand it, and without it virtue cannot rise into magnanimity. Whilst it leaves us exposed to many vices, it saves us from one class peculiarly ignominious, — from the servility, deceit, and base compliance which belong to fear. It is accompanied, too, with an animated consciousness of power, which is one of the high enjoyments of life. We are bound to cherish it as the safeguard of happiness and rectitude; and when so cherished it takes rank among the virtues.

Still, courage, considered in itself, or without reference to its origin and motives, and regarded in its common manifestations, is not virtue, is not moral excellence; and the disposition to exalt it above the spirit of Christianity is one of the most ruinous delusions which have been transmitted to us from barbarous times. In most men, courage has its origin in a happy organization of the body. It belongs to the nerves rather than the character. In some, it is an instinct bordering on rashness. In one man, it springs from strong passions obscuring the idea of danger; in another, from the want of imagination or from the incapacity of bringing future evils near. The courage of the uneducated may often be traced to stupidity; to the absence of thought and sensibility. Many are courageous from the dread of the infamy absurdly attached to cowardice. One terror expels another. A bullet is less formidable than a sneer. To show the moral worthlessness of mere courage, of contempt of bodily suffering and pain, one consideration is sufficient; — the most abandoned have possessed it in perfection. The villain often hardens into the thorough hero, if courage and heroism be one. The more complete his success in searing conscience and defying God, the more dauntless his daring. Long-continued vice and exposure naturally generate contempt of life and a reckless encounter of peril. Courage, considered in itself, or without reference to its causes, is no virtue, and deserves no esteem. It is found in the best and the worst, and is to be judged according to the qualities from which it springs and with which it is conjoined. There is, in truth, a virtuous, glorious courage; but it happens to be found least in those who are most admired for bravery. It is the courage of principle, which dares to do right in the face of scorn which puts to hazard reputation, rank, the prospects of advancement, the sympathy of friends, the admiration of the world, rather than violate a conviction of duty. It is the courage of benevolence and piety, which counts not life dear in withstanding error, superstition, vice, oppression, injustice, and the mightiest foes of human improvement and happiness. It is moral energy, that force of will in adopting duty over which menace and suffering have no power. It is the courage of a soul which reverences itself too much to be greatly moved about

what befalls the body; which thirsts so intensely for a pure inward life, that it can yield up the animal life without fear; in which the idea of moral, spiritual, celestial good has been unfolded so brightly as to obscure all worldly interests; which aspires after immortality, and therefore heeds little the pains or pleasures of a day; which has so concentred its whole power and life in the love of godlike virtue, that it even finds a joy in the perils and sufferings by which its loyalty to God and virtue may be approved. This courage may be called the perfection of humanity, for it is the exercise, result, and expression of the highest attributes of our nature. Need I tell you that this courage has hardly any thing in common with what generally bears the name, and has been lauded by the crowd to the skies? Can any man, not wholly blinded to moral distinctions, compare or confound with this divine energy the bravery derived from constitution, nourished by ambition, and blazing out in resentment, which forms the glory of military men and of men of the world? The courage of military and ordinary life, instead of resting on high and unchangeable principles, finds its chief motive in the opinions of the world, and its chief reward in vulgar praise. Superior to bodily pain, it crouches before censure, and dares not face the scorn which faithfulness to God and unpopular duty must often incur. It wears the appearance of energy, because it conquers one strong passion, fear; but the other passions it leaves unmastered, and thus differs essentially from moral strength or greatness, which consists in subjecting all appetites and desires to a pure and high standard of rectitude. Brilliant courage, as it is called, so far from being a principle of universal self-control, is often joined with degrading pleasures, with a lawless spirit, with general licentiousness of manners, with a hardihood which defies God as well as man, and which, not satisfied with scorning death, contemns the judgment that is to follow. So wanting in moral worth is the bravery which has so long been praised, sung, courted, adored. It is time that it should be understood. It is time that the old, barbarous, indiscriminate worship of mere courage should give place to a wise moral judgment. This fanaticism has done much to rob Christianity of its due honor. Men who give their sympathies and homage to the fiery and destructive valor of the soldier, will see little attraction in the mild and peaceful spirit of Jesus. His unconquerable forbearance, the most genuine and touching expression of his divine philanthropy, may even seem to them a weakness. We read of those who, surrounding the cross, derided the meek sufferer. They did it in their ignorance. More guilty, more insensible are those who, living under the light of Christianity, and yielding it their assent, do not see in that cross a glory which pours contempt on the warrior. Will this delusion never cease? Will men never learn to reverence disinterested love? Shall the desolations and woes of ages bear their testimony in vain against the false glory which has so long dazzled the world? Shall Christ, shall moral perfection, shall the spirit of heaven, shall God manifest in his Son, be for ever insulted by the worship paid to the spirit of savage hordes? Shall the cross ostentatiously worn on the breast never come to the heart, a touching emblem and teacher of all-suffering love? I do not ask these questions in despair. Whilst we lament the limited triumphs of Christianity over false notions of honor, we see and ought to recognize its progress. War is not now the only or chief path to glory. The greatest names are not now written in blood. The purest fame is the meed of genius, philosophy, philanthropy, and piety, devoting themselves to the best interests of humanity. The passion for military glory is no longer, as once, able of itself to precipitate nations into war. In all this let us rejoice.

In the preceding remarks I aimed to show that the glory awarded to military prowess and success is unfounded — to show the deceitfulness of the glare which seduces many into the admiration of war. I proceed to another topic, which is necessary to give us a full understanding of the pernicious influence exerted by the idea of honor in exciting nations to hostility. There are many persons who have little admiration of warlike achievements, and are generally inclined to peace, but who still imagine that the honor of a nation consists peculiarly in quickness to feel and repel injury, and

who, consequently, when their country has been wronged, are too prone to rush into war. Perhaps its interests have been slightly touched. Perhaps its well-being imperiously demands continued peace. Still its honor is said to call for reparation, and no sacrifice is thought too costly to satisfy the claim. That national honor should be dear, and guarded with jealous care, no man will deny; but in proportion as we exalt it, we should be anxious to know precisely what it means, lest we set up for our worship a false, unjust, merciless deity, and instead of glory shall reap shame. I ask, then, in what does the honor of a nation consist? What are its chief elements or constituents? The common views of it are narrow and low. Every people should study it; and in proportion as we understand it, we shall learn that it has no tendency to precipitate nations into war. What, I ask again, is this national honor from which no sacrifice must be withheld?

The first element of a nation's honor is undoubtedly justice. A people, to deserve respect, must lay down the maxim, as the foundation of its intercourse with other communities, that justice — a strict regard to the rights of other states — shall take rank of its interests. A nation without reverence for right can never plead in defence of a war, that this is needed to maintain its honor, for it has no honor to maintain. It bears a brand of infamy, which oceans of human blood cannot wash away. With these views, we cannot be too much shocked by the language of a chief magistrate recently addressed to a legislative body in this country.

"No community of men," he says, "in any age or nation, under any dispensation, political or religious, has been governed by justice in its negotiations or conflicts with other states. It is not justice and magnanimity, but interest and ambition, dignified under the name of state policy, that has governed, and ever will govern, masses of men acting as political communities. Individuals may be actuated by a sense of justice; but what citizen in any country would venture to contend for justice to a foreign and rival community, in opposition to the prevailing policy of his state, without forfeiting the character of a patriot?"

Now, if this be true of our country, — and to our own country it was applied, — then, I say, we have no honor to fight for. A people systematically sacrificing justice to its interests, is essentially a band of robbers, and receives but the just punishment of its profligacy in the assaults of other nations. But it is not true that nations are so dead to moral principles. The voice of justice is not always drowned by the importunities of interest; nor ought we, as citizens, to acquiesce in an injurious act on the part of our rulers towards other states, as if it were a matter of course, a necessary working of human selfishness. It ought to be reprobated as indignantly as the wrongs of private men. A people strictly just has an honor independent of opinion, and to which opinion must pay homage. Its glory is purer and more enduring than that of a thousand victories. Let not him who prefers for his country the renown of military spirit and success to that of justice, talk of his zeal for its honor. He does not know the meaning of the word. He belongs to a barbarous age, and desires for his country no higher praise than has been gained by many a savage horde.

The next great element of a nation's honor is a spirit of philanthropy. A people ought to regard itself as a member of the human family, and as bound to bear part in the work of human improvement and happiness. The obligation of benevolence, belonging to men as individuals, belongs to them in their associated capacities. We have, indeed, no right to form an association, of whatever kind, which severs us from the human race. I care not though men of loose principles scoff at the idea of a nation respecting the claims of humanity. Duty is eternal, and too high for human mockery; and this duty in particular, so far from being a dream, has been reduced to practice. Our own country, in framing its first treaties, proposed to insert an article prohibiting privateering: and this it did in the spirit of humanity, to diminish the crimes and miseries of war. England, from philanthropy, abolished the slave-trade and slavery. No nation stands alone; and each is bound to consecrate its influence to the promotion of equitable, pacific, and beneficent relations among all countries, and

to the diffusion of more liberal principles of intercourse and national law. This country is intrusted by God with a mission for humanity. Its office is to commend to all nations free institutions, as the sources of public prosperity and personal dignity; and I trust we desire to earn the thanks and honor of nations by fidelity to our trust. A people reckless of the interest of the world, and profligately selfish in its policy, incurs far deeper disgrace than by submission to wrongs; and whenever it is precipitated into war by its cupidity, its very victories become monuments of its guilt, and deserve the execration of present and coming times.

I now come to another essential element of a nation's honor; and that is, the existence of institutions which tend and are designed to elevate all classes of its citizens. As it is the improved character of a people which alone gives it an honorable place in the world, its dignity is to be measured chiefly by the extent and efficiency of its provisions and establishments for national improvement, — for spreading education far and wide; for purifying morals and refining manners; for enlightening the ignorant and succoring the miserable; for building up intellectual and moral power, and breathing the spirit of true religion. The degree of aid given to the individual in every condition, for unfolding his best powers, determines the rank of a nation. Mere wealth adds nothing to a people's glory; it is the nation's soul which constitutes its greatness. Nor is it enough for a country to possess a select class of educated, cultivated men; for the nation consists of the many, not the few; and where the mass are sunk in ignorance and sensuality, there you see a degraded community, even though an aristocracy of science be lodged in its bosom. It is the moral and intellectual progress of the people to which the patriot should devote himself as the only dignity and safeguard of the state. How needed this truth! In all ages, nations have imagined that they were glorifying themselves by triumphing over foreign foes, whilst at home they have been denied every ennobling institution; have been trodden under foot by tyranny, defrauded of the most sacred rights of humanity, enslaved by superstition, buried in ignorance, and cut off from all the means of rising to the dignity of men. They have thought that they were exalting themselves, in fighting for the very despots who ground them in the dust. Such has been the common notion of national honor; nor is it yet effaced. How many among ourselves are unable to stifle their zeal for our honor as a people, who never spent a thought on the institutions and improvements which ennoble a community, and whose character and examples degrade and taint their country, as far as their influence extends?

I have now given you the chief elements of national honor; and a people cherishing these can hardly be compelled to resort to war. I shall be told, however, that an enlightened and just people, though less exposed to hostilities, may still be wronged, insulted, and endangered; and I shall be asked, if in such a case its honor do not require it to repel injury, — if submission be not disgrace? I answer, that a nation which submits to wrong from timidity, or a sordid love of ease or gain, forfeits its claim to respect. A faint-hearted, self-indulgent people, cowering under menace, shrinking from peril, and willing to buy repose by tribute or servile concession, deserves the chains which it cannot escape. But to bear much and long from a principle of humanity, from reverence for the law of love, is noble; and nothing but moral blindness and degradation induce men to see higher glory in impatience of injury and quickness to resent.

Still I may be asked, whether a people, however forbearing, may not sometimes owe it to its own dignity and safety to engage in war? I answer, Yes. When the spirit of justice, humanity, and forbearance, instead of spreading peace, provokes fresh outrage, this outrage must be met and repressed by force. I know that many sincere Christians oppose to this doctrine the precept of Christ, "Resist not evil." But Christianity is wronged, and its truth exposed to strong objections, when these and the like precepts are literally construed. The whole legislation of Christ is intended to teach us the spirit from which we should act, not to lay down rules for outward conduct. The precept, "Resist not evil," if practised to the

letter, would annihilate all government in the family and the state; for it is the great work of government to resist evil passions and evil deeds. It is, indeed, our duty as Christians to love our worst enemy, and to desire his true good; but we are to love not only our enemy, but our families, friends, and country, and to take a wise care of our own rights and happiness; and when we abandon to the violence of a wrong-doer these fellow-beings and these rights commended by God to our love and care, we are plainly wanting in that expanded benevolence which Christianity demands. A nation, then, may owe it to its welfare and dignity to engage in war; and its honor demands that it should meet the trial with invincible resolution. It ought, at such a moment, to dismiss all fear, except the fear of its own passions, — the fear of the crimes to which the exasperations and sore temptations of public hostilities expose a state.

I have admitted that a nation's honor may require its citizens to engage in war; but it requires them to engage in it wisely, — with a full consciousness of rectitude and with unfeigned sorrow. On no other conditions does war comport with national dignity; and these deserve a moment's attention. A people must engage in war wisely: for rashness is dishonorable, especially in so solemn and tremendous a concern. A nation must propose a wise end in war; and this remark is the more important, because the end or object which, according to common speech, a people is bound by its honor to propose, is generally disowned by wisdom. How common it is to hear that the honor of a nation requires it to seek redress of grievances, — reparation of injuries. Now, as a general rule, war does not and cannot repair injuries. Instead of securing compensation for past evils, it almost always multiplies them. As a general rule, a nation loses incomparably more by war than it has previously lost by the wrong-doer. Suppose, for example, a people to have been spoiled by another state of "five millions of dollars." To recover this by war, it must expend fifty or a hundred millions more, and will, almost certainly, come forth from the contest burdened with debt. Nor is this all. It loses more than wealth. It loses many lives. Now, life and property are not to be balanced against each other. If a nation, by slaying a single innocent man, could possess itself of the wealth of worlds, it would have no right to destroy him for that cause alone. A human being cannot be valued by silver and gold; and, of consequence, a nation can never be authorized to sacrifice or expose thousands of lives, for the mere recovery of property of which it has been spoiled. To secure compensation for the past is very seldom a sufficient object for war. The true end is, security for the future. An injury inflicted by one nation on another may manifest a lawless, hostile spirit, from which, if unresisted, future and increasing outrages are to be feared, which would embolden other communities in wrong-doing, and against which neither property, nor life, nor liberty would be secure. To protect a state from this spirit of violence and unprincipled aggression, is the duty of rulers: and protection may be found only in war. Here is the legitimate occasion and the true end of an appeal to arms. Let me ask you to apply this rule of wisdom to a case, the bearings of which will be easily seen. Suppose, then, an injury to have been inflicted on us by a foreign nation a quarter of a century ago. Suppose it to have been inflicted by a government which has fallen through its lawlessness, and which can never be restored. Suppose this injury to have been followed, during this long period, by not one hostile act, and not one sign of a hostile spirit. Suppose a disposition to repair it to be expressed by the head of the new government of the injurious nation; and suppose, further, that our long endurance has not exposed us to a single insult from any other power since the general pacification of Europe. Under these circumstances, can it be pretended, with any show of reason, that threatened wrong, or that future security, requires us to bring upon ourselves and the other nation the horrors and miseries of war? Does not wisdom join with humanity in reprobating such a conflict?

I have said that the honor of a nation requires it to engage in a war for a wise end. I add, as a more important rule, that its dignity demands of it to engage in no conflict without a full consciousness of rectitude. It must not appeal

to arms for doubtful rights. It must not think it enough to establish a probable claim. The true principle for a nation, as for an individual, is, that it will suffer rather than do wrong. It should prefer being injured to the hazard of doing injury. To secure to itself this full consciousness of rectitude, a nation should always desire to refer its disputes to an impartial umpire. It cannot too much distrust its own judgment in its own cause. That same selfish partiality which blinds the individual to the claims of a rival or foe, and which has compelled society to substitute public and disinterested tribunals for private war, disqualifies nations, more or less, to determine their own rights, and should lead them to seek a more dispassionate decision. The great idea which should rise to the mind of a country on meditating war is rectitude. In declaring war, it should listen only to the voice of duty. To resolve on the destruction of our fellow-creatures without a command from conscience — a commission from God — is to bring on a people a load of infamy and crime. A nation, in declaring war, should be lifted above its passions by the fearfulness and solemnity of the act. It should appeal with unfeigned confidence to heaven and earth for its uprightness of purpose. It should go forth as the champion of truth and justice, as the minister of God, to vindicate and sustain that great moral and national law, without which life has no security, and social improvements no defence. It should be inspired with invincible courage, not by its passions, but by the dignity and holiness of its cause. Nothing in the whole compass of legislation is so solemn as a declaration of war. By nothing do a people incur such tremendous responsibility. Unless justly waged, war involves a people in the guilt of murder. The state which, without the command of justice and God, sends out fleets and armies to slaughter fellow-creatures, must answer for the blood it sheds, as truly as the assassin for the death of his victim. Oh, how loudly does the voice of blood cry to heaven from the field of battle! Undoubtedly, the men whose names have come down to us with the loudest shouts of ages stand now before the tribunal of eternal justice condemned as murderers; and the victories which have been thought to encircle a nation with glory have fixed the same brand on multitudes in the sight of the final and Almighty Judge. How essential is it to a nation's honor that it should engage in war with a full conviction of rectitude!

But there is one more condition of an honorable war. A nation should engage in it with unfeigned sorrow. It should beseech the throne of grace with earnest supplication, that the dreadful office of destroying fellow-beings may not be imposed on it. War concentrates all the varieties of human misery, and a nation which can inflict these without sorrow, contracts deeper infamy than from cowardice. It is essentially barbarous; and will be looked back upon by more enlightened and Christian ages with the horror with which we recall the atrocities of savage tribes. Let it be remembered that the calamities of war, its slaughter, famine, and desolation, instead of being confined to its criminal authors, fall chiefly on multitudes who have had no share in provoking and no voice in proclaiming it; and let not a nation talk of its honor which has no sympathy with these woes, which is steeled to the most terrible sufferings of humanity.

I have now spoken, my friends, of the sentiments with which war should be regarded. Is it so regarded? When, recently, the suggestion of war was thrown out to this people, what reception did it meet? Was it viewed at once in the light in which a Christian nation should immediately and most earnestly consider it? Was it received as a proposition to slaughter thousands of our fellow-creatures? Did we feel as if threatened with a calamity more fearful than earthquakes, famine, or pestilence? The blight which might fall on our prosperity drew attention; but the thought of devoting, as a people, our power and resources to the destruction of mankind, of those whom a common nature, whom reason, conscience, and Christianity command us to love and save, — did this thrill us with horror? Did the solemn inquiry break forth through our land, is the dreadful necessity indeed laid upon us to send abroad death and woe? No. There was little manifestation of the sensibility with which men and Christians should look such an evil in the face.

As a people, we are still seared and blinded to the crimes and miseries of war. The principles of honor, to which the barbarism and infatuation of dark ages gave birth, prevail among us. The generous, merciful spirit of our religion is little understood. The law of love preached from the cross and written in the blood of the Saviour is trampled on by public men. The true dignity of man, which consists in breathing and cherishing God's spirit of justice and philanthropy towards every human being, is counted folly in comparison with that spirit of vindictiveness and self-aggrandizement which turns our earth into an image of the abodes of the damned. How long will the friends of humanity, of religion, of Christ, silently, passively, uncomplainingly, suffer the men of this world, the ambitious, vindictive, and selfish, to array them against their brethren in conflicts which they condemn and abhor? Shall not truth, humanity, and the mild and holy spirit of Christianity, find a voice to rebuke and awe the wickedness which precipitates nations into war, and to startle and awaken nations to their fearful responsibility in taking arms against the children of their Father in heaven? Prince of Peace! Saviour of men! speak in thine own voice of love, power, and fearful warning; and redeem the world for which thou hast died from lawless and cruel passions, from the spirit of rapine and murder, from the powers of darkness and hell!

LECTURE ON WAR.

Preface.

This lecture was delivered in the beginning of the last year (1838). It was prepared with a distinct knowledge of the little interest taken in the subject by the people at large, and was prepared on that very account. It is now published, in consequence of fresh proofs of the insensibility of the mass of this community to the crimes and miseries of war. For a few weeks this calamity has been brought distinctly before us; we have been driven by one of the States into a hostile position towards a great European power: and the manner in which the subject has been treated in and out of Congress is a sad proof of the very general want of Christian and philanthropic views of the subject, as well as of strange blindness to our national and individual well-being. One would think that the suggestion of a war with England would call forth one strong, general burst of opposing feelings. Can a more calamitous event, with the exception of civil war, be imagined? What other nation can do us equal harm? With what other nation do we hold equally profitable connections? To what other are we bound by such strong and generous ties? We are of one blood. We speak one language. We have a common religion. We have the noble bond of free institutions; and to these two countries, above all others, is the cause of freedom on earth intrusted by Providence. A war with England would, to a great extent, sweep our ships from the seas, cut off our intercourse with the world, shut up our great staples, palsy the spirit of internal improvement, and smite with languor, if not death, our boldest enterprises. It would turn to the destruction of our fellow-creatures vast resources, which are now working out for us unparalleled prosperity. It would load us with taxes and public debts, and breed internal discontents with which a free government contends at fearful odds in the midst of war. Instead of covering the ocean with the sails of a beneficent commerce, we should scour it with privateers, that is, as legalized pirates. Our great cities would be threatened with invasion; and the din of industry in the streets of this metropolis would be stilled. And all this would come upon us at a moment when the country is pressing forward to wealth, greatness, and every kind of improvement, with

an impulse, a free joyous activity, which has no parallel in the history of the world. And these immense sacrifices are to be made for a tract of wild land, perhaps not worth the money which it has cost us within a few weeks past, if we take into account the expenses of Maine, and the losses which the whole country has suffered by interruption of trade.

But this is not all. We are not to suffer alone. We should inflict in such a war deep wounds on England, not only on her armed bands, on her rich merchants, on her wide-spread interests, but on vast numbers of her poor population, who owe subsistence to the employment furnished by the friendly intercourse of the two countries. Thousands and ten thousands of her laborers would be reduced to want and misery. Nor would it be any mitigation of these evils to a man of humanity that we were at war with the government of England.

And this is not all. A war between these countries would be felt through the whole civilized world. The present bears no resemblance to those half-barbarous ages, when nations stood apart, frowning on one another in surly independence. Commerce is binding all nations together; and of this golden chain England and America are the chief links. The relations between these countries cannot become hostile without deranging, more or less, the intercourse of all other communities, and bringing evils on the whole Christian world.

Nor is this all. War can hardly spring up between two great countries without extending beyond them. This fire naturally spreads. The peace of nations is preserved by a kind of miracle. The addition of a new cause of conflict is always to be dreaded; but never more than at this moment, when communities are slowly adjusting themselves to a new order of things. All nations may be drawn into the conflict which we may thoughtlessly begin; and if so, we shall have to answer for wide and prolonged slaughters, from which we should recoil with horror, could they be brought plainly before our eyes.

And these evils would be brought on the world at a moment of singular interest and promise to society; after an unparalleled duration of peace; when a higher civilization seems to be dawning on Christendom: when nations are everywhere waking up to develop their own resources: when the conquests of industry, art, and science are taking the place of those of war; when new facilities of intercourse are bringing countries from their old unsocial distance into neighborhood; and when the greatest of all social revolutions is going on, that is, the elevation of the middling and laboring classes, of the multitude of the human race. To throw the firebrand of war among the nations at this period would be treason against humanity and civilization, as foul as was ever perpetrated. The nation which does this must answer to God and to society for every criminal resistance to the progress of the race. Every year, every day of peace is a gain to mankind, for it adds some strength to the cords which are drawing the nations together. And yet, in the face of all these motives to peace, we have made light of the present danger. How few of us seem to have felt the infinite interests which a war would put in jeopardy? Many have talked of national honor, as duellists talk of their reputation: a few have used language worthy of a mob making a ring to see a fight. Hardly anywhere has a tone worthy of the solemnity of the subject been uttered. National honor! This has been on our lips; as if the true honor of a nation did not consist in earnest, patient efforts for peace, not only for its own sake, but for the sake of humanity: as if this great country, after a long history which has borne witness to its prowess, needed to rush to battle to prove itself no coward! Are we still in the infancy of civilization? Has Christianity no power over us? Can a people never learn the magnanimity of sacrifices to peace and humanity? I am, indeed, aware that the vast majority of the community would shrink from this war, were it to come nearer. But had we feelings and principles worthy of men and Christians, should we wait for the evil to stand at our door, before waking up to the use of every means for averting it?

A great addition to the painfulness of our situation is found in the manner in which we have been forced into it. One State out of the twenty-six has by its rashness exposed us to the greatest

calamities. Maine, by sending an armed force, without warning, into the disputed territory, necessarily awakened in the neighboring British Province an alarm, which would have been wholly prevented by friendly consultation with its Governor; and, in the next place, this State, by declining or neglecting to acquiesce in the arrangement of the national executive with the British minister, virtually took our foreign relations into her own hands, and assumed a power more dangerous to the peace of the country than any other which can be imagined. We have heard of the "rights" of a State to nullify the laws of Congress, and to secede from the Union. But to some of us these are less formidable than the "right" of each State to involve us in a foreign war. The assumption of such a power is a flagrant violation of the fundamental principle, and a rejection of one of the chief benefits of the confederacy. Better surrender to an enemy many disputed territories, than cede this right to a State. Ill-starred indeed must be this Union, if any one of its members may commit all the rest to hostilities. The general government has at this moment a solemn duty to discharge, one requiring the calm, invincible firmness of Washington, or the iron will of the late President of the United States. It must not, by a suicidal weakness, surrender the management of our foreign relations to a single State.

And here I am bound to express my gratitude to the present Chief Magistrate of the Union for his temperate and wise efforts for the preservation of peace. He will feel, I trust, that there is a truer glory in saving a country from war than in winning a hundred battles. Much also is due to the beneficent influence of General Scott. To this distinguished man belongs the rare honor of uniting with military energy and daring the spirit of a philanthropist. His exploits in the field, which placed him in the first rank of our soldiers, have been obscured by the purer and more lasting glory of a pacificator, and of a friend of mankind. In the whole history of the intercourse of civilized with barbarous or half-civilized communities, we doubt whether a brighter page can be found than that which records his agency in the removal of the Cherokees. As far as the wrongs done to this race can be atoned for, General Scott has made the expiation. In his recent mission to the disturbed borders of our country, he has succeeded, not so much by policy, as by the nobleness and generosity of his character, by moral influences, by the earnest conviction with which he has enforced on all with whom he had to do the obligations of patriotism, justice, humanity, and religion. It would not be easy to find among us a man who has won a purer fame; and I am happy to offer this tribute, because I would do something, no matter how little, to hasten the time when the spirit of Christian humanity shall be accounted an essential attribute and the brightest ornament in a public man.

I close this preface with a topic which ought not to be set aside as an unmeaning commonplace. We have Christians among us not a few. Have they been true to themselves and their religion in the present agitation of the question of war? Have they spoken with strength and decision? Have they said, We will take no part in a rash, passionate, unnecessary war? Or have they sat still, and left the country to parties and politicians? Will they always consent to be the passive tools of the ambitious or designing? Is the time never to come, when they will plant themselves on their religion, and resolve not to stir an inch, in obedience to the policy or legislation of the men of this world? On this topic I have enlarged in the following discourse, and I respectfully ask for it the impartial attention of Christians.

LECTURE.

In commencing this lecture on War, my thoughts are irresistibly drawn to that exemplary servant of God, the late NOAH WORCESTER, through whose labors, more than through any other cause, the attention of the community has been awakened to the guilt and misery of war. I feel my own obligation to him in this particular. In truth, it was not easy to know him and to escape wholly the influence of his character. So imbued was he with the spirit of peace, that it spread itself around him like the fragrance of sweet flowers. Even those within his sphere, who listened at first

with distrust or with a feeling approaching opposition, were not seldom overcome by the singular union in his conversation of gentleness, earnestness, and serene wisdom. He did not live in vain. One of my motives for taking part in this course of lectures is my respect for this venerated man. Another and a stronger motive is the fact that, notwithstanding the favorable impression made by his efforts, there is yet comparatively little interest in the subject of peace. It is a reason for setting forth great truths, that sceptics deride them, and the multitude pass them by with unconcern. Dr. Worcester was not roused by the shouts of a crowd to lift up his voice in behalf of peace. He did not postpone his testimony to "a more convenient season." He was as "one crying in the wilderness." He began his ministry amidst the triumphs of the spirit of war. He took counsel not of men, but of the divine oracle in his own breast. The truth, which was burning as a fire within him, he could not but give forth. He had faith in it. He had faith in God, its inspirer. So ought we to trust. So ought we to bear a more fervent witness to truth, on the very ground that it is unpopular, neglected, despised.

In the following lecture, I shall aim to set forth the chief evil of war, to set forth its great remedy, and then to point out some of the causes of the faint impression made by its woes and crimes.

Before entering on these topics, I would offer one or two remarks. In speaking, as I propose to do, of the evils of war, I have no thought of denying that war has sometimes done good. There is no unmixed evil in the universe. Providence brings good from every thing, from fearful sufferings, from atrocious crimes. But sufferings and crimes are not therefore to be set down among our blessings. Murder sometimes cuts short the life and triumphs of a monster of guilt. Robbery may throw into circulation the useless hoards of a miser. Despotism may subdue an all-wasting anarchy. But we do not, therefore, canonize despotism, robbery, and murder. In fierce ages, when common life is made up of violence and borders on bloodshed, when piracy is an honorable trade, and a stranger is a foe, war, by accumulating force in the hands of an able chieftain, may gather many petty tribes under one iron will, and thus a state may be founded, and its rude organization may prove a germ of social order. In later times, war may carry into less civilized regions the influences, knowledge, arts, and religion of more cultivated nations. Above all, war may call forth, in those whom it assails, an indignant patriotism, a fervent public spirit, a generous daring, and heroic sacrifices, which testify to the inborn greatness of human nature; just as great vices, by the horror with which they thrill us, and by the reaction they awaken, often give strength to the moral sentiments of a community. These, however, are the incidental influences of war. Its necessary fruits are crime and woe. To enthrone force above right is its essential character; and order, freedom, civilization, are its natural prey. Besides, the benefits of war, such as they are, belong to unrefined ages, when the passions, if not expended in public conflicts, would break out in worse forms of rapine and lust, and when one nation can act on another only by violence. Society, in its present stage, stands in need of war no more than of the ordeal, the rack, the inquisition, the baronial license of the middle ages. All these monuments and ministers of barbarism should be buried in one grave.

I. I now proceed to consider, first, as I proposed, the chief evil of war. The chief evil of war! What is it? What induces us to place war at the head of human calamities. In replying to these questions, I shall not direct you to the physical sufferings of war, however great or terrible. Death in its most agonizing forms; the overthrow of proud cities; the devastation of fruitful fields; the impoverishing of nations; famine; pestilence; these form the train of victorious war. But these are not the distinguishing evils of war. These are inflictions of other causes much more than of war. Other causes are wasting human life and joy more than battles. Millions, indeed, die by the sword, but these millions are as nothing compared with the countless multitudes who die by slow and painful disease. Cities are overthrown by earthquakes as well as by armies, and more frequently swept by accidental conflagrations than by the flames of war.

Hostile bands ravage the fields; but how much oftener do whirlwinds, storms, hurricanes rush over land and sea, prostrating harvests, and destroying the labors of years on a scale so vast as to reduce human devastations to a narrow extent! The truth is, that man is surrounded with mighty powers of nature which he cannot comprehend or withstand; and, amidst their beneficent operations, all of them inflict much suffering. What distinguishes war is, not that man is slain, but that he is slain, spoiled, crushed by the cruelty, the injustice, the treachery, the murderous hand of man. The evil is moral evil. War is the concentration of all human crimes. Here is its distinguishing, accursed brand. Under its standard gather violence, malignity, rage, fraud, perfidy, rapacity, and lust. If it only slew men, it would do little. It turns man into a beast of prey. Here is the evil of war, that man, made to be the brother, becomes the deadly foe of his kind; that man, whose duty it is to mitigate suffering, makes the infliction of suffering his study and end; that man, whose office it is to avert and heal the wounds which come from nature's powers, makes researches into nature's laws, and arms himself with her most awful forces, that he may become the destroyer of his race. Nor is this all. There is also found in war a cold-hearted indifference to human miseries and wrongs, perhaps more shocking than the bad passions it calls forth. To my mind, this contempt of human nature is singularly offensive. To hate, expresses something like respect. But in war, man treats his brother as nothing worth; sweeps away human multitudes as insects; tramples them down as grass; mocks at their rights; and does not deign a thought to their woes.

These remarks show us the great evil of war. It is moral evil. The field of battle is a theatre, got up at immense cost, for the exhibition of crime on a grand scale. There the hell within the human breast blazes out fiercely and without disguise. A more fearful hell in any region of the universe cannot well be conceived. There the fiends hold their revels and spread their fury.

To many, the physical evils of war are more striking than moral. The outward impresses multitudes more than the inward. It is because they cannot look inward, because they are too earthly and sensual to see and comprehend the deformity of a selfish, unjust, malignant soul. The outward evils of life are emblems of the inward, and are light when severed from these. The saddest view of war is, that it is the breaking out of the human heart, revealing there what is more awful than the miseries which it inflicts. The death-groan is fearful; but how much more appalling the spirit of murder which extorts it!

Suppose two multitudes of men, each composed of thousands, meeting from different countries, but meeting not to destroy but to consult and labor for the good of the race; and suppose them, in the midst of their deliberations, to be smitten suddenly by some mysterious visitation of God, and their labors to be terminated by immediate death. We should be awe-struck by this strange, sudden, wide-spread ruin. But reflection would teach us that this simultaneous extinction of life in so many of our race was but an anticipation or peculiar fulfilment of the sentence passed on all mankind; and a tender reverence would spring up as we should think of so many generous men coming together from so many different regions, in the spirit of human brotherhood, to be wrapped in one pall, to sleep in one grave. We should erect a monument on the solemn spot; but chiefly to commemorate the holy purpose which had gathered them from their scattered abodes; and we should write on it, "To the memory of a glorious company, suddenly taken from God's ministry on earth to enter again (a blessed brotherhood) on a higher ministry in heaven." Here you have death sweeping away hosts in a moment. But how different from death in a field of battle, where man meets man as a foe, where the countenance flashes rage and the arm is nerved for slaughter, where brother hews down brother, and where thousands are sent unprepared, in the moment of crime, to give their account! When nature's laws, fulfilling the mysterious will of God, inflict death on the good, we bow, we adore, we give thanks. How different is death from the murderous hand of man!

Allow me to make another supposition, which may bring out still more strongly the truth on which I now insist, that the

great evil of war is inward, moral; that its physical woes, terrible as they may be, are light by the side of this. Suppose, then, that in travelling through a solitary region, you should catch the glimpse of a distant dwelling. You approach it eagerly in the hope of hearing a welcome after your weary journey. As you draw nigh, an ominous stillness damps your hope; and on entering, you see the inmates of the house, a numerous family, stretched out motionless and without life. A wasting pestilence has, in one day, made their dwelling a common tomb. At first you are thrilled with horror by the sight; but as you survey the silent forms, you see on all their countenances, amidst traces of suffering, an expression of benignity. You see some of the dead lying side by side, with hands mutually entwined, showing that the last action of life was a grasp of affection; whilst some lie locked in one another's arms. The mother's cold lips are still pressed to the cheek of the child, and the child's arms still wind round the neck of the mother. In the forms of others, you see no ambiguous proof that the spirit took its flight in the act of prayer. As you look on these signs of love and faith, stronger than the last agony, what a new feeling steals over you! Your horror subsides. Your eyes are suffused with tears, not of anguish, but of sympathy, affection, tender reverence. You feel the spot to be consecrated. Death becomes lovely, like the sleep of infancy. You say, Blessed family, death hath not divided you!

With soothed and respectful sorrow, you leave this resting-place of the good, and another dwelling, dimly descried in the horizon, invites your steps. As you approach it the same stillness is an augury of a like desolation, and you enter it, expecting to see another family laid low by the same mysterious disease. But you open the door, and the spectacle freezes your blood, and chains your steps to the threshold. On every face you see the distortion of rage. Every man's hand grasps a deadly weapon; every breast is gored with wounds. Here lies one, rived asunder by a sword. There two are locked together, but in the death-grapple of hatred, not the embrace of love. Here lies woman, trampled on and polluted, and there the child, weltering in his own blood. You recoil with horror, as soon as the sickness of the heart will suffer you to move. The deadly steam of the apartment oppresses, overpowers you, as if it were the suffocating air of hell. You are terror-struck, as if through the opening earth you had sunk into the abode of fiends; and when the time for reflection comes, and you recall the blessed habitation you had just before left, what a conviction rushes on you, that nothing deserves the name of woe but that which crime inflicts! You feel that there is a sweetness, loveliness, sacredness in suffering and death, when these are pervaded by holy affections; and that infinite wretchedness and despair gather over these, when springing from unholy passion, when bearing the brand of crime.

In these remarks, I do not mean to deny that the physical sufferings of war are great, and should incite us to labor for its abolition. But sufferings, separate from crime, coming not through man's wickedness, but from the laws of nature, are not unmixed evils. They have a ministry of love. God has ordained them, that they should bind men to one another, that they should touch and soften the human heart, that they should call forth mutual aid, solace, gratitude, and self-forgetting love. Sorrow is the chief cement of souls. Death, coming in the order of nature, gathers round the sufferer sympathizing, anxious friends, who watch day and night, with suffused eyes and heart-breathed prayer, to avert or mitigate the last agonies. It calls up tender recollections, inspires solemn thought, rebukes human pride, obscures the world's glories, and speaks of immortality. From the still deathbed, what softening, subduing, chastening, exalting influences proceed! But death in war, death from the hand of man, sears the heart and conscience, kills human sympathies, and scatters the thought of judgment to come. Man dying in battle, unsolaced, unpitied, and a victim to hatred, rapacity, and insatiable ambition, leaves behind him wrongs to be revenged. His blood does not speak peace or speak of heaven; but sends forth a maddening cry, and exasperates survivors to new struggles.

Thus war adds to suffering the unutterable weight of crime, and defeats the holy and blessed ministry which all suf-

fering is intended to fulfil. When I look back on the ages of conflict through which the race has passed, what most moves me is not the awful amount of suffering which war has inflicted. This may be borne. The terrible thought is, that this has been the work of crime; that men, whose great law is love, have been one another's butchers; that God's children have stained his beautiful earth, made beautiful for their home, with one another's blood; that the shriek, which comes to us from all regions and ages, has been extorted by human cruelty; that man has been a demon, and has turned earth into hell. All else may be borne. It is this which makes history so horrible a record to the benevolent mind.

II. I have now set before you what I deem the chief evil of war. It is moral evil. And from these views you will easily judge what I regard as the true remedy of war, as the means of removing it, which above all others we should employ. If the most terrible view of war be that it is the triumph and jubilee of selfish and malignant passions, then its true cure is to be sought in the diffusion of the principles of universal justice and love, in that spirit of Jesus Christ which expels the demons of selfishness and malignity from the heart. Even supposing that war could be abolished by processes which leave the human character unchanged, that it could be terminated by the progress of a civilization, which, whilst softening manners, would not diminish the selfishness, mercenariness, hard-heartedness, fraud, ambition of men, its worst evils would still remain, and society would reap in some other forms the fruits of its guilt. God has ordained that the wickedness within us shall always find its expression and punishment in outward evil. War is nothing more than a reflection or image of the soul. It is the fiend within coming out. Human history is nothing more than the inward nature manifested in its native acts and issues. Let the soul continue unchanged; and should war cease, the inward plague would still find its way to the surface. The infernal fire at the centre of our being, though it should not break forth in the wasting volcano, would not slumber, but by other eruptions, more insensible yet not less deadly, would lay waste human happiness. I do not believe, however, that any remedy but the Christian spirit can avail against war. The wild beast, that has gorged on millions of victims in every age, is not to be tamed by a polished or selfish civilization. Selfishness, however drilled into courtesy, always tends to strife. Man, as long as possessed by it, will sacrifice others to his own interest and glory, and will grow angry and fierce when others stand in his way.

War will never yield but to the principles of universal justice and love, and these have no sure root but in the religion of Jesus Christ. Christianity is the true remedy for war, not Christianity in name, not such Christianity as we see, not such as has grown up under arbitrary governments in church and state, not such as characterizes any Christian sect at the present day, but Christianity as it lived in the soul and came forth in the life of its Founder: a religion that reveals man as the object of God's infinite love, and which commends him to the unbounded love of his brethren; a religion, the essence of which is self-denial, self-sacrifice, in the cause of human nature; a religion which proscribes, as among the worst sins, the passion of man for rule and dominion over his fellow-creatures; which knows nothing of rich or poor, high or low, bond or free, and casts down all the walls of partition which sever men from one another's sympathy and respect.

Christian love alone can supplant war; and this love is not a mere emotion, a tenderness awakened by human suffering, but an intelligent, moral, spiritual love, a perception and deep feeling of the sacredness of human nature, a recognition of the inalienable rights, the solemn claims, of every human being. It protests fearlessly against all wrong, no matter how obscure the victim. It desires to lift up each and all, no matter how fallen. It is a sympathy with the spiritual principle dwelling under every human form. This is the love which is to conquer war; and as yet this has been but little diffused. The Quakers, indeed, have protested against war as unchristian, but have done little towards bringing into clear light, and sending forth with new power, the spirit to which war is to yield. Cutting themselves off by outward peculiarities from the commu-

nity, secluding themselves from ordinary intercourse through fear of moral infection, living almost as a separate race, they have been little felt in society; they have done little to awaken that deep religious interest in man as man, that sensibility to his rights, that hatred of all wrong, that thirst for the elevation of every human being, in which Christian love finds its truest manifestation. Every sect has as yet been too imbued with the spirit of sects, and has inherited too largely the exclusiveness of past ages, to understand or spread the true spirit of human brotherhood. The love which Christ breathes, which looks through man's body to the immortal spirit, which sees something divine in the rational and moral powers of the lowest human being, and which challenges for the lowest the sympathy, respect, and fostering aid of his race; this has been rare, and yet it is only by the gradual diffusion of this that the plague of war can be stayed. This reverence for humanity, could it even prevail through a narrow sphere, could it bind together but a small body of men, would send forth a testimony against war which would break the slumber of the Christian world, and which would strike awe into many a contemner of his race.

I am aware that others are hoping for the abolition of war by other causes; and other causes, I am aware, must be brought into action. I only say that, unless joined with the spirit of Christianity, they give no assurance of continued repose. This thought I would briefly illustrate.

The present unusual cessation of arms in the Christian world is to some a promise of a happier era in human affairs. It is, indeed, a cheering fact, and may well surprise us, when we consider how many causes of war have been in action, how many threatening clouds have overcast the political sky, during the pause of war. But if we examine the causes of this tranquillity, we shall learn not to confide in it too strongly.

The first cause was the exhaustion in which Europe was left by the bloody conflicts of the French Revolution. The nations, worn out with struggles, wasted by successive invasions, and staggering under an unprecedented load of debt, yearned for repose. The strong man had bled too freely to fight more. For years poverty has kept the peace in Europe. One of the fruits of civilization is the increasing expensiveness of war, so that when the voice of humanity cannot be heard, the hollow sound of an empty treasury is a warning which cannot be slighted. This cause of peace is evidently temporary. Nations, resting from exhaustion, may be expected to renew their pernicious activity when their strength is renewed.

Another cause of the continuance of peace is undoubtedly the extension of new and profitable relations through the civilized world. Since the pacification of Europe, in 1816, a new impulse has been given to industry. The discoveries of science have been applied with wonderful success to the useful arts. Nations have begun in earnest to develop their resources. Labor is discovered to be the grand conqueror, enriching and building up nations more surely than the proudest battles. As a necessary result of this new impulse, commerce has been wonderfully enlarged. Nations send the products of their soil and machinery, where once they sent armies; and such a web of common interests has been woven, that hostilities can spring up in no corner of the civilized world without deranging in a measure the order and industry of every other state. Undoubtedly we have here a promise of peace; but let us not be too sanguine. We have just begun this career, and we know not its end. Let wealth grow without a corresponding growth of the temperate, just, and benevolent spirit of Christianity, and I see few auguries but of evil. Wealth breeds power, and power always tempts to wrong. Communities, which at once grow rich and licentious, breed desperate men, unprincipled adventurers, restless spirits, who unsettle social order at home, who make freedom a cloak and instrument of ambition, and find an interest in embroiling their country with foreign foes. Another consequence of growing prosperity is the rapid growth of population; and this, in the absence of Christian restraints and Christian principles, tends to pauperism and crime, tends to make men cheap, and to destroy the sacredness of human life; and communities are tempted to throw off this dangerous load, this excess of numbers, in foreign war. In truth, the vices which

fester in the bosom of a prosperous, licentious, over-peopled state, are hardly less fearful than those of war, and they naturally seek and find their punishment in this awful calamity. Let us not speak of industry, commerce, and wealth, as insuring peace. Is commerce never jealous and grasping? Have commercial states no collisions? Have commercial rights never drawn the sword in self-defence? Are not such states a tempting prey? And have they no desire to prey on others? Does trade cherish nothing analogous to the spirit of war in ordinary pursuits? Is there no fighting on the exchange? Is bargaining nothing but friendship and peace? Why, then, expect from trade alone peace among nations? Nothing, nothing can bind nations together but Christian justice and love. I insist on this the more earnestly, because it is the fashion now to trust for every good to commerce, industry, and the wonderful inventions which promise indefinite increase of wealth. But to improve man's outward condition is not to improve man himself, and this is the sole ground of hope. With all our ingenuity, we can frame no machinery for manufacturing wisdom, virtue, peace. Railroads and steamboats cannot speed the soul to its perfection. This must come, if it come at all, from each man's action on himself, from putting forth our power on the soul and not over nature, from a sense of inward not outward miseries, from "hunger and thirst after righteousness," not after wealth. I should rejoice, like the prophet, "to bring glad tidings, to publish peace." But I do fear that, without some great spiritual revolution, without some new life and love breathed into the church, without some deep social reforms, men will turn against each other their new accumulations of power: that their wealth and boasted inventions will be converted into weapons of destruction; that the growing prosperity of nations will become the nutriment of more wasteful wars, will become fuel for more devouring fires of ambition or revenge.

Another cause of the recent long cessation of foreign wars has been the dread of internal convulsions, of civil wars. The spirit of revolution has, more or less, penetrated the whole civilized world. The grand idea of human rights has found its way even into despotisms. Kings have less confidence in their subjects and soldiers. They have felt their thrones totter, and have felt that a disastrous war would expose them to a force more terrible than that of victorious foes, — the force of burning discontent, exasperated opinion at home. It is understood that the next general war will be a war not of nations but of principles, that absolutism must measure swords with liberalism, despotism with free constitutions: and from this terrible encounter both parties recoil. We indeed believe that, with or without war, liberal principles and institutions are destined to advance, to make the conquest of Europe; and it is thought that these, being recognitions of human rights, will be less prodigal of human blood than absolute power. But can we hope that these, unsanctioned, unsustained by the Christian spirit, will insure peace? What teaches our own experience? Because free, have we no wars? What, indeed, is the free spirit of which we so much boast? Is it not much more a jealousy of our own rights than a reverence for the rights of all? Does it not consist with the inflictions of gross wrongs? Does it not spoil the Indian? Does it not enslave the African? Is it not anxious to spread bondage over new regions? Who can look on this free country, distracted by parties, rent by local jealousies, in some districts administering justice by mobs and silencing speech and the press by conflagration and bloodshed, — who can see this free country and say that liberal opinions and institutions are of themselves to banish war? Nowhere are the just, impartial, disinterested principles of Christianity so much needed as in a free state. Nowhere are there more elements of strife to be composed, more passions to be curbed, more threatened wrongs to be repressed. Freedom has its perils as well as inestimable blessings. In loosening outward restraints, it demands that justice and love be enthroned within man's soul. Without Christian principle, freedom may swell the tide of tumult and war.

One other cause will probably be assigned by some for the long cessation of hostilities in the civilized world; and that is, the greater success of statesmen in securing that long-sought good among

nations, the balance of power. Be it so. But how soon may this balance be disturbed? How does it tremble now? Europe has long been threatened by the disproportionate growth of Russia. In the north of Europe is silently growing up a power which, many fear, is one day to grasp at universal empire. The south, it is said, is to fulfil its old destiny, that is, to fall a prey to the north. All Europe is interested in setting bounds to this half-civilized despotism. But the great absolute powers, Prussia and Austria, dreading more the progress of liberal opinions than of Russian hordes, may rather throw themselves into her scale, and be found fighting with her the battles of legitimacy against free institutions. It is true that many wise men dismiss these fears as vain, and believe that the ill-cemented union of the provinces, or rather nations, which compose the colossal empire of the north, cannot endure, or at least will admit no steady prosecution of schemes of domination. I presume not to read the future. My single object is to show the uncertainty of all means of abolishing war, unless joined with and governed by the spreading spirit of our disinterested faith. No calculations of interest, no schemes of policy can do the work of love, of the spirit of human brotherhood. There can be no peace without, but through peace within. Society must be an expression of the souls of its members. Man's character moulds his outward lot. His destiny is woven by the good or evil principles which bear rule in his breast. I indeed attach importance to all the causes of peace which I have now stated. They are far from powerless; but their power will be spent in vain unless aided by mightier and diviner energy, by the force of moral and religious principles, the strength of disinterested love.

III. I have now considered the great evil of war, and the great remedy of this scourge of nations, and I proceed, as proposed, to point out some causes of that insensibility to its evils, so common in the world, and so common even among those from whom better things might be hoped; and this I do, not to gratify a love of speculation, but in the belief that this insensibility will be resisted and overcome, in proportion as its sources shall be explained.

Among its chief causes, one undoubtedly is the commonness of war. This hardens us to its evils. Its horrors are too familiar to move us, unless they start up at our own door. How much more would they appall us were they rare? If the history of the race were, with one solitary exception, a history of peace, concord, brotherly love; if but one battle had been fought in the long succession of ages; if from the bosom of profound tranquillity two armies on one fatal day had sprung forth and rushed together for mutual destruction; if but one spot on earth had been drenched with human blood, shed by human hands; how different would be our apprehensions of war! What a fearful interest would gather round that spot! How would it remain deserted, dreaded, abhorred! With what terrible distinctness would the leaders of those armies stand out as monsters, not men! How should we confound them with Moloch, and the fiercest fallen spirits! Should we not feel as if on that mysterious day the blessed influences of heaven had been intercepted, and a demoniacal frenzy had been let loose on the race? And has war, in becoming common, lost its horrors? Is it less terrible because its Molochs crowd every page of history, and its woes and crimes darken all nations and all times? Do base or ferocious passions less degrade and destroy because their victims are unnumbered? If, indeed, the evils of war were only physical, and were inevitable, we should do well to resign ourselves to that kindly power of habit which takes the edge from oft-repeated pains. But moral evils, evils which may and ought to be shunned, which have their spring in human will, which our higher powers are given us to overcome, these it is a crime unresistingly to endure. The frequency and strength of these are more urgent reasons for abhorring and withstanding them. Reflection should be summoned to resist the paralyzing power of habit. From principle we should cherish a deeper horror of war, because its "sword devours for ever."

I proceed to a second cause of insensibility to the evils of war, and one of immense power. I refer to the common and almost universal belief that the right of war belongs to civil government. Let us be just to human nature. The idea of "right" has always mixed itself with

war, and this has kept out of view the real character of most of the conflicts of nations. The sovereign, regarding the right of war as an essential attribute of sovereignty, has on this ground ascribed a legitimacy to all national hostilities, and has never dreamed that in most of his wars he was a murderer. So the subject has thought himself bound to obey his sovereign, and, on this ground, has acquitted himself of crime, has perhaps imputed to himself merit, in fighting and slaughtering for the defence of the most iniquitous claims. Here lies the delusion, which we should be most anxious to remove. It is the legality ascribed to war, on account of its being waged by government, which produces insensibility to its horrors and crimes. When a notorious robber, seized by Alexander, asked the conqueror of the world whether he was not a greater robber than himself, the spirit of the hero repelled the title with indignation. And why so? Had he not, without provocation and cause, spoiled cities and realms, whilst the robber had only plundered individuals and single dwellings? Had he not slaughtered ten thousand innocent fellow-creatures for one victim who had fallen under the robber's knife? And why, then, did the arch-robber disclaim the name, and seriously believe that he could not justly be confounded with ruffians? Because he was a king, the head of a state, and as such authorized to make war. Here was the shelter for his conscience and his fame. Had the robber, after addressing his question to Alexander, turned to the Macedonian soldier, and said to him, "Are you not, too, a greater robber than I? Have not your hands been busier in pillage? Are they not dyed more deeply in innocent blood?" The unconscious soldier, like his master, would have repelled the title; and why? "I am a subject," he would have replied, "and bound to obey my sovereign; and, in fulfilling a duty, I cannot be sunk to the level of the most hated criminal." Thus king and subject take refuge in the right of war which inheres in sovereignty, and thus the most terrible crimes are perpetrated with little reproach.

I need not tell you that there are Christians who, to strip war of this pretext or extenuation, deny that this right exists; who teach that Jesus Christ has wrested the sword from the magistrate as truly as from the private man. On this point I shall not now enter. I believe that more good may be done in the present instance by allowing to government the right of war. I still maintain that most wars bring the guilt of murder on the government by whom they are declared, and on the soldier by whom they are carried on, so that our sensibility ought in no degree to be impaired by the supposed legitimacy of national hostilities.

I will allow that government has the right of war. But a right has bounds, and when these are transgressed by us, it ceases to exist; and we are as culpable as if it had never existed. The private citizen, it is generally acknowledged, has the right of taking life in self-defence: but if, under plea of this right, he should take life without cause, he would not stand absolved of murder. In like manner, though government be authorized to make war in self-defence, it still contracts the guilt of murder if it proclaim war from policy, ambition, or revenge. By the Constitution of this country, various rights are conferred on Congress for the public good; and should they extend these rights beyond the limits prescribed by the national charter, for purposes of cruelty rapacity, and arbitrary power, they would be as treacherous, as criminal, as if they had laid claim to unconceded rights. Now, stricter bounds are set to the right of war than those which the Constitution has prescribed to the rulers. A higher authority than man's defines this terrible prerogative. Woe! woe to him who impatiently, selfishly spurns the restraints of God, and who winks out of sight the crime of sending forth the sword to destroy because, as a sovereign, he has the right of war.

From its very nature, this right should be exercised above all others anxiously, deliberately, fearfully. It is the right of passing sentence of death on thousands of our fellow-creatures If any action on earth ought to be performed with trembling, with deep prostration before God, with the most solemn inquisition into motives, with the most reverent consultation of conscience, it is a declaration of war. This stands alone among acts of legislation. It has no parallel. These few words, "Let war be," have the

power of desolation which belongs to earthquakes and lightnings; they may stain the remotest seas with blood; may wake the echoes of another hemisphere with the thunders of artillery; may carry anguish into a thousand human abodes. No scheme of aggrandizement, no doubtful claims, no uncertain fears, no anxiety to establish a balance of power, will justify this act. It can find no justification but in plain, stern necessity, in unquestionable justice, in persevering wrongs, which all other and long-tried means have failed to avert. Terrible is the responsibility, beyond that of all others, which falls on him who involves nations in war. He has no excuse for rashness, passion, or private ends. He ought at such a moment to forget, to annihilate himself. The spirit of God and justice should alone speak and act through him. To commit this act rashly, passionately, selfishly, is to bring on himself the damnation of a thousand murders. An act of legislation, commanding fifty thousand men to be assembled on yonder common, there to be shot, stabbed, trampled under horses' feet until their shrieks and agonies should end in death, would thrill us with horror; and such an act is a declaration of war; and a government which can perform it, without the most solemn sense of responsibility and the clearest admonitions of duty, deserves, in expiation of its crime, to endure the whole amount of torture which it has inflicted on its fellow-creatures.

I have said a declaration of war stands alone. There is one act which approaches it, and which, indeed, is the very precedent on which it is founded. I refer to the signing of a death-warwant by a chief magistrate. In this case, how anxious is society that the guilty only should suffer! The offender is first tried by his peers, and allowed the benefit of skilful counsel. The laws are expounded, and the evidence weighed, by learned and upright judges: and when, after these protections of innocence, the unhappy man is convicted, he is still allowed to appeal for mercy to the highest authority of the State, and to enforce his own cry by solicitations of friends and the people; and when all means of averting his doom fail, religion, through her ministers, enters his cell, to do what yet can be done for human nature in its most fallen, miserable state. Society does not cast from its bosom its most unworthy member without reluctance, without grief, without fear of doing wrong, without care for his happiness. But wars, by which thousands of the unoffending and worthiest perish, are continually proclaimed by rulers, in madness, through ambition, through infernal policy, from motives which should rank them with the captains of pirate-ships or leaders of banditti.

It is time that the right of war should not shield governments from the infamy due to hostilities to which selfish, wicked passions give birth. Let rulers learn that for this right they are held to a fearful responsibility. Let a war, not founded in plain justice and necessity, never be named but as murder. Let the Christian give articulate voice to the blood that cries from the earth against rulers by whom it has been criminally shed. Let no soft terms be used. On this subject, a new moral sense and a new language are needed throughout the whole civilized and Christian world; and just in proportion as the truth shall find a tongue, war will cease.

But the right of war, which is said to belong to sovereignty, not only keeps out of sight the enormous guilt of rulers in almost all national conflicts. It also hides or extenuates the frequent guilt of subjects in taking part in the hostilities which their rulers declare. In this way, much of the prevalent insensibility to the evils of war is induced, and perhaps on no point is light more needed. The ferocity and cruelty of armies impress us little, because we look on them as doing a work of duty. The subject or citizen, as we think is bound to obey his rulers. In his worst deeds as a soldier he is discharging his obligations to the state; and thus murder and pillage, covered with a cloak of duty excite no deep, unaffected reprobation and horror.

I know it will be asked, "And is not the citizen bound to fight at the call of his government? Does not his commission absolve him from the charge of murder or enormous crime? Is not obedience to the sovereign power the very foundation on which society rests?" I answer, "Has the duty of obeying government no bounds? Is the human

sovereign a God? Is his sovereignty absolute? If he command you to slay a parent, must you obey? If he forbid you to worship God, must you obey? Have you no right to judge his acts? Have you no self-direction? Is there no unchangeable right which the ruler cannot touch? Is there no higher standard than human law?" These questions answer themselves. A declaration of war cannot sanction wrong, or turn murder into a virtuous deed. Undoubtedly, as a general rule, the citizen is bound to obey the authorities under which he lives. No difference of opinion as to the mere expediency of measures will warrant opposition. Even in cases of doubtful right he may submit his judgment to the law. But when called to do what his conscience clearly pronounces wrong, he must not waver. No outward law is so sacred as the voice of God in his own breast. He cannot devolve on rulers an act so solemn as the destruction of fellow-beings convicted of no offence. For no act will more solemn inquisition be made at the bar of God.

I maintain that the citizen, before fighting, is bound to inquire into the justice of the cause which he is called to maintain with blood, and bound to withhold his hand if his conscience condemn the cause. On this point he is able to judge. No political question, indeed, can be determined so easily as this of war. War can be justified only by plain, palpable necessity; by unquestionable wrongs, which, as patient trial has proved, can in no other way be redressed; by the obstinate, persevering invasion of solemn and unquestionable rights. The justice of war is not a mystery for cabinets to solve. It is not a state-secret which he must take on trust. It lies within our reach. We are bound to examine it.

We are especially bound to this examination, because there is always a presumption against the justice of war; always reason to fear that it is condemned by impartial conscience and God. This solemn truth has peculiar claims on attention. It takes away the plea that we may innocently fight, because our rulers have decreed war. It strips off the most specious disguise from the horrors and crimes of national hostilities. If hostilities were, as a general rule, necessary and just, if an unjust war were a solitary exception, then the citizen might extenuate his share in the atrocities of military life, by urging his obligation to the state. But if there is always reason to apprehend the existence of wrong on the part of rulers, then he is bound to pause and ponder well his path. Then he advances at his peril, and must answer for the crimes of the unjust, unnecessary wars in which he shares.

The presumption is always against the justice and necessity of war. This we learn from the spirit of all rulers and nations towards foreign states. It is partial, unjust. Individuals may be disinterested; but nations have no feeling of the tie of brotherhood to their race. A base selfishness is the principle on which the affairs of nations are commonly conducted. A statesman is expected to take advantage of the weaknesses and wants of other countries. How loose a morality governs the intercourse of states! What falsehoods and intrigues are licensed diplomacy! What nation regards another with true friendship? What nation makes sacrifices to another's good? What nation is as anxious to perform its duties as to assert its rights? What nation chooses to suffer wrong, rather than to inflict it? What nation lays down the everlasting law of right, casts itself fearlessly on its principles, and chooses to be poor or to perish rather than to do wrong? Can communities so selfish, so unfriendly, so unprincipled, so unjust, be expected to wage righteous wars? Especially if with this selfishness are joined national prejudices, antipathies, and exasperated passions, what else can be expected in the public policy but inhumanity and crime? An individual, we know, cannot be trusted in his own cause, to measure his own claims, to avenge his own wrongs; and the civil magistrate, an impartial umpire, has been substituted as the only means of justice. But nations are even more unfit than individuals to judge in their own cause; more prone to push their rights to excess, and to trample on the rights of others; because nations are crowds, and crowds are unawed by opinion, and more easily inflamed by sympathy into madness. Is there not, then, always a presumption against the justice of war?

This presumption is increased, when

we consider the false notions of patriotism and honor which prevail in nations. Men think it a virtuous patriotism to throw a mantle, as they call it, over their country's infirmities, to wink at her errors, to assert her most doubtful rights, to look jealously and angrily on the prosperity of rival states; and they place her honor not in unfaltering adherence to the right, but in a fiery spirit, in quick resentment, in martial courage, and especially in victory; and can a good man hold himself bound and stand prepared to engage in war at the dictate of such a state?

The citizen or subject, you say, may innocently fight at the call of his rulers; and I ask, who are his rulers? Perhaps an absolute sovereign, looking down on his people as another race, as created to toil for his pleasure, to fight for new provinces, to bleed for his renown. There are, indeed, republican governments. But were not the republics of antiquity as greedy of conquest, as prodigal of human life, as steeled against the cries of humanity, as any despots who ever lived? And if we come down to modern republics, are they to be trusted with our consciences? What does the Congress of these United States represent? Not so much the virtue of the country as a vicious principle, the spirit of party. It acts not so much for the people as for parties; and are parties upright? Are parties merciful? Are the wars, to which party commits a country, generally just?

Unhappily, public men under all governments are, of all moral guides, the most unsafe, the last for a Christian to follow. Public life is thought to absolve men from the strict obligations of truth and justice. To wrong an adverse party or another country, is not reprobated as are wrongs in private life. Thus duty is dethroned; thus the majesty of virtue insulted in the administration of nations. Public men are expected to think more of their own elevation than of their country. Is the city of Washington the most virtuous spot in this republic? Is it the school of incorruptible men? The hall of Congress, disgraced by so many brawls, swayed by local interest and party intrigues, in which the right of petition is trodden under foot, is this the oracle from which the responses of justice come forth? Public bodies want conscience. Men acting in masses shift off responsibility on one another. Multitudes never blush. If these things be true, then I maintain that the Christian has not a right to take part in war blindly, confidingly, at the call of his rulers. To shed the blood of fellow-creatures is too solemn a work to be engaged in lightly. Let him not put himself, a tool, into wicked hands. Let him not meet on the field his brother man, his brother Christian, in a cause on which heaven frowns. Let him bear witness against unholy wars, as his country's greatest crimes. If called to take part in them, let him deliberately refuse. If martial law seize on him, let him submit. If hurried to prison, let him submit. If brought thence to be shot, let him submit. There must be martyrs to peace as truly as to other principles of our religion. The first Christians chose to die rather than obey the laws of the state which commanded them to renounce their Lord. "Death rather than crime;" such is the good man's watchword, such the Christian's vow. Let him be faithful unto death.

Undoubtedly it will be objected, that if one law of the state may in any way be resisted, then all may be, and so government must fall. This is precisely the argument on which the doctrine of passive obedience to the worst tyrannies rests. The absolutist says, "If one government may be overturned, none can stand. Your right of revolution is nothing but the right of anarchy, of universal misrule." The reply is in both instances the same. Extreme cases speak for themselves. We must put confidence in the common-sense of men, and suppose them capable of distinguishing between reasonable laws and those which require them to commit manifest crimes. The objection which we are considering rests on the supposition that a declaration of war is a common act of legislation, bearing no strong marks of distinction from other laws, and consequently to be obeyed as implicitly as all. But it is broadly distinguished. A declaration of war sends us forth to destroy our fellow-creatures, to carry fire, sword, famine, bereavement, want, and woe into the fields and habitations of our brethren: whilst Christianity, conscience, and all

the pure affections of our nature, call us to love our brethren, and to die, if need be, for their good. And from whence comes this declaration of war? From men who would rather die than engage in unjust or unnecessary conflict? Too probably from men to whom Christianity is a name, whose highest law is honor, who are used to avenge their private wrongs and defend their reputations by shedding blood, and who, in public as in private life, defy the laws of God. Whoever, at such men's dictation, engages in war without solemnly consulting conscience, and inquiring into the justice of the cause, contracts great guilt, nor can the "right of war," which such men claim as rulers, absolve him from the crimes and woes of the conflict in which he shares.

I have thus considered the second cause of the prevalent insensibility to war; namely, the common vague belief that, as the right of war inheres in government, therefore murder and pillage in national conflicts change their nature, or are broadly distinguished from the like crimes in common life. This topic has been so extended that I must pass over many which remain, and can take but a glance at one or two which ought not to be wholly overlooked. I observe then, thirdly, that men's sensibility to the evil of war has been very much blunted by the deceptive show, the costume, the splendor in which war is arrayed. Its horrors are hidden under its dazzling dress. To the multitude, the senses are more convincing reasoners than the conscience. In youth, — the period which so often receives impressions for life, — we cannot detect, in the heart-stirring fife and drum, the true music of war. — the shriek of the newly wounded or the faint moan of the dying. Arms glittering in the sunbeam do not remind us of bayonets dripping with blood. To one who reflects, there is something very shocking in these decorations of war. If men must fight, let them wear the badges which become their craft. It would shock us to see a hangman dressed out in scarf and epaulette, and marching with merry music to the place of punishment. The soldier has a sadder work than the hangman. His office is not to despatch occasionally a single criminal; he goes to the slaughter of thousands as free from crime as himself. The sword is worn as an ornament; and yet its use is to pierce the heart of a fellow-creature. As well might the butcher parade before us his knife, or the executioner his axe or halter. Allow war to be necessary, still it is a horrible necessity, a work to fill a good man with anguish of spirit. Shall it be turned into an occasion of pomp and merriment? To dash out men's brains, to stab them to the heart, to cover the body with gashes, to lop off the limbs, to crush men under the hoof of the war-horse, to destroy husbands and fathers, to make widows and orphans, all this may be necessary; but to attire men for this work with fantastic trappings, to surround this fearful occupation with all the circumstances of gayety and pomp, seems as barbarous as it would be to deck a gallows, or to make a stage for dancing beneath the scaffold. I conceive that the military dress was not open to as much reproach in former times as now. It was then less dazzling, and acted less on the imagination, because it formed less an exception to the habits of the times. The dress of Europe, not many centuries ago, was fashioned very much after what may be called the harlequin style. That is, it affected strong colors and strong contrasts. This taste belongs to rude ages, and has passed away very much with the progress of civilization. The military dress alone has escaped the reform. The military man is the only harlequin left us from ancient times. It is time that his dazzling finery were gone, that it no longer corrupted the young, that it no longer threw a pernicious glare over his terrible vocation.

I close with assigning what appears to me to be the most powerful cause of the prevalent insensibility to war. It is our blindness to the dignity and claims of human nature. We know not the worth of a man. We know not *who* the victims are on whom war plants its foot, whom the conqueror leaves to the vulture on the field of battle, or carries captive to grace his triumph. Oh! did we know what men are, did we see in them the spiritual, immortal children of God, what a voice should we lift against war! How indignantly, how sorrowfully should we invoke heaven and earth to right our insulted, injured brethren!

I close with asking, "Must the sword

devour for ever?" Must force, fear, pain, always rule the world? Is the kingdom of God, the reign of truth, duty, and love never to prevail? Must the sacred name of brethren be only a name among men? Must the divinity in man's nature never be recognized with veneration? Is the earth always to steam with human blood shed by man's hands, and to echo with groans wrung from hearts which violence has pierced? Can you and I, my friends, do nothing, nothing to impress a different character on the future history of our race? You say we are weak; and why weak? It is from inward defect, not from outward necessity. We are inefficient abroad, because faint within,—faint in love, and trust, and holy resolution. Inward power always comes forth, and works without. Noah Worcester, enfeebled in body, was not weak. George Fox, poor and uneducated, was not weak. They had light and life within, and therefore were strong abroad. Their spirits were stirred by Christ's truth and spirit; and, so moved, they spoke and were heard. We are dead, and therefore cannot act. Perhaps we speak against war; but if we speak from tradition, if we echo what we hear, if peace be a cant on our lips, our words are unmeaning air. Our own souls must bleed when our brethren are slaughtered. We must feel the infinite wrong done to man by the brute force which treads him in the dust. We must see in the authors of unjust, selfish, ambitious, revengeful wars, monsters in human form, incarnations of the dread enemy of the human race. Under the inspiration of such feelings, we shall speak, even the humblest of us, with something of prophetic force. This is the power which is to strike awe into the counsellors and perpetrators of now licensed murder; which is to wither the laurelled brow of now worshipped heroes. Deep moral convictions, unfeigned reverence and fervent love for man, and living faith in Christ, are mightier than armies; mighty through God to the pulling down of the strongholds of oppression and war. Go forth, then, friends of mankind, peaceful soldiers of Christ! and in your various relations, at home and abroad, in private life, and, if it may be, in more public spheres, give faithful utterance to the principles of universal justice and love, give utterance to your deep, solemn, irreconcilable hatred of the spirit of war.

DUTIES OF THE CITIZEN IN TIMES OF TRIAL OR DANGER.

Extracts from Sermons preached on Days of Humiliation and Prayer, appointed in consequence of the Declaration of War against Great Britain.

In all circumstances, at all times, war is to be deprecated. The evil passions which it excites, its ravages, its bloody conflicts, the distress and terror which it carries into domestic life, the tears which it draws from the widow and fatherless, all render war a tremendous scourge.

There are, indeed, conditions in which war is justifiable, is necessary. It may be the last and only method of repelling lawless ambition, and of defending invaded liberty and essential rights. It may be the method which God's providence points out by furnishing the means of success. In these cases we must not shrink from war; though even in these we should deeply lament the necessity of shedding human blood. In such wars our country claims and deserves our prayers, our cheerful services, the sacrifice of wealth, and even of life. In such wars we have one consolation, when our friends fall on the field of battle; we know that they have fallen in a just cause. Such conflicts, which our hearts and consciences approve, are suited to call forth generous sentiments, to breathe patriotism and fortitude through a community. Could I view the war in which we are engaged in this light, with what different feelings,

my friends, should I address you! We might then look up to God and commit to him our country with a holy confidence. But, in our present state, what can I say to you? I would, but I cannot, address you in the language of encouragement. We are precipitated into a war which, I think, cannot be justified, and a war which promises not a benefit, that I can discover, to this country or to the world.

A solemn question now offers itself. What conduct belongs to a good citizen in our present trying condition? To this subject I call your serious attention.

Our condition induces me to begin with urging on you the important duty of cherishing respect for civil government, and a spirit of obedience to the laws. I am sensible that many whom I address consider themselves as called to oppose the measures of our present rulers. Let this opposition breathe nothing of insubordination, impatience of authority, or love of change. It becomes you to remember that government is a divine institution, essential to the improvement of our nature, the spring of industry and enterprise, the shield of property and life, the refuge of the weak and oppressed. It is to the security which laws afford that we owe the successful application of human powers. Government, though often perverted by ambition and other selfish passions, still holds a distinguished rank among those influences by which man has been rescued from barbarism, and conducted through the ruder stages of society to the habits of order, the diversified employments and dependencies, the refined and softened manners, the intellectual, moral, and religious improvements of the age in which we live. We are bound to respect government, as the great security for social happiness; and we should carefully cherish that habit of obedience to the laws without which the ends of government cannot be accomplished. All wanton opposition to the constituted authorities; all censures of rulers, originating in a factious, aspiring, or envious spirit, all unwillingness to submit to laws which are directed to the welfare of the community, should be rebuked and repressed by the frown of public indignation.

It is impossible that all the regulations of the wisest government should equally benefit every individual; and sometimes the general good will demand arrangements which will interfere with the interests of particular members or classes of the nation. In such circumstances, the individual is bound to regard the inconveniences under which he suffers as inseparable from a social, connected state, as the result of the condition which God has appointed, and not as the fault of his rulers; and he should cheerfully submit, recollecting how much more he receives from the community than he is called to resign to it. Disaffection towards a government which is administered with a view to the general welfare is a great crime; and such opposition, even to a bad government, as springs from and spreads a restless temper, an unwillingness to yield to wholesome and necessary restraint, deserves no better name. In proportion as a people want a conscientious regard to the laws, and are prepared to evade them by fraud, or to arrest their operation by violence, — in that proportion they need and deserve an arbitrary government, strong enough to crush at a blow every symptom of opposition.

These general remarks on the duty of submission are by no means designed to teach that rulers are never to be opposed. Because I wish to guard you against that turbulent and discontented spirit which precipitates free communities into an anarchy, and thus prepares them for chains, you will not consider me as asserting that all opposition to government, whatever be the occasion, or whatever the form, is to be branded as a crime. The citizen has rights as well as duties. Government is instituted for one and a single end, — the benefit of the governed, the protection, peace, and welfare of society; and when it is perverted to other objects, to purposes of avarice, ambition, or party-spirit, we are authorized and even bound to make such opposition as is suited to restore it to its proper end, to render it as pure as the imperfection of our nature and state will admit.

The Scriptures have sometimes been thought to enjoin an unqualified, unlimited subjection to the "higher powers;" but in the passages which seem so to teach, it is supposed that these powers are "ministers of God for good," are a terror to evil-doers, and an encourage-

ment to those that do well. When a government wants this character, when it becomes an engine of oppression, the Scriptures enjoin subjection no longer. Expediency may make it our duty to obey, but the government has lost its rights; it can no longer urge its claims as an ordinance of God.

There have, indeed, been times when sovereigns have demanded subjection as an inalienable right, and when the superstition of subjects has surrounded them with a mysterious sanctity, with a majesty approaching the divine. But these days have past. Under the robe of office, we, my hearers, have learned to see a man like ourselves. There is no such sacredness in rulers as forbids scrutiny into their motives, or condemnation of their measures. In leaving the common walks of life, they leave none of their imperfections behind them. Power has even a tendency to corrupt, to feed an irregular ambition, to harden the heart against the claims and sufferings of mankind. Rulers are not to be viewed with a malignant jealousy; but they ought to be inspected with a watchful, undazzled eye. Their virtues and services are to be rewarded with generous praise. and their crimes and arts and usurpations should be exposed with a fearless sincerity to the indignation of an injured people. We are not to be factious, and neither are we to be servile. With a sincere disposition to obey, should be united a firm purpose not to be oppressed.

So far is an existing government from being clothed with an inviolable sanctity, that the citizen, in particular circumstances, acquires the right, not only of remonstrating, but of employing force for its destruction. This right accrues to him when a government wantonly disregards the ends of social union; when it threatens the subversion of national liberty and happiness: and when no relief but force remains to the suffering community. This, however, is a right which cannot be exercised with too much deliberation. Subjects should very slowly yield to the conviction that rulers have that settled hostility to their interests which authorizes violence. They must not indulge a spirit of complaint, and suffer their passions to pronounce on their wrongs. They must remember that the best government will partake the imperfection of all human institutions, and that if the ends of the social compact are in any tolerable degree accomplished, they will be mad indeed to hazard the blessings they possess for the possibility of greater good.

Resistance of established power is so great an evil, civil commotion excites such destructive passions, the result is so tremendously uncertain, that every milder method of relief should first be tried, and fairly tried. The last dreadful resort is never justifiable until the injured members of the community are brought to despair of other relief, and are so far united in views and purposes as to be authorized in the hope of success. Civil commotion should be viewed as the worst of national evils, with the single exception of slavery. I know that this country has passed through one civil war without experiencing the calamitous consequences of which I have spoken. But let us not forget that this was a civil war of a very peculiar character. The government which we shook off was not seated in the midst of us. Our struggle was that of nation with nation, rather than of fellow-citizens with one another. Our manners and habits tended to give a considerateness and a stability to the public mind which can hardly be expected in a future struggle. And, in addition to these favorable circumstances, we were favored by heaven with a leader of incorruptible integrity, of unstained purity, — a patriot who asked no glory but that of delivering his country, who desired to reign only in the hearts of a free and happy people, whose disinterestedness awed and repressed the selfish and ambitious, who inspired universal confidence, and thus was a centre and bond of union to the minds of men in the most divided and distracted periods of our country. The name of WASHINGTON I may pronounce with reverence even in the temple of the Almighty: and it is a name which revives the sinking spirits in this day of our declining glory. From a revolution, conducted by such a man, under such circumstances, let no conclusions be hastily drawn on the subject of civil commotion.

It becomes us to rejoice, my friends, that we live under a constitution, one great design of which is to prevent the necessity of appealing to force, to give

the people an opportunity of removing, without violence, those rulers from whom they suffer or apprehend an invasion of rights. This is one of the principal advantages of a republic over an absolute government. In a despotism, there is no remedy for oppression but force. The subject cannot influence public affairs but by convulsing the state. With us, rulers may be changed without the horrors of a revolution. A republican government secures to its subjects this immense privilege, by confirming to them two most important rights, — the right of suffrage, and the right of discussing with freedom the conduct of rulers. The value of these rights in affording a peaceful method of redressing public grievances cannot be expressed, and the duty of maintaining them, of never surrendering them, cannot be too strongly urged. Resign either of these, and no way of escape from oppression will be left you but civil commotion.

From the important place which these rights hold in a republican government, you should consider youselves bound to support every citizen in the lawful exercise of them, especially when an attempt is made to wrest them from any by violent means. At the present time, it is particularly your duty to guard with jealousy the right of expressing with freedom your honest convictions respecting the measures of your rulers. Without this, the right of election is not worth possessing. If public abuses may not be exposed, their authors will never be driven from power. Freedom of opinion, of speech, and of the press, is our most valuable privilege, the very soul of republican institutions, the safeguard of all other rights. We may learn its value if we reflect that there is nothing which tyrants so much dread. They anxiously fetter the press; they scatter spies through society, that the murmurs, anguish, and indignation of their oppressed subjects may be smothered in their own breasts: that no generous sentiment may be nourished by sympathy and mutual confidence. Nothing awakens and improves men so much as free communication of thoughts and feelings. Nothing can give to public sentiment that correctness which is essential to the prosperity of a commonwealth but the free circulation of truth from the lips and pens of the wise and good. If such men abandon the right of free discussion; if, awed by threats, they suppress their convictions; if rulers succeed in silencing every voice but that which approves them; if nothing reaches the people but what would lend support to men in power, — farewell to liberty. The form of a free government may remain, but the life, the soul, the substance is fled.

If these remarks be just, nothing ought to excite greater indignation and alarm than the attempts which have lately been made to destroy the freedom of the press. We have lived to hear the strange doctrine, that to expose the measures of rulers is treason; and we have lived to see this doctrine carried into practice. We have seen a savage populace excited and let loose on men whose crime consisted in bearing testimony against the present war; and let loose not merely to waste their property, but to tear them from the refuge which the magistrate had afforded, and to shed their blood. In this, and in other events, there have been symptoms of a purpose to terrify into silence those who disapprove the calamitous war under which we suffer; to deprive us of the only method which is left of obtaining a wiser and better government. The cry has been that war is declared, and all opposition should therefore be hushed. A sentiment more unworthy of a free country can hardly be propagated. If this doctrine be admitted, rulers have only to declare war, and they are screened at once from scrutiny. At the very time when they have armies at command, when their patronage is most extended, and their power most formidable, not a word of warning, of censure, of alarm must be heard. The press, which is to expose inferior abuses, must not utter one rebuke, one indignant complaint, although our best interests and most valuable rights are put to hazard by an unnecessary war! Admit this doctrine, let rulers once know that, by placing the country in a state of war, they place themselves beyond the only power they dread, — the power of free discussion, — and we may expect war without end. Our peace and all our interests require that a different sentiment should prevail. We should teach our present and all future rulers that there is no measure for

which they must render so solemn an account to their constituents as for a declaration of war; that no measure will be so freely, so fully discussed; and that no administration can succeed in persuading this people to exhaust their treasure and blood in supporting war, unless it be palpably necessary and just. In war, then, as in peace, assert the freedom of speech and of the press. Cling to this as the bulwark of all your rights and privileges.

But, my friends, I should not be faithful were I only to call you to hold fast this freedom. I would still more earnestly exhort you not to abuse it. Its abuse may be as fatal to our country as its relinquishment. If undirected, unrestrained by principle, the press, instead of enlightening, depraves the public mind; and, by its licentiousness, forges chains for itself and for the community. The right of free discussion is not the right of uttering what we please. Let nothing be spoken or written but truth. The influence of the press is exceedingly diminished by its gross and frequent misrepresentations. Each party listens with distrust to the statements of the other; and the consequence is, that the progress of truth is slow, and sometimes wholly obstructed. Whilst we encourage the free expression of opinion, let us unite in fixing the brand of infamy on falsehood and slander, wherever they originate, whatever be the cause they are designed to maintain.

But it is not enough that truth be told. It should be told for a good end; not to irritate, but to convince; not to inflame the bad passions, but to sway the judgment and to awaken sentiments of patriotism. Unhappily the press seems now to be chiefly prized as an instrument of exasperation. Those who have embraced error are hardened in their principles by the reproachful epithets heaped on them by their adversaries. I do not mean by this that political discussion is to be conducted tamely, that no sensibility is to be expressed, no indignation to be poured forth on wicked men and wicked deeds. But this I mean, — that we shall deliberately inquire whether indignation be deserved before we express it; and the object of expressing it should ever be, not to infuse ill-will, rancor, and fury into the minds of men, but to excite an enlightened and conscientious opposition to injurious measures.

Every good man must mourn that so much is continually published among us, for no other apparent end than to gratify the malevolence of one party by wounding the feelings of the opposite. The consequence is, that an alarming degree of irritation exists in our country. Fellow-citizens burn with mutual hatred, and some are evidently ripe for outrage and violence. In this feverish state of the public mind, we are not to relinquish free discussion, but every man should feel the duty of speaking and writing with deliberation. It is the time to be firm without passion. No menace should be employed to provoke opponents, no defiance hurled, no language used which will, in any measure, justify the ferocious in appealing to force.

The sum of my remarks is this. It is your duty to hold fast and to assert with firmness those truths and principles on which the welfare of your country seems to depend; but do this with calmness, with a love of peace, without ill-will and revenge. Use every opportunity of allaying animosities. Discourage, in decided and open language, that rancor, malignity, and unfeeling abuse, which so often find their way into our public prints. Remember, that in proportion as a people become enslaved to their passions, they fall into the hands of the aspiring and unprincipled; and that a corrupt government, which has an interest in deceiving the people, can desire nothing more favorable to their purposes than a frenzied state of the public mind.

My friends, in this day of discord, let us cherish and breathe around us the benevolent spirit of Christianity. Let us reserve to ourselves this consolation, that we have added no fuel to the flames, no violence to the storms, which threaten to desolate our country. Though dishonored, though endangered, it is still our country. Let us not forsake it in this evil day. Let us hold fast the inheritance of our civil and religious liberties, which we have received from our fathers, sealed and hallowed by their blood. That these blessings may not be lost, let us labor to improve public sentiment, and to exalt men of wisdom and virtue to power. Let it be our labor to establish in ourselves and in our fellow-citizens the empire of true religion.

Let us remember that there is no foundation of public liberty but public virtue, that there is no method of obtaining God's protection but adherence to his laws.

Let us not despair of our country. If all that we wish cannot be done for the state, still something may be done. In the good principles, in the love of order and liberty, by which so many of our citizens are distinguished; in the tried virtue, deliberate prudence, and unshaken firmness of the chief magistrate whom God in his great goodness has given to this Commonwealth; in the value of the blessings which are at stake; in the peculiar kindness which God has manifested towards our fathers and ourselves, we have motives, encouragements, and solemn obligations to resolute, persevering exertion in our different spheres, and according to our different capacities, for the public good. Thus faithful to ourselves and our country, and using vigorously every righteous means for restoring peace and confirming freedom, we may confidently leave the issue to the wise and holy providence of Him who cannot err, and who, we are assured, will accept and reward every conscientious effort for his own glory and the good of mankind.

Extracts from a Sermon delivered September 18, 1814, when an Invasion by the British Forces was apprehended at Boston.

At such a moment as the present, when every mind is fixing a fearful attention on the state of the country, it is impossible that a religious instructor should escape participation in the common feeling. His sacred calling does not require him to separate himself from the community, to forget that he is a citizen, to put off the feelings of a man. The religion which he teaches inculcates public spirit and a strong and tender concern for all by whom he is surrounded. He would be unworthy his sacred function were he not to love his country, and to sympathize with its prosperous and adverse fortunes. The religion which it is his duty to dispense regards men in all their relations, and affords instructions suited to every condition, whether of individuals or communities. You will not, then, consider me as leaving the province of a religious teacher, if I speak to you of the dangers and claims of our country, if I address you as citizens, and attempt to point out your duties at the present solemn period.

The present is, indeed, a solemn period. The sad reverse which this country exhibits astonishes as well as depresses us. But a few years ago we stood on the height of prosperity. Amidst the storms which desolated nations we were at peace, and the very storms seemed freighted with blessings for our tranquil shores. And is it true that from this height we have sunk so low that our commerce is swept from the ocean, that industry has forsaken our cities, that the husbandman has resigned the ploughshare for the sword, that our confidence is changed into fear, that the tumult of business has given place to the din of arms, that some of our citizens are perishing in foreign prisons, and others shedding their blood on a foreign soil, that hostile fleets scatter terror through our coasts and flames through our cities, that no man feels secure, that the thought of invasion and slaughter mingles with the labors of the day and disturbs the slumbers of the night, and that our national government, impoverished and inefficient, can afford us no protection from such imminent danger? Yes, — this is true; we need no reasoning to convince us of its truth. We see it in the anxious countenance, in the departing family, in the care which removes our possessions, in the obstructions and perplexities of business, and in the events which every day brings to our ears. At such a moment it becomes each man to ask himself what are his duties, what the times demand from him, in what manner he may contribute to the public safety. It is a time for seriousness, for consideration. With prosperity, we should dismiss our levity. The period of duty may to many of us be short. Whilst it continues, let it be improved.

1. The first remark I shall make is, that it becomes every man at this solemn moment to reflect on his own character and life, to inquire what he has done to bring down judgments on his country, to confess and renounce his sins, and to resolve on a sincere obedience to God's commands. We ought to remember that we live under a moral

government, which regards the character of communities as truly as of individuals. A nation has reason for fear in proportion to its guilt; and a virtuous nation, sensible of dependence on God, and disposed to respect his laws, is assured of his protection. Every people must indeed be influenced in a measure by the general state of the world, by the changes and conflicts of other communities. When the ocean is in tumult every shore will feel the agitation. But a people faithful to God will never be forsaken. In addition to the direct and obvious tendency of national piety and virtue to national safety and exaltation, a virtuous community may expect peculiar interpositions of Providence for their defence and prosperity. They are not, indeed, to anticipate visible miracles. They are not to imagine that invading hosts will be annihilated, like Sennacherib's, by the arm of an angel. But God, we must remember, can effect his purposes, and preserve the just, without such stupendous interpositions. The hearts of men are in his hand. The elements of nature obey his word. He has winds to scatter the proudest fleet, diseases to prostrate the strongest army. Consider how many events must conspire, how many secret springs must act in concert, to accomplish the purposes of the statesman or the plans of the warrior. How often have the best concerted schemes been thwarted, the most menacing preparations been defeated, the proud boast of anticipated victory been put to shame, by what we call casualty, by a slight and accidental want of concert, by the error of a chief, or by neglect in subordinate agents! Let God determine the defeat of an enemy, and we need not fear that means will be wanting. He sends terror, or blindness, or mad presumption, into the minds of leaders. Heaven, earth, and sea are arrayed to oppose their progress. An unconquerable spirit is breathed into the invaded; and the dreaded foe seeks his safety in dishonorable flight.

My friends, if God be for us, no matter who is against us. Mere power ought not to intimidate us; he can crush it in a moment. We live in a period when God's supremacy has been remarkably evinced, when he has signally confounded the powerful, and delivered the oppressed and endangered. At his word the forged chain has been broken: mighty armies have been dispersed as chaff before the whirlwind; colossal thrones have been shivered like the brittle clay. God is still "wonderful in counsel and excellent in working;" and if he wills to deliver us, we cannot be subdued. It is, then, most important that we seek God's favor. And how is his favor to be obtained? I repeat it: — He is a moral governor, the friend of the righteous, the punisher of the wicked; and in proportion as piety, uprightness, temperance, and Christian virtue prevail among us, in that proportion we are assured of his favor and protection. A virtuous people, fighting in defence of their altars and firesides, may look to God with confidence. An invisible but Almighty arm surrounds them, an impenetrable shield is their shadow and defence.

It becomes us, then, to inquire, How far have we sustained the character of a pious and virtuous people? And whose heart does not accuse him of many sins? Who can look around on his country, and not see many proofs of ingratitude to God, and of contempt of his laws? Do I speak to any who, having received success and innumerable blessings from God, have yet forgotten the Giver? to any who have converted abundance into the instrument of excess? to any who, having been instructed by the gospel, have yet refused to employ in well-doing the bounty of heaven? to any who are living in habits of intemperance, impurity, impiety, fraud, or any known sin? To such I would say, You are among the enemies of your country, and, should she fall, among the authors of her ruin. Let, then, this season be something more than an occasion of formal confession. We owe to ourselves and our country deep sorrow for our sins, and those sincere purposes of reformation which, more than all things, bring down blessings from heaven.

2. Having recommended penitence in general as suited to the present moment, let me particularly recommend one branch of piety which the times demand of us. Let us each be instant and fervent in prayer. Let us pray to God that he will not forsake us in this dark and menacing day; that he will remember the mercy shown to our fathers; that he will crown with success our efforts

in defence of our possessions, our dwellings, and our temples; that he will breathe an invincible courage into our soldiers: that he will guard and guide our rulers; that he will turn the invader from our shores; or, if he shall otherwise appoint, that he will be our shield in battle, and will send us deliverance. For these blessings let us daily besiege the mercy-seat of God, deeply convinced that he controls the destinies of armies and nations, that he gives or withholds success, and that without him all exertion is unavailing. By this it is not intended that we are to do nothing but pray; that we are to leave our shores without defence, or neglect any means of security. God gives us powers that we should exert, weapons that we should wield them. We are to employ every resource which he grants us; but, having done this, we must remember that on God, not on ourselves, depends the result of our exertions. The race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong. God gives victory, and to him let every eye and heart be directed. You who have no other weapons, contend with your prayers for your country. It will not be imagined from these remarks, that by importunity of prayer God can be bent to favor an unjust cause. But when our cause is just; when, instead of waging offensive war, we gather round our city and shores for defence, we may be assured that sincere prayer, united with a sincere purpose of obedience, will not be lost. Prayer is a proper and appointed acknowledgment of our dependence, an essential means and branch of piety; and they who neglect it have no reason to hope the protection which they will not implore. Let us, then, take heed lest the tumult of military preparation make us forgetful of the Author of all good: lest in collecting armies and raising walls of defence we forsake the footstool of the Almighty, the only giver of victory.

3. This is a time when we should all bring clearly and strongly to our minds our duties to our country, and should cherish a strong and ardent attachment to the public good. The claims of country have been felt and obeyed even in the rudest ages of society. The community to which we belong is commended by our very nature to our affection and service. Christianity, in enjoining a disinterested and benevolent spirit, admits and sanctions this sentiment of nature, this attachment to the land of our fathers, the land of our nativity. It only demands that our patriotism be purified from every mixture of injustice towards foreign nations. Within this limit we cannot too ardently attach ourselves to the welfare of our country. Especially in its perils, we should fly to its rescue with filial zeal and affection, resolved to partake its sufferings, and prepared to die in its defence. The present moment, my friends, calls on us for this fervent patriotism. The question now is, not whether we will carry invasion, slaughter, and desolation into an unoffending province, not whether we will give our strength and wealth to the prosecution of unprincipled plans of conquest, but whether we will defend our firesides and altars, whether we will repel from our shores a hostile army. On this question our duty is clear. However unjustifiable may have been the measures by which we have been reduced to this mournful extremity, our right to our soil and our possessions remains unimpaired; the right of defence can never be wrested from us; and never, whilst God gives means of resistance, ought we to resign our country to the clemency of a foe. Our duties as patriots and Christians are plain. Whilst we disclaim all share in the guilt of that war which is bursting on our shores, we should resolve that we will be true to ourselves, to our fathers, and to posterity, that we will maintain the inheritance which we have received, that whilst God gives us power we will not receive law as a conquered people.

We should animate our patriotism at this moment of danger by reflecting that we have a country to contend for which deserves every effort and sacrifice. As members of this Commonwealth, in particular, we have every motive to invigorate our hearts and hands. We have the deeds of our fathers, their piety and virtues, and their solicitude for the rights and happiness of their posterity, to awaken our emulation. How invaluable the inheritance they have left us, earned by their toils and defended by their blood! Our populous cities and cultivated fields, our schools, colleges, and churches, our equal laws, our un-

corrupted tribunals of justice, our spirit of enterprise, and our habits of order and peace, all combine to form a commonwealth as rich in blessings and privileges as the history of the world records. We possess, too, the chief glory of a state, many virtuous and disinterested citizens, a chief magistrate who would adorn any country and any age, enlightened statesmen, and, I trust, a fearless soldiery. Such a community deserves our affection, our honor, our zeal, the vigor of our arms, and the devotion of our lives. If we look back to Sparta, Athens, and Rome, we shall find that, in the institutions of this Commonwealth, we have sources of incomparably richer blessings than those republics conferred on their citizens in their proudest days; and yet Sparta, and Rome, and Athens inspired a love stronger than death. In the day of their danger, every citizen offered his breast as a bulwark, every citizen felt himself the property of his country. It is true, a base alloy mingled with the patriotism of ancient times, and God forbid that a sentiment so impure should burn in our breasts! God forbid that, like the Greek and the Roman, we should carry fire and slaughter into other countries, to build up a false, fleeting glory at home! But whilst we take warning by their excesses, let us catch a portion of their fervor, and learn to live, not for ourselves, but for that country whose honor and interest God has intrusted to our care.

4. The times especially demand of us that we cherish a spirit of fortitude, courage, and resolution. The period of danger is the time to arm the mind with all the force and energy of which it is susceptible. In communities, as in individuals, there is a proneness to excessive alarm. Especially when untried, unexperienced dangers approach, imagination is prone to enlarge them; a panic spreads like lightning from breast to breast, and, before a blow is struck, a people are subdued by their fears. There is a rational fear which we ought to cherish, — a fear which views in all its dimensions approaching perils, and prepares with vigilance every means of defence. At the present moment we ought not to shut our eyes on our danger. Our enemy is formidable. A veteran army, trained to war, accustomed to success, fresh from conquest, and led by experienced commanders, is not to be despised, even if inferior in numbers, and even if it have received a temporary check. But such an army owes much of its formidableness to the fearless spirit which habit has fostered; and the best weapon, under Providence, which we can oppose to it, is the same courage, nurtured by reflection, by sentiments of honor, and by the principles of religion. Courage, indeed, is not always invincible, and when God destines a nation to bondage, the valor of the hero is unavailing. But it is generally true, that a brave people, contending in a just cause, possess in their courage the pledge of success. The instrument by which God rescues nations is their own undaunted resolution. Let us, then, cherish in ourselves and others a firm and heroic spirit. Let us fortify our minds by reflecting on the justice of our cause, that we are standing on our own shores, and defending invaded rights. Let us show that our love of peace has not originated in timidity, and that the spirit of our fathers still lives in their sons. Let us call to the support of our resolution the principles of religion. Devoting ourselves to God, and engaging in this warfare from a sense of duty, let us feel that we are under his protection, that in the heat of battle he is near us, that life and death await his word, and that death, in a service which he approves, is never untimely, and is never to be shunned. Let us consider that life at best is short, and its blessings transitory, that its great end is to train us to virtue and to prepare us for heaven, and that we had far better resign it at once than protract it by baseness or unmanly fear. Death awaits us all, and happy he who meets it in the discharge of duty. Most happy and most honored of men is the martyr to religion, who seals with his blood those truths on which human virtue, consolation, and hope depend; and, next to him, happy is the martyr to the cause of his country, who, in obedience to God, opposes his breast to the sword of her invaders, and repays with life the protection she has afforded.

5. I have thus, my friends, set before you your duties to God and your country in this period of danger. Let me close

with offering a few remarks on your duties to your enemies. You will remember that we profess a religion which enjoins benevolence towards all mankind, even towards our personal and national foes. Let not our patriotism be sullied with malignant passions. Whilst we defend our shores with courage, let us not cherish hatred towards our invaders. We should not open our ear to every idle tale of their outrages, nor heap calumnies on their heads because they are enemies. The brave are generous. True courage needs not malignity to feed and inflame it. Especially when our foe is an illustrious nation, which for ages has defended and nurtured the interests of religion, science, and humanity, — a nation to which grateful Europe is now offering acknowledgments for the protection which she has extended over the oppressed, and for the vigor with which she has co-operated in prostrating the bloody and appalling power of the usurper, — when such a nation is our foe, we should feel it unworthy and debasing to encourage a rancorous and vindictive spirit. True, she is sending her armies to our shores; but let us not forget that our own government first sent slaughter and conflagration into her unoffending provinces. Let not approaching danger disturb recollections, or unsettle our principles. If we are to meet her armies in battle, — which God in his mercy forbid! — let us meet them with that magnanimity which is candid and just even to its foes. Let us fight, not like beasts of prey to glut revenge, but to maintain our rights, to obtain an honorable peace, and to obtain a victory which shall be signalized by clemency as well as by valor. God forbid that our conflicts should add fury to those bad passions and national antipathies which have helped to bring this country to its present degraded and endangered condition!

I have placed before you your duties. God give you grace to perform them! In this day of danger, we know not what is before us; but this we know, that the path of piety, of virtue, of patriotism, and manly courage, leads to glory and to immortality. No enemy can finally injure us if we are true to God, to our country, to mankind. In such a case as ours, I trust prosperity and victory will be granted us by the almighty Disposer. But whether success or disaster await us, we know that the world is passing away, and that all of us will soon be placed beyond the reach of its changes. Let us not, then, be elated or depressed; but, with a firm and equal mind, let us acquit ourselves as men and Christians in our several spheres, looking upward to heaven as our rest and reward.

SLAVERY.

Introduction.

THE first question to be proposed by a rational being is, not what is profitable, but what is right. Duty must be primary, prominent, most conspicuous among the objects of human thought and pursuit. If we cast it down from its supremacy, if we inquire first for our interests, and then for our duties, we shall certainly err. We can never see the right clearly and fully but by making it our first concern. No judgment can be just or wise but that which is built on the conviction of the paramount worth and importance of duty. This is the fundamental truth, the supreme law of reason; and the mind which does not start from this, in its inquiries into human affairs, is doomed to great, perhaps fatal, error.

The right is the supreme good, and includes all other goods. In seeking and adhering to it we secure our true and only happiness. All prosperity, not founded on it, is built on sand. If human affairs are controlled, as we believe, by almighty rectitude and impartial goodness, then to hope for happiness from wrong-doing is as insane as to seek health and prosperity by rebelling against the laws of nature, by sowing our seed on the ocean, or making poison our common food. There is but one un-

failing good; and that is, fidelity to the everlasting law written on the heart, and rewritten and republished in God's word.

Whoever places this faith in the everlasting law of rectitude must, of course, regard the question of slavery first and chiefly as a moral question. All other considerations will weigh little with him, compared with its moral character and moral influences. The following remarks, therefore, are designed to aid the reader in forming a just moral judgment of slavery. Great truths, inalienable rights, everlasting duties, these will form the chief subjects of this discussion. There are times when the assertion of great principles is the best service a man can render society. The present is a moment of bewildering excitement, when men's minds are stormed and darkened by strong passions and fierce conflicts; and also a moment of absorbing worldliness, when the moral law is made to bow to expediency, and its high and strict requirements are denied, or dismissed as metaphysical abstractions or impracticable theories. At such a season, to utter great principles without passion, and in the spirit of unfeigned and universal good-will, and to engrave them deeply and durably on men's minds, is to do more for the world than to open mines of wealth, or to frame the most successful schemes of policy.

Of late our country has been convulsed by the question of slavery; and the people, in proportion as they have felt vehemently, have thought superficially, or hardly thought at all; and we see the results in a singular want of well-defined principles, in a strange vagueness and inconsistency of opinion, and in the proneness to excess which belongs to unsettled minds. The multitude have been called, now to contemplate the horrors of slavery, and now to shudder at the ruin and bloodshed which must follow emancipation. The word massacre has resounded through the land, striking terror into strong as well as tender hearts, and awakening indignation against whatever may seem to threaten such a consummation. The consequence is, that not a few dread all discussion of the subject, and, if not reconciled to the continuance of slavery, at least believe that they have no duty to perform, no testimony to bear, no influence to exert, no sentiments to cherish and spread, in relation to this evil. What is still worse, opinions either favoring or extenuating it are heard with little or no disapprobation. Concessions are made to it which would once have shocked the community; whilst to assail it is pronounced unwise and perilous. No stronger reason for a calm exposition of its true character can be given than this very state of the public mind. A community can suffer no greater calamity than the loss of its principles. Lofty and pure sentiment is the life and hope of a people. There was never such an obligation to discuss slavery as at this moment, when recent events have done much to unsettle and obscure men's minds in regard to it. This result is to be ascribed in part to the injudicious vehemence of those who have taken into their hands the cause of the slave. Such ought to remember, that to espouse a good cause is not enough. We must maintain it in a spirit answering to its dignity. Let no man touch the great interests of humanity who does not strive to sanctify himself for the work by cleansing his heart of all wrath and uncharitableness, who cannot hope that he is in a measure baptized into the spirit of universal love. Even sympathy with the injured and oppressed may do harm, by being partial, exclusive, and bitterly indignant. How far the declension of the spirit of freedom is to be ascribed to the cause now suggested, I do not say. The effect is plain, and whoever sees and laments the evil should strive to arrest it.

Slavery ought to be discussed. We ought to think, feel, speak, and write about it. But whatever we do in regard to it should be done with a deep feeling of responsibility, and so done as not to put in jeopardy the peace of the slaveholding States. On this point public opinion has not been and cannot be too strongly pronounced. Slavery, indeed, from its very nature, must be a ground of alarm wherever it exists. Slavery and security can by no device be joined together. But we may not, must not, by rashness and passion increase the peril. To instigate the slave to insurrection is a crime for which no rebuke and no punishment can be too severe. This would be to involve slave and master in common ruin. It is not enough

to say that the Constitution is violated by any action endangering the slave-holding portion of our country. A higher law than the Constitution forbids this unholy interference. Were our national union dissolved, we ought to reprobate, as sternly as we now do, the slightest manifestation of a disposition to stir up a servile war. Still more, were the free and the slave-holding States not only separated, but engaged in the fiercest hostilities, the former would deserve the abhorrence of the world and the indignation of heaven, were they to resort to insurrection and massacre as means of victory. Better were it for us to bare our own breasts to the knife of the slave, than to arm him with it against his master.

It is not by personal, direct action on the mind of the slave that we can do him good. Our concern is with the free. With the free we are to plead his cause. And this is peculiarly our duty, because we have bound ourselves to resist his own efforts for his emancipation. We suffer him to do nothing for himself. The more, then, should be done for him. Our physical power is pledged against him in case of revolt. Then our moral power should be exerted for his relief. His weakness, which we increase, gives him a claim to the only aid we can afford, to our moral sympathy, to the free and faithful exposition of his wrongs. As men, as Christians, as citizens, we have duties to the slave, as well as to every other member of the community. On this point we have no liberty. The eternal law binds us to take the side of the injured: and this law is peculiarly obligatory when we forbid him to lift an arm in his own defence.

Let it not be said we can do nothing for the slave. We can do much. We have a power mightier than armies, — the power of truth, of principle, of virtue, of right, of religion, of love. We have a power which is growing with every advance of civilization, before which the slave-trade has fallen, which is mitigating the sternest despotisms, which is spreading education through all ranks of society, which is bearing Christianity to the ends of the earth, which carries in itself the pledge of destruction to every institution which debases humanity. Who can measure the power of Christian philanthropy, of enlightened goodness, pouring itself forth in prayers and persuasions, from the press and pulpit, from the lips and hearts of devoted men, and more and more binding together the wise and good in the cause of their race? All other powers may fail. This must triumph. It is leagued with God's omnipotence. It is God himself acting in the hearts of his children. It has an ally in every conscience, in every human breast, in the wrong-doer himself. This spirit has but begun its work on earth. It is breathing itself more and more through literature, education, institutions, and opinion. Slavery cannot stand before it. Great moral principles, pure and generous sentiments, cannot be confined to this or that spot. They cannot be shut out by territorial lines, or local legislation. They are divine inspirations, and partake of the omnipresence of their Author. The deliberate, solemn conviction of good men through the world, that slavery is a grievous wrong to human nature, will make itself felt. To increase this moral power is every man's duty. To embody and express this great truth is in every man's power: and thus every man can do something to break the chain of the slave.

There are not a few persons who, from vulgar modes of thinking, cannot be interested in this subject. Because the slave is a degraded being, they think slavery a low topic, and wonder how it can excite the attention and sympathy of those who can discuss or feel for any thing else. Now the truth is, that slavery, regarded only in a philosophical light, is a theme worthy of the highest minds. It involves the gravest questions about human nature and society. It carries us into the problems which have exercised for ages the highest understandings. It calls us to inquire into the foundation, nature, and extent of human rights, into the distinction between a person and a thing, into the true relations of man to man, into the obligations of the community to each of its members, into the ground and laws of property, and, above all, into the true dignity and indestructible claims of a moral being. I venture to say there is no subject now agitated by the community which can compare in philosophical dignity with slavery; and yet to multitudes the question falls under

the same contempt with the slave himself. To many, a writer seems to lower himself who touches it. The falsely refined, who want intellectual force to grasp it, pronounce it unworthy of their notice.

But this subject has more than philosophical dignity. It has an important bearing on character. Our interest in it is one test by which our comprehension of the distinctive spirit of Christianity must be judged. Christianity is the manifestation and inculcation of universal love. The great teaching of Christianity is, that we must recognize and respect human nature in all its forms in the poorest, most ignorant, most fallen. We must look beneath "the flesh" to the "spirit." The spiritual principle in man is what entitles him to our brotherly regard. To be just to this is the great injunction of our religion. To overlook this, on account of condition or color, is to violate the great Christian law. We have reason to think that it is one design of God, in appointing the vast diversities of human condition, to put to the test, and to bring out most distinctly, the principle of spiritual love. It is wisely ordered that human nature is not set before us in a few forms of beauty, magnificence, and outward glory. To be dazzled and attracted by these would be no sign of reverence for what is interior and spiritual in human nature. To lead us to discern and love this, we are brought into connection with fellow-creatures whose outward circumstances are repulsive. To recognize our own spiritual nature and God's image in these humble forms, to recognize as brethren those who want all outward distinctions, is the chief way in which we are to manifest the spirit of him who came to raise the fallen and to save the lost. We see, then, the moral importance of the question of slavery. According to our decision of it, we determine our comprehension of the Christian law. He who cannot see a brother, a child of God, a man possessing all the rights of humanity, under a skin darker than his own, wants the vision of a Christian. He worships the outward. The spirit is not yet revealed to him. To look unmoved on the degradation and wrongs of a fellow-creature, because burned by a fiercer sun, proves us strangers to justice and love in those universal forms which characterize Christianity. The greatest of all distinctions, the only enduring one, is moral goodness, virtue, religion. Outward distinctions cannot add to the dignity of this. The wealth of worlds is "not sufficient for a burnt-offering" on its altar. A being capable of this is invested by God with solemn claims on his fellow-creatures. To exclude millions of such beings from our sympathy, because of outward disadvantages, proves that, in whatever else we surpass them, we are not their superiors in Christian virtue.

The spirit of Christianity, I have said, is distinguished by universality. It is universal justice. It respects all the rights of all beings. It suffers no being, however obscure, to be wronged, without condemning the wrong-doer. Impartial, uncompromising fearless it screens no favorites, is dazzled by no power, spreads its shield over the weakest, summons the mightiest to its bar, and speaks to the conscience in tones under which the mightiest have quailed. It is also universal love, comprehending those that are near and those that are far off, the high and the low the rich and poor, descending to the fallen, and especially binding itself to those in whom human nature is trampled under foot. Such is the spirit of Christianity; and nothing but the illumination of this spirit can prepare us to pass judgment on slavery.

These remarks are intended to show the spirit in which slavery ought to be approached, and the point of view from which it will be regarded in the present discussion. My plan may be briefly sketched: —

1. I shall show that man cannot be justly held and used as property.

2. I shall show that man has sacred rights, the gifts of God, and inseparable from human nature, of which slavery is the infraction.

3. I shall offer some explanations to prevent misapplication of these principles.

4. I shall unfold the evils of slavery.

5. I shall consider the argument which the Scriptures are thought to furnish in favor of slavery.

6. I shall offer some remarks on the means of removing it.

7. I shall offer some remarks on abolitionism.

8. I shall conclude with a few reflections on the duties belonging to the times.

In the first two sections I propose to show that slavery is a great wrong; but I do not intend to pass sentence on the character of the slave-holder. These two subjects are distinct. Men are not always to be interpreted by their acts or institutions. The same acts in different circumstances admit, and even require, very different constructions. I offer this remark that the subject may be approached without prejudice or personal reference. The single object is to settle great principles. Their bearing on individuals will be a subject of distinct consideration.

CHAPTER I.

Property.

The slave-holder claims the slave as his property. The very idea of a slave is, that he belongs to another, that he is bound to live and labor for another, to be another's instrument, and to make another's will his habitual law, however adverse to his own. Another owns him, and of course has a right to his time and strength, a right to the fruits of his labor, a right to task him without his consent, and to determine the kind and duration of his toil, a right to confine him to any bounds, a right to extort the required work by stripes, — a right, in a word, to use him as a tool, without contract, against his will, and in denial of his right to dispose of himself, or to use his power for his own good. "A slave," says the Louisiana code, "is in the power of the master to whom he belongs. The master may sell him, dispose of his person, his industry, his labor; he can do nothing, possess nothing, nor acquire any thing, but which must belong to his master." "Slaves shall be deemed, taken, reputed, and adjudged," say the South Carolina laws, "to be chattels personal in the hands of their masters, and possessions to all intents and purposes whatsoever." Such is slavery, — a claim to man as property.

Now this claim of property in a human being is altogether false, groundless. No such right of man in man can exist. A human being cannot be justly owned. To hold and treat him as property is to inflict a great wrong, to incur the guilt of oppression.

This position there is a difficulty in maintaining, on account of its exceeding obviousness. It is too plain for proof. To defend it is like trying to confirm a self-evident truth. To find arguments is not easy, because an argument is something clearer than the proposition to be sustained. The man who, on hearing the claim to property in man, does not see and feel distinctly that it is a cruel usurpation, is hardly to be reached by reasoning, for it is hard to find any plainer principles than what he begins with denying. I will endeavor, however, to illustrate the truth which I have stated.

1. It is plain that if one man may be held as property, then every other man may be so held. If there be nothing in human nature, in our common nature, which excludes and forbids the conversion of him who possesses it into an article of property; if the right of the free to liberty is founded, not on their essential attributes as rational and moral beings, but on certain adventitious, accidental circumstances, into which they have been thrown; then every human being, by a change of circumstances, may justly be held and treated by another as property. If one man may be rightfully reduced to slavery, then there is not a human being on whom the same chain may not be imposed. Now, let every reader ask himself this plain question: Could I, can I, be rightfully seized, and made an article of property; be made a passive instrument of another's will and pleasure; be subjected to another's irresponsible power; be subjected to stripes at another's will; be denied the control and use of my own limbs and faculties for my own good? Does any man, so questioned, doubt, waver, look about him for an answer? Is not the reply given immediately, intuitively, by his whole inward being? Does not an unhesitating, unerring conviction spring up in my breast, that no other man can acquire such a right in myself? Do we not repel, indignantly and with horror, the thought of being reduced to the condition of tools and chattels to a fellow-creature? Is there any moral truth more deeply rooted in us, than that such a degradation would be an infinite wrong? And, if this im-

pression be a delusion, on what single moral conviction can we rely? This deep assurance, that we cannot be rightfully made another's property, does not rest on the hue of our skins, or the place of our birth, or our strength, or wealth. These things do not enter our thoughts. The consciousness of indestructible rights is a part of our moral being. The consciousness of our humanity involves the persuasion that we cannot be owned as a tree or a brute. As men, we cannot justly be made slaves. Then no man can be rightfully enslaved. In casting the yoke from ourselves as an unspeakable wrong, we condemn ourselves as wrong-doers and oppressors in laying it on any who share our nature. It is not necessary to inquire whether a man, by extreme guilt, may not forfeit the rights of his nature, and be justly punished with slavery. On this point crude notions prevail. But the discussion would be foreign to the present subject. We are now not speaking of criminals. We speak of innocent men, who have given us no hold on them by guilt; and our own consciousness is a proof that such cannot rightfully be seized as property by a fellow-creature.

2. A man cannot be seized and held as property, because he has rights. What these rights are, whether few or many, or whether all men have the same, are questions for future discussion. All that is assumed now is, that every human being has *some* rights. This truth cannot be denied, but by denying to a portion of the race that moral nature which is the sure and only foundation of rights. This truth has never, I believe, been disputed. It is even recognized in the very codes of slave legislation, which, while they strip a man of liberty, affirm his right to life, and threaten his murderer with punishment. Now, I say, a being having rights cannot justly be made property; for this claim over him virtually annuls all his rights. It strips him of all power to assert them. It makes it a crime to assert them. The very essence of slavery is, to put a man defenceless into the hands of another. The right claimed by the master to task, to force, to imprison, to whip, and to punish the slave, at discretion, and especially to prevent the least resistance to his will, is a virtual denial and subversion of all the rights of the victim of his power. The two cannot stand together. Can we doubt which of them ought to fall?

3. Another argument against property is to be found in the essential equality of men. I know that this doctrine, so venerable in the eyes of our fathers, has lately been denied. Verbal logicians have told us that men are "born equal" only in the sense of being equally born. They have asked whether all are equally tall, strong, or beautiful; or whether nature, Procrustes-like, reduces all her children to one standard of intellect and virtue. By such arguments it is attempted to set aside the principle of equality, on which the soundest moralists have reared the structure of social duty; and in these ways the old foundations of despotic power, which our fathers in their simplicity thought they had subverted, are laid again by their sons.

It is freely granted that there are innumerable diversities among men; but be it remembered, they are ordained to bind men together, and not to subdue one to the other: ordained to give means and occasions of mutual aid, and to carry forward each and all, so that the good of all is equally intended in this distribution of various gifts. Be it also remembered, that these diversities among men are as nothing in comparison with the attributes in which they agree; and it is this which constitutes their essential equality. All men have the same rational nature and the same power of conscience, and all are equally made for indefinite improvement of these divine faculties, and for the happiness to be found in their virtuous use. Who, that comprehends these gifts, does not see that the diversities of the race vanish before them? Let it be added, that the natural advantages which distinguish one man from another, are so bestowed as to counterbalance one another, and bestowed without regard to rank or condition in life. Whoever surpasses in one endowment is inferior in others. Even genius, the greatest gift, is found in union with strange infirmities, and often places its possessors below ordinary men in the conduct of life. Great learning is often put to shame by the mother-wit and keen good sense of uneducated men. Nature, indeed, pays no heed to birth or condition in bestowing

her favors. The noblest spirits sometimes grow up in the obscurest spheres. Thus equal are men; and among these equals, who can substantiate his claim to make others his property, his tools, the mere instruments of his private interest and gratification? Let this claim begin, and where will it stop? If one may assert it, why not all? Among these partakers of the same rational and moral nature, who can make good a right over others, which others may not establish over himself? Does he insist on superior strength of body or mind? Who of us has no superior in one or the other of these endowments? Is it sure that the slave or the slave's child may not surpass his master in intellectual energy, or in moral worth? Has nature conferred distinctions which tell us plainly who shall be owners and who be owned? Who of us can unblushingly lift his head and say that God has written "Master" there? or who can show the word "Slave" engraven on his brother's brow? The equality of nature makes slavery a wrong. Nature's seal is affixed to no instrument by which property in a single human being is conveyed.

4. That a human being cannot be justly held and used as property, is apparent from the very nature of property. Property is an exclusive right. It shuts out all claim but that of the possessor. What one man owns cannot belong to another. What, then, is the consequence of holding a human being as property? Plainly this. He can have no right to himself. His limbs are, in truth, not morally his own. He has not a right to his own strength. It belongs to another. His will, intellect, and muscles, all the powers of body and mind which are exercised in labor, he is bound to regard as another's. Now, if there be property in any thing, it is that of a man in his own person, mind, and strength. All other rights are weak, unmeaning, compared with this, and in denying this all right is denied. It is true that an individual may forfeit by crime his right to the use of his limbs, perhaps to his limbs, and even to life. But the very idea of forfeiture implies that the right was originally possessed. It is true that a man may by contract give to another a limited right to his strength. But he gives only because he possesses it, and gives it for considerations which he deems beneficial to himself; and the right conferred ceases at once on violation of the conditions on which it was bestowed. To deny the right of a human being to himself, to his own limbs and faculties, to his energy of body and mind, is an absurdity too gross to be confuted by any thing but a simple statement. Yet this absurdity is involved in the idea of his belonging to another.

5. We have a plain recognition of the principle now laid down, in the universal indignation excited towards a man who makes another his slave. Our laws know no higher crime than that of reducing a man to slavery. To steal or to buy an African on his own shores is piracy. In this act the greatest wrong is inflicted, the most sacred right violated. But if a human being cannot without infinite injustice be seized as property, then he cannot without equal wrong be held and used as such. The wrong in the first seizure lies in the destination of a human being to future bondage, to the criminal use of him as a chattel or brute. Can that very use, which makes the original seizure an enormous wrong, become gradually innocent? If the slave receive injury without measure at the first moment of the outrage, is he less injured by being held fast the second or the third? Does the duration of wrong, the increase of it by continuance, convert it into right? It is true, in many cases, that length of possession is considered as giving a right, where the goods were acquired by unlawful means. But in these cases the goods were such as might justly be appropriated to individual use. They were intended by the Creator to be owned. They fulfil their purpose by passing into the hands of an exclusive possessor. It is essential to rightful property in a thing, that the thing from its nature may be rightfully appropriated. If it cannot originally be made one's own without crime, it certainly cannot be continued as such without guilt. Now, the ground on which the seizure of the African on his own shore is condemned is, that he is a man who has by his nature a right to be free. Ought not, then, the same condemnation to light on the continuance of his yoke? Still more. Whence is it that length of possession is considered by the laws as

conferring a right? I answer, from the difficulty of determining the original proprietor, and from the apprehension of unsettling all property by carrying back inquiry beyond a certain time. Suppose, however, an article of property to be of such a nature that it could bear the name of the true original owner stamped on it in bright and indelible characters. In this case, the whole ground on which length of possession bars other claims would fail. The proprietor would not be concealed, or rendered doubtful by the lapse of time. Would not he, who should receive such an article from a robber, or a succession of robbers, be involved in their guilt? Now the true owner of a human being is made manifest to all. It is himself. No brand on the slave was ever so conspicuous as the mark of property which God has set on him. God, in making him a rational and moral being, has put a glorious stamp on him, which all the slave legislation and slave markets of worlds cannot efface. Hence no right accrues to the master from the length of the wrong which has been done to the slave.

6. Another argument against the right of property in man may be drawn from a very obvious principle of moral science. It is a plain truth, universally received, that every right supposes or involves a corresponding obligation. If, then, a man has a right to another's person or powers, the latter is under obligation to give himself up as a chattel to the former. This is his duty. He is bound to be a slave; and bound not merely by the Christian law, which enjoins submission to injury, not merely by prudential considerations, or by the claims of public order and peace; but bound because another has a right of ownership, has a moral claim to him, so that he would be guilty of dishonesty, of robbery, in withdrawing himself from this other's service. It is his duty to work for his master, though all compulsion were withdrawn; and in deserting him he would commit the crime of taking away another man's property as truly as if he were to carry off his owner's purse. Now, do we not instantly feel, can we help feeling, that this is false? Is the slave thus morally bound? When the African was first brought to these shores, would he have violated a solemn obligation by slipping his chain, and flying back to his native home? Would he not have been bound to seize the precious opportunity of escape? Is the slave under a moral obligation to confine himself, his wife, and children, to a spot where their union in a moment may be forcibly dissolved? Ought he not, if he can, to place himself and his family under the guardianship of equal laws? Should we blame him for leaving his yoke? Do we not feel that, in the same condition, a sense of duty would quicken our flying steps? Where, then, is the obligation which would necessarily be imposed, if the right existed which the master claims? The absence of obligation proves the want of the right. The claim is groundless. It is a cruel wrong.

7. I come now to what is to my own mind the great argument against seizing and using a man as property. He cannot be property in the sight of God and justice, because he is a rational, moral, immortal being; because created in God's image, and therefore in the highest sense his child; because created to unfold godlike faculties, and to govern himself by a divine law written on his heart, and republished in God's word. His whole nature forbids that he should be seized as property. From his very nature it follows that so to seize him is to offer an insult to his Maker, and to inflict aggravated social wrong. Into every human being God has breathed an immortal spirit, more precious than the whole outward creation. No earthly or celestial language can exaggerate the worth of a human being. No matter how obscure his condition. Thought, reason, conscience, the capacity of virtue, the capacity of Christian love, an immortal destiny, an intimate moral connection with God, — here are attributes of our common humanity which reduce to insignificance all outward distinctions, and make every human being unspeakably dear to his Maker. No matter how ignorant he may be. The capacity of improvement allies him to the more instructed of his race, and places within his reach the knowledge and happiness of higher worlds. Every human being has in him the germ of the greatest idea in the universe, the idea of God; and to unfold this is the end of his existence. Every human being has in his breast the elements of that divine, everlasting law,

which the highest orders of the creation obey. He has the idea of duty: and to unfold, revere, obey this, is the very purpose for which life was given. Every human being has the idea of what is meant by that word, truth; that is, he sees, however dimly, the great object of divine and created intelligence, and is capable of ever-enlarging perceptions of truth. Every human being has affections, which may be purified and expanded into a sublime love. He has, too, the idea of happiness, and a thirst for it which cannot be appeased. Such is our nature. Wherever we see a man, we see the possessor of these great capacities. Did God make such a being to be owned as a tree or a brute? How plainly was he made to exercise, unfold, improve his highest powers, made for a moral, spiritual good! and how is he wronged, and his Creator opposed, when he is forced and broken into a tool to another's physical enjoyment!

Such a being was plainly made for an end in himself. He is a person, not a thing. He is an end, not a mere instrument or means. He was made for his own virtue and happiness. Is this end reconcilable with his being held and used as a chattel? The sacrifice of such a being to another's will, to another's present, outward, ill-comprehended good, is the greatest violence which can be offered to any creature of God. It is to degrade him from his rank in the universe, to make him a means, not an end, to cast him out from God's spiritual family into the brutal herd.

Such a being was plainly made to obey a law within himself. This is the essence of a moral being. He possesses, as a part of his nature, and the most essential part, a sense of duty, which he is to reverence and follow, in opposition to all pleasure or pain, to all interfering human wills. The great purpose of all good education and discipline is, to make a man master of himself, to excite him to act from a principle in his own mind, to lead him to propose his own perfection as his supreme law and end. And is this highest purpose of man's nature to be reconciled with entire subjection to a foreign will, to an outward, overwhelming force, which is satisfied with nothing but complete submission?

The end of such a being as we have described is, manifestly, improvement. Now, it is the fundamental law of our nature that all our powers are to improve by free exertion. Action is the indispensable condition of progress to the intellect, conscience, and heart. Is it not plain, then, that a human being cannot, without wrong, be owned by another, who claims, as proprietor, the right to repress the powers of his slaves, to withhold from them the means of development, to keep them within the limits which are necessary to contentment in chains, to shut out every ray of light and every generous sentiment which may interfere with entire subjection to his will?

No man who seriously considers what human nature is, and what it was made for, can think of setting up a claim to a fellow-creature. What! own a spiritual being, a being made to know and adore God, and who is to outlive the sun and stars! What! chain to our lowest uses a being made for truth and virtue! convert into a brute instrument that intelligent nature on which the idea of duty has dawned, and which is a nobler type of God than all outward creation! Should we not deem it a wrong which no punishment could expiate, were one of our children seized as property and driven by the whip to toil? And shall God's child, dearer to him than an only son to a human parent, be thus degraded? Every thing else may be owned in the universe: but a moral, rational being cannot be property. Suns and stars may be owned, but not the lowest spirit. Touch any thing but this. Lay not your hand on God's rational offspring. The whole spiritual world cries out, Forbear! The highest intelligences recognize their own nature, their own rights, in the humblest human being. By that priceless, immortal spirit which dwells in him, by that likeness of God which he wears, tread him not in the dust, confound him not with the brute.

We have thus seen that a human being cannot rightfully be held and used as property. No legislation, not that of all countries or worlds, could make him so. Let this be laid down as a first, fundamental truth. Let us hold it fast as a most sacred, precious truth. Let us hold it fast against all customs, all laws, all rank, wealth, and power. Let it be armed with the whole authority of the civilized and Christian world.

I have taken it for granted that no reader would be so wanting in moral discrimination and moral feeling as to urge that men may rightfully be seized and held as property, because various governments have so ordained. What! is human legislation the measure of right? Are God's laws to be repealed by man's? Can government do no wrong? To what a mournful extent is the history of human governments a record of wrongs! How much does the progress of civilization consist in the substitution of just and humane for barbarous and oppressive laws! The individual, indeed, is never authorized to oppose physical force to unrighteous ordinances of government, as long as the community choose to sustain them. But criminal legislation ought to be freely and earnestly exposed. Injustice is never so terrible, and never so corrupting, as when armed with the sanctions of law. The authority of government, instead of being a reason for silence under wrongs, is a reason for protesting against wrong with the undivided energy of argument, entreaty, and solemn admonition.

CHAPTER II.

Rights.

I now proceed to the second division of the subject. I am to show that man has sacred rights, the gifts of God, and inseparable from human nature, which are violated by slavery. Some important principles, which belong to this head, were necessarily anticipated under the preceding; but they need a fuller exposition. The whole subject of rights needs to be reconsidered. Speculations and reasonings about it have lately been given to the public, not only false, but dangerous to freedom, and there is a strong tendency to injurious views. Rights are made to depend on circumstances, so that pretences may easily be made or created for violating them successively, till none shall remain. Human rights have been represented as so modified and circumscribed by men's entrance into the social state, that only the shadows of them are left. They have been spoken of as absorbed in the public good; so that a man may be innocently enslaved, if the public good shall so require. To meet fully all these errors — for such I hold them — a larger work than the present is required. The nature of man, his relations to the state, the limits of civil government, the elements of the public good, and the degree to which the individual must be surrendered to this good, these are the topics which the present subject involves. I cannot enter into them particularly, but shall lay down what seem to me the great and true principles in regard to them. I shall show that man has rights from his very nature, not the gifts of society, but of God: that they are not surrendered on entering the social state; that they must not be taken away under the plea of public good: that the individual is never to be sacrificed to the community; that the idea of rights is to prevail above all the interests of the state.

Man has rights by nature. The disposition of some to deride abstract rights, as if all rights were uncertain, mutable, and conceded by society, shows a lamentable ignorance of human nature. Whoever understands this must see in it an immovable foundation of rights. These are gifts of the Creator, bound up indissolubly with our moral constitution. In the order of things, they precede society, lie at its foundation, constitute man's capacity for it, and are the great objects of social institutions. The consciousness of rights is not a creation of human art, a conventional sentiment, but essential to and inseparable from the human soul.

Man's rights belong to him as a moral being, as capable of perceiving moral distinctions, as a subject of moral obligation. As soon as he becomes conscious of duty, a kindred consciousness springs up that he has a right to do what the sense of duty enjoins, and that no foreign will or power can obstruct his moral action without crime. He feels that the sense of duty was given to him as a law, that it makes him responsible for himself, that to exercise, unfold, and obey it is the end of his being, and that he has a right to exercise and obey it without hindrance or opposition. A consciousness of dignity, however obscure, belongs also to this divine principle; and though he may want words to do justice to his thoughts, he feels that he has that within him which

makes him essentially equal to all around him.

The sense of duty is the fountain of human rights. In other words, the same inward principle which teaches the former bears witness to the latter. Duties and rights must stand or fall together. It has been too common to oppose them to one another; but they are indissolubly joined together. That same inward principle which teaches a man what he is bound to do to others, teaches equally, and at the same instant, what others are bound to do to *him*. That same voice which forbids him to injure a single fellow-creature, forbids every fellow-creature to do *him* harm. His conscience, in revealing the moral law, does not reveal a law for himself only, but speaks as a universal legislator. He has an intuitive conviction that the obligations of this divine code press on others as truly as on himself. That principle which teaches him that he sustains the relation of brotherhood to all human beings, teaches him that this relation is reciprocal, that it gives indestructible claims, as well as imposes solemn duties, and that what he owes to the members of this vast family, they owe to him in return. Thus the moral nature involves rights. These enter into its very essence. They are taught by the very voice which enjoins duty. Accordingly there is no deeper principle in human nature than the consciousness of rights. So profound, so ineradicable is this sentiment, that the oppressions of ages have nowhere wholly stifled it.

Having shown the foundation of human rights in human nature, it may be asked what they are. Perhaps they do not admit very accurate definition, any more than human duties; for the spiritual cannot be weighed and measured like the material. Perhaps a minute criticism may find fault with the most guarded exposition of them; but they may easily be stated in language which the unsophisticated mind will recognize as the truth. Volumes could not do justice to them; and yet, perhaps, they may be comprehended in one sentence. They may all be comprised in the right which belongs to every rational being, to exercise his powers for the promotion of his own and others' happiness and virtue. These are the great purposes of his existence. For these his powers were given, and to these he is bound to devote them. He is bound to make himself and others better and happier, according to his ability. His ability for this work is a sacred trust from God, — the greatest of all trusts. He must answer for the waste or abuse of it. He consequently suffers an unspeakable wrong when stripped of it by others, or forbidden to employ it for the ends for which it is given; when the powers which God has given for such generous uses are impaired or destroyed by others, or the means for their action and growth are forcibly withheld. As every human being is bound to employ his faculties for his own and others' good, there is an obligation on each to leave all free for the accomplishment of this end; and whoever respects this obligation, whoever uses his own, without invading others' powers, or obstructing others' duties, has a sacred, indefeasible right to be unassailed, unobstructed, unharmed by all with whom he may be connected. Here is the grand, all-comprehending right of human nature. Every man should revere it, should assert it for himself and for all, and should bear solemn testimony against every infraction of it, by whomsoever made or endured.

Having considered the great fundamental right of human nature, particular rights may easily be deduced. Every man has a right to exercise and invigorate his intellect or the power of knowledge, for knowledge is the essential condition of successful effort for every good; and whoever obstructs or quenches the intellectual life in another, inflicts a grievous and irreparable wrong. Every man has a right to inquire into his duty, and to conform himself to what he learns of it. Every man has a right to use the means given by God and sanctioned by virtue for bettering his condition. He has a right to be respected according to his moral worth; a right to be regarded as a member of the community to which he belongs, and to be protected by impartial laws; and a right to be exempted from coercion, stripes, and punishment, as long as he respects the rights of others. He has a right to an equivalent for his labor. He has a right to sustain domestic relations, to discharge their duties, and to enjoy the happiness which flows from fidelity in

these and other domestic relations. Such are a few of human rights; and if so, what a grievous wrong is slavery!

Perhaps nothing has done more to impair the sense of the reality and sacredness of human rights, and to sanction oppression, than loose ideas as to the change made in man's natural rights by his entrance into civil society. It is commonly said that men part with a portion of these by becoming a community, a body politic; that government consists of powers surrendered by the individual; and it is said, "If certain rights and powers may be surrendered, why not others? why not all? what limit is to be set? The good of the community, to which a part is given up, may demand the whole; and in this good all private rights are merged." This is the logic of despotism. We are grieved that it finds its way into republics, and that it sets down the great principles of freedom as abstractions and metaphysical theories, good enough for the cloister, but too refined for practical and real life.

Human rights, however, are not to be so reasoned away. They belong, as we have seen, to man as a moral being, and nothing can divest him of them but the destruction of his nature. They are not to be given up to society as a prey. On the contrary, the great end of civil society is to secure them. The great end of government is to repress *all wrong*. Its highest function is to protect the weak against the powerful, so that the obscurest human being may enjoy his rights in peace. Strange that an institution, built on the idea of rights, should be used to unsettle this idea, to confuse our moral perceptions, to sanctify wrongs as means of general good!

It is said that, in forming civil society, the individual surrenders a part of his rights. It would be more proper to say that he adopts new modes of securing them. He consents, for example, to desist from self-defence, that he and all may be more effectually defended by the public force. He consents to submit his cause to an umpire or tribunal, that justice may be more impartially awarded, and that he and all may more certainly receive their due. He consents to part with a portion of his property in taxation, that his own and others' property may be the more secure. He submits to certain restraints, that he and others may enjoy more enduring freedom. He expects an equivalent for what he relinquishes, and insists on it as his right. He is wronged by partial laws, which compel him to contribute to the state beyond his proportion, his ability, and the measure of benefits which he receives. How absurd is it to suppose that, by consenting to be protected by the state, and by yielding it the means, he surrenders the very rights which were the objects of his accession to the social compact!

The authority of the state to impose laws on its members I cheerfully allow; but this has limits, which are found to be more and more narrow in proportion to the progress of moral science. The state is equally restrained with individuals by the moral law. For example, it may not, must not, on any account, put an innocent man to death, or require of him a dishonorable or criminal service. It may demand allegiance, but only on the gronnd of the protection it affords. It may levy taxes, but only because it takes all property and all interests under its shield. It may pass laws, but only impartial ones, framed for the whole, and not for the few. It must not seize, by a special act, the property of the humblest individual, without making him an equivalent. It must regard every man, over whom it extends its authority as a vital part of itself, as entitled to its care and to its provisions for liberty and happiness. If, in an emergency, its safety, which is the interest of each and all, may demand the imposition of peculiar restraints on one or many, it is bound to limit these restrictions to the precise point which its safety prescribes, to remove the necessity of them as far and as fast as possible, to compensate by peculiar protection such as it deprives of the ordinary means of protecting themselves, and, in general, to respect and provide for liberty in the very acts which for a time restrain it. The idea of rights should be fundamental and supreme in civil institutions. Government becomes a nuisance and scourge in proportion as it sacrifices these to the many or the few. Government — I repeat it — is equally bound with the individual by the moral law. The ideas of justice and rectitude, of what is due to man from his fellow-

creatures, of the claims of every moral being, are far deeper and more primitive than civil polity. Government, far from originating them, owes to them its strength. Right is older than human law. Law ought to be its voice. It should be built on, and should correspond to, the principle of justice in the human breast, and its weakness is owing to nothing more than to its clashing with our indestructible moral convictions.

That government is most perfect in which policy is most entirely subjected to justice, or in which the supreme and constant aim is to secure the rights of every human being. This is the beautiful idea of a free government, and no government is free but in proportion as it realizes this. Liberty must not be confounded with popular institutions. A representative government may be as despotic as an absolute monarchy. In as far as it tramples on the rights, whether of many or one, it is a despotism. The sovereign power, whether wielded by a single hand or several hands, by a king or a congress, which spoils one human being of the immunities and privileges bestowed on him by God, is so far a tyranny. The great argument in favor of representative institutions is, that a people's rights are safest in their own hands, and should never be surrendered to an irresponsible power. Rights, rights, lie at the foundation of a popular government; and when this betrays them, the wrong is more aggravated than when they are crushed by despotism.

Still the question will be asked, "Is not the general good the supreme law of the state? Are not all restraints on the individual just, which this demands? When the rights of the individual clash with this, must they not yield? Do they not, indeed, cease to be rights? Must not every thing give place to the general good?" I have started this question in various forms, because I deem it worthy of particular examination. Public and private morality, the freedom and safety of our national institutions, are greatly concerned in settling the claims of the "general good." In monarchies, the divine right of kings swallowed up all others. In republics, the general good threatens the same evil. It is a shelter for the abuses and usurpations of government, for the profligacies of statesmen, for the vices of parties, for the wrongs of slavery. In considering this subject, I take the hazard of repeating principles already laid down; but this will be justified by the importance of reaching and determining the truth. Is the general good, then, the supreme law, to which every thing must bow?

This question may be settled at once by proposing another. Suppose the public good to require that a number of the members of a state, no matter how few, should perjure themselves, or should disclaim their faith in God and virtue. Would their right to follow conscience and God be annulled? Would they be bound to sin? Suppose a conqueror to menace a state with ruin, unless its members should insult their parents, and stain themselves with crimes at which nature revolts. Must the public good prevail over purity and our holiest affections? Do we not all feel that there are higher goods than even the safety of the state? that there is a higher law than that of mightiest empires? that the idea of rectitude is deeper in human nature than that of private or public interest? and that this is to bear sway over all private and public acts?

The supreme law of a state is not its safety, its power, its prosperity, its affluence, the flourishing state of agriculture, commerce, and the arts. These objects, constituting what is commonly called the public good, are indeed proposed, and ought to be proposed, in the constitution and administration of states. But there is a higher law, even virtue, rectitude, the voice of conscience, the will of God. Justice is a greater good than property, — not greater in degree, but in kind. Universal benevolence is infinitely superior to prosperity. Religion, the love of God, is worth incomparably more than all his outward gifts. A community, to secure or aggrandize itself, must never forsake the right, the holy, the just.

Moral good, rectitude in all its branches, is the supreme good; by which I do not intend that it is the surest means to the security and prosperity of the state. Such, indeed, it is, but this is too low a view. It must not be looked upon as a means, an instrument. It is the supreme end, and

states are bound to subject it to all their legislation, be the apparent loss of prosperity ever so great. National wealth is not the end. It derives all its worth from national virtue. If accumulated by rapacity, conquest, or any degrading means, or if concentrated in the hands of the few, whom it strengthens to crush the many, it is a curse. National wealth is a blessing only when it springs from and represents the intelligence and virtue of the community; when it is a fruit and expression of good habits, of respect for the rights of all, of impartial and beneficent legislation; when it gives impulse to the higher faculties, and occasion and incitement to justice and beneficence. No greater calamity can befall a people than to prosper by crime. No success can be a compensation for the wound inflicted on a nation's mind by renouncing right as its supreme law.

Let a people exalt prosperity above rectitude, and a more dangerous end cannot be proposed. Public prosperity, general good, regarded by itself, or apart from the moral law, is something vague, unsettled, and uncertain, and will infallibly be so construed by the selfish and grasping as to secure their own aggrandizement. It may be made to wear a thousand forms, according to men's interests and passions. This is illustrated by every day's history. Not a party springs up which does not sanctify all its projects for monopolizing power by the plea of general good. Not a measure, however ruinous, can be proposed which cannot be shown to favor one or another national interest. The truth is, that in the uncertainty of human affairs, — an uncertainty growing out of the infinite and very subtile causes which are acting on communities, — the consequences of no measure can be foretold with certainty. The best concerted schemes of policy often fail; whilst a rash and profligate administration may, by unexpected concurrences of events, seem to advance a nation's glory. In regard to the means of national prosperity, the wisest are weak judges. For example, the present rapid growth of this country, carrying, as it does, vast multitudes beyond the institutions of religion and education, may be working ruin, whilst the people exult in it as a pledge of greatness. We are too short-sighted to find our law in outward interests. To states, as to individuals, rectitude is the supreme law. It was never designed that the public good, as disjoined from this, as distinct from justice and reverence for all rights, should be comprehended and made our end. Statesmen work in the dark until the idea of right towers above expediency or wealth. Woe to that people which would found its prosperity in wrong! It is time that the low maxims of policy, which have ruled for ages, should fall. It is time that public interest should no longer hallow injustice, and fortify government in making the weak their prey.

In this discussion I have used the phrase, public or general good, in its common acceptation, as signifying the safety and prosperity of a state. Why can it not be used in a larger sense? Why can it not be made to comprehend inward and moral, as well as outward good? And why cannot the former be understood to be incomparably the most important element of the public weal? Then, indeed, I should assent to the proposition that the general good is the supreme law. So construed, it would support the great truths which I have maintained. It would condemn the infliction of wrong on the humblest individual as a national calamity. It would plead with us to extend to every individual the means of improving his character and lot.

If the remarks under this head be just, it will follow that the good of the individual is more important than the outward prosperity of the state. The former is not vague and unsettled, like the latter, and it belongs to a higher order of interests. It consists in the free exertion and expansion of the individual's powers, especially of his higher faculties; in the energy of his intellect, conscience, and good affections; in sound judgment; in the acquisition of truth; in laboring honestly for himself and his family; in loving his Creator, and subjecting his own will to the divine; in loving his fellow-creatures, and making cheerful sacrifices to their happiness; in friendship; in sensibility to the beautiful, whether in nature or art; in loyalty to his principles; in moral courage; in self-respect; in understanding and asserting his rights; and in the Christian hope of immortality.

Such is the good of the individual, — a more sacred, exalted, enduring interest than any accessions of wealth or power to the state. Let it not be sacrificed to these. He should find, in his connection with the community, aids to the accomplishment of these purposes of his being, and not be chained and subdued by it to the inferior interests of any fellow-creature.

In all ages the individual has, in one form or another, been trodden in the dust. In monarchies and aristocracies, he has been sacrificed to one or to the few; who, regarding government as an heirloom in their families, and thinking of the people as made only to live and die for their glory, have not dreamed that the sovereign power was designed to shield every man, without exception, from wrong. In the ancient republics, the glory of the state, especially conquest, was the end to which the individual was expected to offer himself a victim, and in promoting which no cruelty was to be declined, no human right revered. He was merged in a great whole, called the commonwealth, to which his whole nature was to be immolated. It was the glory of the American people, that, in their Declaration of Independence, they took the ground of the indestructible rights of every human being. They declared all men to be essentially equal, and each born to be free. They did not, like the Greek or Roman, assert for themselves a liberty which they burned to wrest from other states. They spoke in the name of humanity, as the representatives of the rights of the feeblest as well as mightiest of their race. They published universal, everlasting principles, which are to work out the deliverance of every human being. Such was their glory. Let not the idea of rights be erased from their children's minds by false ideas of public good. Let not the sacredness of individual man be forgotten in the feverish pursuit of property. It is more important that the individual should respect himself, and be respected by others, than that the wealth of both worlds should be accumulated on our shores. National wealth is not the end of society. It may exist where large classes are depressed and wronged. It may undermine a nation's spirit, institutions, and independence. It can have no value and no sure foundation, until the supremacy of the rights of the individual is the first article of a nation's faith, and until reverence for them becomes the spirit of public men.

Perhaps it will be replied to all which has now been said, that there is an argument from experience which invalidates the doctrines of this section. It may be said that human rights, notwithstanding what has been said of their sacredness, do and must yield to the exigencies of real life; that there is often a stern necessity in human affairs to which they bow. I may be asked whether, in the history of nations, circumstances do not occur in which the rigor of the principles now laid down must be relaxed: whether, in seasons of imminent peril to the state, private rights must not give way. I may be asked whether the establishment of martial law and a dictator has not sometimes been justified and demanded by public danger; and whether, of course, the rights and liberties of the individual are not held at the discretion of the state. I admit, in reply, that extreme cases may occur, in which the exercise of rights and freedom may be suspended; but suspended only for their ultimate and permanent security. At such times, when the frantic fury of the many, or the usurpations of the few, interrupt the administration of law, and menace property and life, society, threatened with ruin, puts forth instinctively spasmodic efforts for its own preservation. It flies to an irresponsible dictator for its protection. But in these cases, the great idea of rights predominates amidst their apparent subversion. A power above all laws is conferred, only that the empire of law may be restored. Despotic restraints are imposed, only that liberty may be rescued from ruin. All rights are involved in the safety of the state: and hence, in the cases referred to, the safety of the state becomes the supreme law. The individual is bound for a time to forego his freedom, for the salvation of institutions without which liberty is but a name. To argue from such sacrifices that he may be permanently made a slave, is as great an insult to reason as to humanity. It may be added, that sacrifices which may be demanded for the safety are not due from the individual to the prosperity of the state.

The great end of civil society is to secure rights, not accumulate wealth; and to merge the former in the latter is to turn political union into degradation and a scourge. The community is bound to take the rights of each and all under its guardianship. It must substantiate its claim to universal obedience by redeeming its pledge of universal protection. It must immolate no man to the prosperity of the rest. Its laws should be made for all, its tribunals opened to all. It cannot without guilt abandon any of its members to private oppression, to irresponsible power.

We have thus established the reality and sacredness of human rights; and that slavery is an infraction of these, is too plain to need any labored proof. Slavery violates, not one, but all; and violates them, not incidentally, but necessarily, systematically, from its very nature. In starting with the assumption that the slave is property, it sweeps away every defence of human rights, and lays them in the dust. Were it necessary, I might enumerate them, and show how all fall before this terrible usurpation; but a few remarks will suffice.

Slavery strips man of the fundamental right to inquire into, consult, and seek his own happiness. His powers belong to another, and for another they must be used. He must form no plans, engage in no enterprises, for bettering his condition. Whatever be his capacities, however equal to great improvements of his lot, he is chained for life, by another's will, to the same unvaried toil. He is forbidden to do, for himself or others, the work for which God stamped him with his own image, and endowed him with his own best gifts. Again, the slave is stripped of the right to acquire property. Being himself owned, his earnings belong to another. He can possess nothing but by favor. That right, on which the development of men's powers so much depends, — the right to make accumulations, to gain exclusive possessions by honest industry, — is withheld. "The slave can acquire nothing," says one of the slave codes, "but what must belong to his master;" and however this definition, which moves the indignation of the free, may be mitigated by favor, the spirit of it enters into the very essence of slavery. Again, the slave is stripped of his right to his wife and children. They belong to another, and may be torn from him, one and all, at any moment, at his master's pleasure. Again, the slave is stripped of the right to the culture of his rational powers. He is in some cases deprived by law of instruction, which is placed within his reach by the improvements of society and the philanthropy of the age. He is not allowed to toil, that his children may enjoy a better education than himself. The most sacred right of human nature, that of developing his best faculties, is denied. Even should it be granted, it would be conceded as a favor, and might at any moment be withheld by the capricious will of another. Again, the slave is deprived of the right of self-defence. No injury from a white man is he suffered to repel, nor can he seek redress from the laws of his country. If accumulated insult and wrong provoke him to the slightest retaliation, this effort for self-protection, allowed and commended to others, is a crime, for which he must pay a fearful penalty. Again, the slave is stripped of the right to be exempted from all harm, except for wrong-doing. He is subjected to the lash by those whom he has never consented to serve, and whose claim to him as property we have seen to be a usurpation; and this power of punishment, which, if justly claimed, should be exercised with a fearful care, is often delegated to men in whose hands there is a moral certainty of its abuse.

I will add but one more example of the violation of human rights by slavery. The slave virtually suffers the wrong of robbery, though with utter unconsciousness on the part of those who inflict it. It may, indeed, be generally thought that, as he is suffered to own nothing, he cannot fall, at least, under this kind of violence. But it is not true that he owns nothing. Whatever he may be denied by man, he holds from nature the most valuable property, and that from which all other is derived, — I mean his strength. His labor is his own, by the gift of that God who nerved his arm, and gave him intelligence and conscience to direct the use of it to his own and others' happiness. No possession is so precious as a man's force of body and mind. The exertion of this in labor is the great foundation and source of property in

outward things. The worth of articles of traffic is measured by the labor expended in their production. To the great mass of men, in all countries, their strength or labor is their whole fortune. To seize on this would be to rob them of their all. In truth, no robbery is so great as that to which the slave is habitually subjected. To take by force a man's whole estate, the fruit of years of toil, would, by universal consent, be denounced as a great wrong; but what is this compared with seizing the man himself, and appropriating to our use the limbs, faculties, strength, and labor by which all property is won and held fast? The right of property in outward things is as nothing compared with our right to ourselves. Were the slave-holder stripped of his fortune, he would count the violence slight, compared with what he would suffer were his person seized and devoted as a chattel to another's use. Let it not be said that the slave receives an equivalent, that he is fed and clothed, and is not, therefore, robbed. Suppose another to wrest from us a valued possession, and to pay us his own price. Should we not think ourselves robbed? Would not the laws pronounce the invader a robber? Is it consistent with the right of property that a man should determine the equivalent for what he takes from his neighbor? Especially is it to be hoped that the equivalent due to the laborer will be scrupulously weighed, when he himself is held as property, and all his earnings are declared to be his master's. So great an infraction of human right is slavery!

In reply to these remarks, it may be said that the theory and practice of slavery differ; that the rights of the slave are not as wantonly sported with as the claims of the master might lead us to infer; that some of his possessions are sacred; that not a few slave-holders refuse to divorce husband and wife, to sever parent and child; and that, in many cases, the power of punishment is used so reluctantly as to encourage insolence and insubordination. All this I have no disposition to deny. Indeed it must be so. It is not in human nature to wink wholly out of sight the rights of a fellow-creature. Degrade him as we may, we cannot altogether forget his claims. In every slave-country there are, undoubtedly, masters who desire and purpose to respect these to the full extent which the nature of the relation will allow. Still, human rights are denied. They lie wholly at another's mercy; and we must have studied history in vain, if we need be told that they will be continually the prey of this absolute power. The evils involved in and flowing from the denial and infraction of the rights of the slave will form the subject of a subsequent chapter.

CHAPTER III.

Explanations.

I have endeavored to show, in the preceding sections, that slavery is a violation of sacred rights, the infliction of a great wrong. And here a question arises. It may be asked whether, by this language, I intend to fasten on the slave-holder the charge of peculiar guilt. On this point great explicitness is a duty. Sympathy with the slave has often degenerated into injustice towards the master. I wish, then, to be understood, that in ranking slavery among the greatest wrongs, I speak of the injury endured by the slave, and not of the character of the master. These are distinct points. The former does not determine the latter. The wrong is the same to the slave, from whatever motive or spirit it may be inflicted. But this motive or spirit determines wholly the character of him who inflicts it. Because a great injury is done to another, it does not follow that he who does it is a depraved man; for he may do it unconsciously, and, still more, may do it in the belief that he confers a good. We have learned little of moral science and of human nature, if we do not know that guilt is to be measured, not by the outward act, but by unfaithfulness to conscience; and that the consciences of men are often darkened by education and other inauspicious influences. All men have partial consciences, or want comprehension of some duties. All partake, in a measure, of the errors of the community in which they live. Some are betrayed into moral mistakes by the very force with which conscience acts in regard to some particular duty. As the intellect, in grasping one truth, often

loses its hold of others, and, by giving itself up to one idea, falls into exaggeration, so the moral sense, in seizing on a particular exercise of philanthropy, forgets other duties, and will even violate many important precepts, in its passionate eagerness to carry one to perfection. Innumerable illustrations may be given of the liableness of men to moral error. The practice which strikes one man with horror may seem to another, who was born and brought up in the midst of it, not only innocent but meritorious. We must judge others, not by our light, but by their own. We must take their place, and consider what allowance we in their position might justly expect. Our ancestors at the North were concerned in the slave-trade. Some of us can recollect individuals of the colored race who were torn from Africa, and grew old under our parental roofs. Our ancestors committed a deed now branded as piracy. Were they, therefore, the offscouring of the earth? Were not some of them among the best of their times? The administration of religion, in almost all past ages, has been a violation of the sacred rights of conscience. How many sects have persecuted and shed blood! Were their members, therefore, monsters of depravity? The history of our race is made up of wrongs, many of which were committed without a suspicion of their true character, and many from an urgent sense of duty. A man born among slaves, accustomed to this relation from his birth, taught its necessity by venerated parents, associating it with all whom he reveres, and too familiar with its evils to see and feel their magnitude, can hardly be expected to look on slavery as it appears to more impartial and distant observers. Let it not be said that, when new light is offered him, he is criminal in rejecting it. Are we all willing to receive new light? Can we wonder that such a man should be slow to be convinced of the criminality of an abuse sanctioned by prescription, and which has so interwoven itself with all the habits, employments, and economy of life, that he can hardly conceive of the existence of society without this all-pervading element? May he not be true to his convictions of duty in other relations, though he grievously err in this? If, indeed, through cupidity and selfishness, he stifle the monitions of conscience, warp his judgment, and repel the light, he incurs great guilt. If he want virtue to resolve on doing right, though at the loss of every slave, he incurs great guilt. But who of us can look into his heart? To whom are the secret workings there revealed?

Still more. There are masters who have thrown off the natural prejudices of their position, who see slavery as it is, and who hold the slave chiefly, if not wholly, from disinterested considerations; and these deserve great praise. They deplore and abhor the institution; but believing that partial emancipation, in the present condition of society, would bring unmixed evil on bond and free, they think themselves bound to continue the relation, until it shall be dissolved by comprehensive and systematic measures of the state. There are many of them who would shudder as much as we at reducing a freeman to bondage, but who are appalled by what seem to them the perils and difficulties of liberating multitudes, born and brought up to that condition. There are many who, nominally holding the slave as property, still hold him for his own good, and for the public order, and would blush to retain him on other grounds. Are such men to be set down among the unprincipled? Am I told that by these remarks I extenuate slavery? I reply, slavery is still a heavy yoke, and strips man of his dearest rights, be the master's character what it may. Slavery is not less a curse because long use may have blinded most who support it to its evils. Its influence is still blighting, though conscientiously upheld. Absolute monarchy is still a scourge, though among despots there have been good men. It is possible to abhor and oppose bad institutions, and yet to abstain from indiscriminate condemnation of those who cling to them, and even to see in their ranks greater virtue than in ourselves. It is true, and ought to be cheerfully acknowledged, that in the slave-holding States may be found some of the greatest names of our history, and, what is still more important, bright examples of private virtue and Christian love.

There is, however, there must be, in slave-holding communities, a large class which cannot be too severely condemned. There are many — we fear,

very many — who hold their fellow-creatures in bondage from selfish, base motives. They hold the slave for gain, whether justly or unjustly, they neither ask nor care. They cling to him as property, and have no faith in the principles which will diminish a man's wealth. They hold him, not for his own good, or the safety of the state, but with precisely the same views with which they hold a laboring horse, that is, for the profit which they can wring from him. They will not hear a word of his wrongs; for, wronged or not, they will not let him go. He is their property, and they mean not to be poor for righteousness' sake. Such a class there undoubtedly is among slave-holders; how large, their own consciences must determine. We are sure of it; for, under such circumstances, human nature will and must come to this mournful result. Now, to men of this spirit, the explanations we have made do in no degree apply. Such men ought to tremble before the rebukes of outraged humanity and indignant virtue. Slavery upheld for gain is a great crime. He who has nothing to urge against emancipation, but that it will make him poorer, is bound to immediate emancipation. He has no excuse for wresting from his brethren their rights. The plea of benefit to the slave and the state avails him nothing. He extorts by the lash that labor to which he has no claim, through a base selfishness. Every morsel of food thus forced from the injured ought to be bitterer than gall. His gold is cankered. The sweat of the slave taints the luxuries for which it streams. Better were it for the selfish wrong-doer, of whom I speak, to live as the slave, to clothe himself in the slave's raiment, to eat the slave's coarse food, to till his fields with his own hands, than to pamper himself by day, and pillow his head on down at night, at the cost of a wantonly injured fellow-creature. No fellow-creature can be so injured without taking terrible vengeance. He is terribly avenged even now. The blight which falls on the soul of the wrong-doer, the desolation of his moral nature, is a more terrible calamity than he inflicts. In deadening his moral feelings, he dies to the proper happiness of a man. In hardening his heart against his fellow-creatures, he sears it to all true joy. In shutting his ear against the voice of justice, he shuts out all the harmonies of the universe, and turns the voice of God within him into rebuke. He may prosper, indeed, and hold faster the slave by whom he prospers; but he rivets heavier and more ignominious chains on his own soul than he lays on others. No punishment is so terrible as prosperous guilt. No fiend, exhausting on us all his power of torture, is so fearful as an oppressed fellow-creature. The cry of the oppressed, unheard on earth, is heard in heaven. God is just; and if justice reign, then the unjust must terribly suffer. Then no being can profit by evil-doing. Then all the laws of the universe are ordinances against guilt. Then every enjoyment gained by wrong-doing will be turned into a curse. No laws of nature are so irrepealable as that law which binds guilt and misery. God is just. Then all the defences which the oppressor rears against the consequences of wrong-doing are vain, — as vain as would be his strivings to arrest by his single arm the ocean or whirlwind. He may disarm the slave. Can he disarm that slave's Creator? He can crush the spirit of insurrection in a fellow-being. Can he crush the awful spirit of justice and retribution in the Almighty? He can still the murmur of discontent in his victim. Can he silence that voice which speaks in thunder, and is to break the sleep of the grave? Can he always still the reproving, avenging voice in his own breast?

I know it will be said, "You would make us poor." Be poor, then, and thank God for your honest poverty. Better be poor than unjust. Better beg than steal. Better live in an almshouse — better die — than trample on a fellow-creature and reduce him to a brute for selfish gratification. What! Have we yet to learn that "it profits us nothing to gain the whole world, and lose our souls?"

Let it not be replied, in scorn, that we of the North, notorious for love of money, and given to selfish calculation, are not the people to call others to resign their wealth. I have no desire to shield the North; though I might say, with truth, that a community more generally controlled by the principles of morality and religion cannot be found. We have, without doubt, a great multi-

tude who, were they slave-holders, would sooner die than relax their iron grasp, than yield their property in men to justice and the commands of God. We have those who would fight against abolition, if by this measure the profit of their intercourse with the South should be materially impaired. The present excitement among us is, in part, the working of mercenary principles But because the North joins hands with the South, shall iniquity go unpunished or unrebuked? Can the league of the wicked, the revolt of worlds, repeal the everlasting law of heaven and earth? Has God's throne fallen before Mammon's? Must duty find no voice, no organ, because corruption is universally diffused? Is not this a fresh motive to solemn warning, that, everywhere, northward and southward, the rights of human beings are held so cheap, in comparison with worldly gain?

CHAPTER IV.

The Evils of Slavery.

The subject of this section is painful and repulsive. We must not, however, turn away from the contemplation of human sufferings and guilt. Evil is permitted by the Creator that we should strive against it, in faith, and hope, and charity. We must never quail before it because of its extent and duration, never feel as if its power were greater than that of goodness. It is meant to call forth deep sympathy with human nature, and unwearied sacrifices for human redemption. One great part of the mission of every man on earth is to contend with evil in some of its forms; and there are some evils so dependent on opinion, that every man, in judging and reproving them faithfully, does something towards their removal. Let us not, then, shrink from the contemplation of human sufferings. Even sympathy, if we have nothing more to offer, is a tribute acceptable to the Universal Father. On this topic, exaggeration should be conscientiously shunned; and, at the same time, humanity requires that the whole truth should be honestly spoken.

In treating of the evils of slavery, I, of course, speak of its general, not universal effects, of its natural tendencies, not unfailing results. There are the same natural differences among the bond as the free, and there is a great diversity in the circumstances in which they are placed. The house-slave, selected for ability and faithfulness, placed amidst the habits, accommodations, and improvements of civilized life, admitted to a degree of confidence and familiarity, and requiting these privileges with attachment, is almost necessarily more enlightened and respectable than the field-slave, who is confined to monotonous toils, and to the society and influences of beings as degraded as himself. The mechanics in this class are sensibly benefited by occupations which give a higher action to the mind. Among the bond, as the free, will be found those to whom nature seems partial, and who are carried almost instinctively towards what is good. I speak of the natural, general influences of slavery. Here, as everywhere else, there are exceptions to the rule, and exceptions which multiply with the moral improvements of the community in which the slave is found. But these do not determine the general character of the institution. It has general tendencies, founded in its very nature, and which predominate vastly wherever it exists. These tendencies it is my present purpose to unfold.

1. The first rank among the evils of slavery must be given to its moral influence. This is throughout debasing. Common language teaches this. We can say nothing more insulting of another than that he is slavish. To possess the spirit of a slave is to have sunk to the lowest depths. We can apply to slavery no worse name than its own. Men have always shrunk instinctively from this state as the most degraded. No punishment, save death, has been more dreaded, and to avoid it death has often been endured.

In expressing the moral influence of slavery, the first and most obvious remark is, that it destroys the proper consciousness and spirit of a man. The slave, regarded and treated as property, bought and sold like a brute, denied the rights of humanity, unprotected against insult, made a tool, and systematically subdued, that he may be a manageable, useful tool, how can he help regarding himself as fallen below his race? How must his spirit be crushed! How can he respect himself? He becomes bowed

to servility. This word, borrowed from his condition, expresses the ruin wrought by slavery within him. The idea that he was made for his own virtue and happiness, scarcely dawns on his mind. To be an instrument of the physical, material good of another, whose will is his highest law, he is taught to regard as the great purpose of his being. Here lies the evil of slavery. Its whips, imprisonments, and even the horrors of the middle passage from Africa to America, these are not to be named in comparison with this extinction of the proper consciousness of a human being, with the degradation of a man into a brute.

It may be said that the slave is used to his yoke; that his sensibilities are blunted; that he receives, without a pang or a thought, the treatment which would sting other men to madness. And to what does this apology amount? It virtually declares that slavery has done its perfect work, has quenched the spirit of humanity, that the man is dead within the slave. Is slavery, therefore, no wrong? It is not, however, true that this work of debasement is ever so effectually done as to extinguish all feeling. Man is too great a creature to be wholly ruined by man. When he seems dead, he only sleeps. There are occasionally some sullen murmurs in the calm of slavery, showing that life still beats in the soul, that the idea of rights cannot be wholly effaced from the human being.

It would be too painful, and it is not needed, to detail the processes by which the spirit is broken in slavery. I refer to one only, — the selling of slaves. The practice of exposing fellow-creatures for sale, of having markets for men as for cattle, of examining the limbs and muscles of a man and a woman as of a brute, of putting human beings under the hammer of an auctioneer, and delivering them, like any other articles of merchandise, to the highest bidder, — all this is such an insult to our common nature, and so infinitely degrading to the poor victim, that it is hard to conceive of its existence, except in a barbarous country.

That slavery should be most unpropitious to the slave, as a moral being, will be farther apparent if we consider that his condition is, throughout, a wrong, and that consequently it must tend to unsettle all his notions of duty. The violation of his own rights, to which he is inured from birth, must throw confusion over his ideas of all human rights. He cannot comprehend them; or, if he does, how can he respect them, seeing them, as he does, perpetually trampled on in his own person? The injury to the character, from living in an atmosphere of wrong, we can all understand. To live in a state of society of which injustice is the chief and all-pervading element, is too severe a trial for human nature, especially when no means are used to counteract its influence.

Accordingly, the most common distinctions of morality are faintly apprehended by the slave. Respect for property, that fundamental law of civil society, can hardly be instilled into him. His dishonesty is proverbial. Theft from his master passes with him for no crime. A system of force is generally found to drive to fraud. How necessarily will this be the result of a relation in which force is used to extort from a man his labor, his natural property, without any attempt to win his consent! Can we wonder that the uneducated conscience of the man who is daily wronged should allow him in reprisals to the extent of his power? Thus the primary social virtue, justice, is undermined in the slave.

That the slave should yield himself to intemperance, licentiousness, and, in general, to sensual excess, we must also expect. Doomed to live for the physical indulgences of others, unused to any pleasures but those of sense, stripped of self-respect, and having nothing to gain in life, how can he be expected to govern himself? How naturally, I had almost said necessarily, does he become the creature of sensation, of passion, of the present moment! What aid does the future give him in withstanding desire? That better condition, for which other men postpone the cravings of appetite, never opens before him. The sense of character, the power of opinion, another restraint on the free, can do little or nothing to rescue so abject a class from excess and debasement. In truth, power over himself is the last virtue we should expect in the slave, when we think of him as subjected to absolute power, and made to move passively from the impulse of a foreign will.

He is trained to cowardice, and cowardice links itself naturally with low vices. Idleness, to his apprehension, is paradise, for he works without hope of reward. Thus slavery robs him of moral force, and prepares him to fall a prey to appetite and passion.

That the slave finds in his condition little nutriment for the social virtues we shall easily understand, if we consider that his chief relations are to an absolute master, and to the companions of his degrading bondage; that is, to a being who wrongs him, and to associates whom he cannot honor, whom he sees debased. His dependence on his owner loosens his ties to all other beings. He has no country to love, no family to call his own, no objects of public utility to espouse, no impulse to generous exertion. The relations, dependences, and responsibilities, by which Providence forms the soul to a deep, disinterested love, are almost struck out of his lot. An arbitrary rule, a foreign, irresistible will, taking him out of his own hands, and placing him beyond the natural influences of society, extinguishes in a great degree the sense of what is due to himself and to the human family around him.

The effects of slavery on the character are so various that this part of the discussion might be greatly extended; but I will touch only on one topic. Let us turn for a moment to the great motive by which the slave is made to labor. Labor, in one form or another, is appointed by God for man's improvement and happiness, and absorbs the chief part of human life, so that the motive which excites to it has immense influence on character. It determines very much whether life shall serve or fail of its end. The man who works from honorable motives, from domestic affections, from desire of a condition which will open to him greater happiness and usefulness, finds in labor an exercise and invigoration of virtue. The day-laborer, who earns, with horny hand and the sweat of his face, coarse food for a wife and children whom he loves, is raised, by this generous motive, to true dignity; and, though wanting the refinements of life, is a nobler being than those who think themselves absolved by wealth from serving others. Now, the slave's labor brings no dignity, is an exercise of no virtue, but throughout a degradation; so that one of God's chief provisions for human improvement becomes a curse. The motive from which he acts debases him. It is the whip. It is corporal punishment. It is physical pain inflicted by a fellow-creature. Undoubtedly labor is mitigated to the slave, as to all men, by habit. But this is not the motive. Take away the whip, and he would be idle. His labor brings no new comforts to wife or child. The motive which spurs him is one by which it is base to be swayed. Stripes are, indeed, resorted to by civil government, when no other consideration will deter from crime; but he who is deterred from wrong-doing by the whipping-post is among the most fallen of his race. To work in sight of the whip, under menace of blows, is to be exposed to perpetual insult and degrading influences. Every motion of the limbs, which such a menace urges, is a wound to the soul. How hard must it be for a man who lives under the lash to respect himself! When this motive is substituted for all the nobler ones which God ordains, is it not almost necessarily death to the better and higher sentiments of our nature? It is the part of a man to despise pain in comparison with disgrace, to meet it fearlessly in well-doing, to perform the work of life from other impulses. It is the part of a brute to be governed by the whip. Even the brute is seen to act from more generous incitements. The horse of a noble breed will not endure the lash. Shall we sink man below the horse?

Let it not be said that blows are seldom inflicted. Be it so. We are glad to know it. But this is not the point. The complaint now urged is not of the amount of the pain inflicted, but of its influence on the character when made the great motive to human labor. It is not the endurance, but the dread of the whip, — it is the substitution of this for natural and honorable motives to action, which we abhor and condemn. It matters not whether few or many are whipped. A blow given to a single slave is a stripe on the souls of all who see or hear it. It makes all abject, servile. It is not the wound given to the flesh of which we now complain. Scar the back, and you have done nothing compared with the wrong done to the

soul. You have either stung that soul with infernal passions, with thirst for revenge, or, what perhaps is more discouraging, you have broken and brutalized it. The human spirit has perished under your hands, as far as it can be destroyed by human force.

I know it is sometimes said, in reply to these remarks, that all men, as well as slaves, act from necessity; that we have masters in hunger and thirst; that no man loves labor for itself; that the pains which are inflicted on us by the laws of nature, the elements and seasons, are so many lashes driving us to our daily task. Be it so. Still the two cases are essentially different. The necessity laid on us by natural wants is most kindly in its purpose. It is meant to awaken all our faculties, to give full play to body and mind, and thus to give us a new consciousness of the powers derived to us from God. We are, indeed, subjected to a stern nature; we are placed amidst warring elements, scorching heat, withering cold, storms, blights, sickness, death. And what is the design? To call forth our powers, to lay on us great duties, to make us nobler beings. We are placed in the midst of a warring nature, not to yield to it, not to be its slaves, but to conquer it, to make it the monument of our skill and strength, to arm ourselves with its elements, its heat, winds, vapors, and mineral treasures, to find, in its painful changes, occasions and incitements to invention, courage, endurance, mutual and endearing dependences, and religious trust. The development of human nature, in all its powers and affections, is the end of that hard necessity which is laid on us by nature. Is this one and the same thing with the whip laid on the slave? Still more; it is the design of nature that, by energy, skill, and self-denial, we should so far anticipate our wants, or accumulate supplies, as to be able to diminish the toil of the hands, and to mix with it more intellectual and liberal occupations. Nature does not lay on us an unchangeable task, but one which we may all lighten by honest, self-denying industry. Thus she invites us to throw off her yoke, and to make her our servant. Is this the invitation which the master gives his slaves? Is it his aim to awaken the powers of those on whom he lays his burdens, and to give them increasing mastery over himself? Is it not his aim to curb their wills, break their spirits, and shut them up for ever in the same narrow and degrading work? Oh, let not nature be profaned, let not her parental rule be blasphemed, by comparing with her the slave-holder!

2. Having considered the moral influence of slavery, I proceed to consider its intellectual influence, — another great topic. God gave us intellectual power that it should be cultivated; and a system which degrades it, and can only be upheld by its depression, opposes one of his most benevolent designs. Reason is God's image in man, and the capacity of acquiring truth is among his best aspirations. To call forth the intellect is a principal purpose of the circumstances in which we are placed, of the child's connection with the parent, and of the necessity laid on him in maturer life to provide for himself and others. The education of the intellect is not confined to youth; but the various experience of later years does vastly more than books and colleges to ripen and invigorate the faculties.

Now, the whole lot of the slave is fitted to keep his mind in childhood and bondage. Though living in a land of light, few beams find their way to his benighted understanding. No parent feels the duty of instructing him. No teacher is provided for him but the driver, who breaks him, almost in childhood, to the servile tasks which are to fill up his life. No book is opened to his youthful curiosity. As he advances in years, no new excitements supply the place of teachers. He is not cast on himself, — made to depend on his own energies. No stirring prizes in life awaken his dormant faculties. Fed and clothed by others like a child, directed in every step, doomed for life to a monotonous round of labor, he lives and dies without a spring to his powers, often brutally unconscious of his spiritual nature. Nor is this all. When benevolence would approach him with instruction, it is repelled. He is not allowed to be taught. The light is jealously barred out. The voice, which would speak to him as a man, is put to silence. He must not even be enabled to read the word of God. His immortal spirit is systematically crushed.

It is said, I know, that the ignorance of the slave is necessary to the security of the master, and the quiet of the state; and this is said truly. Slavery and knowledge cannot live together. To enlighten the slave is to break his chain. To make him harmless, he must be kept blind. He cannot be left to read, in an enlightened age, without endangering his master; for what can he read which will not give at least some hint of his wrongs? Should his eye chance to fall on the "Declaration of Independence," how would the truth glare on him that "All men are born free and equal!" All knowledge furnishes arguments against slavery. From every subject, light would break forth to reveal his inalienable and outraged rights. The very exercise of his intellect would give him the consciousness of being made for something more than a slave. I agree to the necessity laid on his master to keep him in darkness. And what stronger argument against slavery can be conceived? It compels the master to degrade systematically the mind of the slave; to war against human intelligence; to resist that improvement which is the end of the Creator. "Woe to him that taketh away the key of knowledge!" To kill the body is a great crime. The spirit we cannot kill, but we can bury it in death-like lethargy; and is this a light crime in the sight of its Maker?

Let it not be said that almost everywhere the laboring classes are doomed to ignorance, deprived of the means of instruction. The intellectual advantages of the laboring freeman, who is intrusted with the care of himself, raise him far above the slave; and, accordingly, superior minds are constantly seen to issue from the less educated classes. Besides, in free communities, philanthropy is not forbidden to labor for the improvement of the ignorant. The obligation of the prosperous and instructed to elevate their less favored brethren is taught, and not taught in vain. Benevolence is making perpetual encroachments on the domain of ignorance and crime. In communities, on the other hand, cursed with slavery, half the population, sometimes more, are given up, intentionally and systematically, to hopeless ignorance. To raise this mass to intelligence and self-government is a crime. The sentence of perpetual degradation is passed on a large portion of the human race. In this view, how great the ill-desert of slavery!

3. I proceed now to the domestic influences of slavery; and here we must look for a dark picture. Slavery virtually dissolves the domestic relations. It ruptures the most sacred ties on earth. It violates home. It lacerates the best affections. The domestic relations precede, and, in our present existence, are worth more than all our other social ties. They give the first throb to the heart, and unseal the deep fountains of its love. Home is the chief school of human virtue. Its responsibilities, joys, sorrows, smiles, tears, hopes, and solicitudes, form the chief interests of human life. Go where a man may, home is the centre to which his heart turns. The thought of his home nerves his arm and lightens his toil. For that his heart yearns, when he is far off. There he garners up his best treasures. God has ordained for all men alike the highest earthly happiness, in providing for all the sanctuary of home. But the slave's home does not merit the name. To him it is no sanctuary. It is open to violation, insult, outrage. His children belong to another, are provided for by another, are disposed of by another. The most precious burden with which the heart can be charged — the happiness of his child — he must not bear. He lives not for his family, but for a stranger. He cannot improve their lot. His wife and daughter he cannot shield from insult. They may be torn from him at another's pleasure, sold as beasts of burden, sent he knows not whither, sent where he cannot reach them, or even interchange inquiries and messages of love. To the slave, marriage has no sanctity. It may be dissolved in a moment at another's will. His wife, son, and daughter may be lashed before his eyes, and not a finger must be lifted in their defence. He sees the scar of the lash on his wife and child. Thus the slave's home is desecrated. Thus the tenderest relations, intended by God equally for all, and intended to be the chief springs of happiness and virtue, are sported with wantonly and cruelly. What outrage so great as to enter a man's house, and tear from his side the beings whom God has bound to him by

the holiest ties? Every man can make the case his own. Every mother can bring it home to her own heart.

And let it not be said that the slave has not the sensibilities of other men. Nature is too strong even for slavery to conquer. Even the brute has the yearnings of parental love. But suppose that the conjugal and parental ties of the slave may be severed without a pang. What a curse must be slavery, if it can so blight the heart with more than brutal insensibility, if it can sink the human mother below the Polar she-bear, which "howls and dies for her sundered cub!" But it does not and cannot turn the slave to stone. It leaves, at least, feeling enough to make these domestic wrongs occasions of frequent and deep suffering. Still it must do much to quench the natural affections. Can the wife, who has been brought up under influences most unfriendly to female purity and honor, who is exposed to the whip, who may be torn away at her master's will, and whose support and protection are not committed to a husband's faithfulness, — can such a wife, if the name may be given her, be loved and honored as a woman should be? Or can the love which should bind together man and his offspring be expected under an institution which subverts, in a great degree, filial dependence and parental authority and care? Slavery withers the affections and happiness of home at their very root, by tainting female purity. Woman, brought up in degradation, placed under another's power and at another's disposal, and never taught to look forward to the happiness of an inviolate, honorable marriage, can hardly possess the feelings and virtues of her sex. A blight falls on her in her early years. Those who have daughters can comprehend her lot. In truth, licentiousness among bond and free is the natural issue of all-polluting slavery. Domestic happiness perishes under its touch, both among bond and free.

How wonderful is it that, in civilized countries, men can be so steeled by habit as to invade without remorse the peace, purity, and sacred relations of domestic life, as to put asunder those whom God has joined together, as to break up households by processes more painful than death! And this is done for pecuniary profit! What! Can men, having human feeling, grow rich by the desolation of families? We hear of some of the Southern States enriching themselves by breeding slaves for sale. Of all the licensed occupations of society this is the most detestable. What! grow men like cattle! Rear human families, like herds of swine, and then scatter them to the four winds for gain! Among the imprecations uttered by man on man, is there one more fearful, more ominous, than the sighing of the mother bereft of her child by unfeeling cupidity? If blood cry to God, surely that sigh will be heard in heaven.

Let it not be said that members of families are often separated in all conditions of life. Yes, but separated under the influence of love. The husband leaves wife and children that he may provide for their support, and carries them with him in his heart and hopes. The sailor, in his lonely night-watch, looks homeward, and well-known voices come to him amidst the roar of the waves. The parent sends away his children, but sends them to prosper, and to press them again to his heart with a joy enhanced by separation. Are such the separations which slavery makes? And can he who has scattered other families ask God to bless his own?

4. I proceed to another important view of the evils of slavery. Slavery produces and gives license to cruelty. By this it is not meant that cruelty is the universal, habitual, unfailing result. Thanks to God, Christianity has not entered the world in vain. Where it has not cast down, it has mitigated bad institutions. Slavery in this country differs widely from that of ancient times, and from that which the Spaniards imposed on the aboriginals of South America. There is here an increasing disposition to multiply the comforts of the slaves, and in this let us rejoice. At the same time, we must remember that, under the light of the present day, and in a country where Christianity and the rights of men are understood, a diminished severity may contain more guilt than the ferocity of darker ages. Cruelty in its lighter forms is now a greater crime than the atrocious usages of antiquity at which we shudder. "The times of that ignorance God winked at, but *now* he calleth men everywhere to

repent.' It should also be considered, that the slightest cruelty to the slave is an aggravated wrong, because he is unjustly held in bondage, unjustly held as property. We condemn the man who enforces harshly a righteous claim. What, then, ought we to think of lashing and scarring fellow-creatures, for the purpose of upholding an unrighteous, usurped power, of extorting labor which is not our due?

I have said that cruelty is not the habit of the slave States of this country. Still that it is frequent, we cannot doubt. Reports, which harrow up our souls, come to us from that quarter; and we know that they must be essentially correct, because it is impossible that a large part, perhaps the majority, of the population of a country can be broken to passive, unlimited submission, without examples of terrible severity.

Let it not be said, as is sometimes done, that cruel deeds are perpetrated everywhere else, as well as in slave countries. Be it so; but in all civilized nations unscourged by slavery, a principal object of legislation is to protect every man from cruelty, and to bring every man to punishment who wantonly tortures or wounds another; whilst slavery plucks off restraint from the ferocious, or leaves them to satiate their rage with impunity. Let it not be said that these barbarities are regarded nowhere with more horror than at the South. Be it so. They are abhorred, but allowed. The power of individuals to lacerate their fellow-creatures is given to them by the community. The community abhors the abuse, but confers the power which will certainly be abused, and thus strips itself of all defence before the bar of almighty justice. It must answer for the crimes which are shielded by its laws. Let it not be said that these cruelties are checked by the private interest of the slave-holder. Does regard to private interest save from brutal treatment the draught-horse in our streets? And may not a vast amount of suffering be inflicted which will not put in peril the life or strength of the slave?

To substantiate the charge of cruelty, I shall not, as I have said, have recourse to current reports, however well established. I am willing to dismiss them all as false. I stand on other ground. Reports may lie, but our daily experience of human nature cannot lie. I summon no witnesses, or rather I appeal to a witness everywhere present, — a witness in every heart. Who, that has watched his own heart, or observed others, does not feel that man is not fit to be trusted with absolute, irresponsible power over man? It must be abused. The selfish passions and pride of our nature will as surely abuse it as the storm will ravage, or the ocean swell and roar under the whirlwind. A being so ignorant, so headstrong, so passionate, as man, ought not to be trusted with this terrible dominion. He ought not to desire it. He ought to dread it. He ought to cast it from him, as most perilous to himself and others.

Absolute power was not meant for man. There is, indeed, an exception to this rule. There is one case in which God puts a human being wholly defenceless into another's hands. I refer to the child, who is wholly subjected to the parent's will. But observe how carefully — I might almost say anxiously — God has provided against the abuse of this power. He has raised up for the child in the heart of the parent a guardian whom the mightiest on earth cannot resist. He has fitted the parent for this trust, by teaching him to love his offspring better than himself. No eloquence on earth is so subduing as the moaning of the infant when in pain. No reward is sweeter than that infant's smile. We say, God has put the infant into the parent's hands. Might we not more truly say, that he has put the parent into the child's power? That little being sends forth his father to toil, and makes the mother watch over him by day, and fix on him her sleepless eyes by night. No tyrant lays such a yoke. Thus God has fenced and secured from abuse the power of the parent; and yet even the parent has been known, in a moment of passion, to be cruel to his child. Is man, then, to be trusted with absolute power over a fellow-creature, who, instead of being commended by nature to his tenderest love, belongs to a despised race, is regarded as property, is made the passive instrument of his gratification and gain? I ask no documents to prove the abuses of this power, nor do I care what is said to disprove them. Millions may rise up and tell me that the slave suffers little from cruelty.

I know too much of human nature, human history, human passion, to believe them. I acquit slave-holders of all peculiar depravity. I judge them by myself. I say that absolute power always corrupts human nature more or less. I say that extraordinary, almost miraculous, self-control is necessary to secure the slave-holder from provocation and passion; and is self-control the virtue which, above all others, grows up amidst the possession of irresponsible dominion? Even when the slave-holder honestly acquits himself of cruelty, he may be criminal. His own consciousness is to be distrusted. Having begun with wronging the slave, with wresting from him sacred rights, he may be expected to multiply wrongs without thought. The degraded state of the slave may induce in the master a mode of treatment essentially inhuman and insulting, but which he never dreams to be cruel. The influence of slavery in indurating the moral feeling and blinding men to wrong, is one of its worst evils.

But suppose the master to be ever so humane. Still, he is not always watching over his slave. He has his pleasures to attend to. He is often absent. His terrible power must be delegated. And to whom is it delegated? To men prepared to govern others, by having learned to govern themselves? To men having a deep interest in the slaves? To wise men, instructed in human nature? To Christians, trained to purity and love? Who does not know that the office of overseer is among the last which an enlightened, philanthropic, self-respecting man would choose? Who does not know how often the overseer pollutes the plantation by his licentiousness, as well as scourges it by his severity? In the hands of such a man the lash is placed. To such a man is committed the most fearful trust on earth! For his cruelties the master must answer, as truly as if they were his own. Nor is this all. The master does more than delegate his power to the overseer. How often does he part with it wholly to the slave-dealer! And has he weighed the responsibility of such a transfer? Does he not know that, in selling his slaves into merciless hands, he is merciless himself, and must give an account to God for every barbarity of which they become the victims? The notorious cruelty of the slave-dealers can be no false report, for it belongs to their vocation. These are the men who throng and defile our seat of government, whose slave-markets and slave-dungeons turn to mockery the language of freedom in the halls of Congress, and who make us justly the by-word and the scorn of the nations. Is there no cruelty in putting slaves under the bloody lash of the slave-dealers, to be driven like herds of cattle to distant regions, and there to pass into the hands of strangers, without a pledge of their finding justice or mercy? What heart, not seared by custom, would not recoil from such barbarity?

It has been seen that I do not ground my argument at all on cases of excessive cruelty. I should attach less importance to these than do most persons, even were they more frequent. They form a very, very small amount of suffering, compared with what is inflicted by abuses of power too minute for notice. Blows, insults, privations, which make no noise, and leave no scar, are incomparably more destructive of happiness than a few brutal violences, which move general indignation. A weak, despised being, having no means of defence or redress, living in a community armed against his rights, regarded as property, and as bound to entire, unresisting compliance with another's will, if not subjected to inflictions of ferocious cruelty, is yet exposed to less striking and shocking forms of cruelty, the amount of which must be a fearful mass of suffering.

But could it be proved that there are no cruelties in slave-countries, we ought not then to be more reconciled to slavery than we now are. For what would this show? That cruelty is not needed. And why not needed? Because the slave is entirely subdued to his lot. No man will be wholly unresisting in bondage but he who is thoroughly imbued with the spirit of a slave. If the colored race never need punishment, it is because the feelings of men are dead within them, because they have no consciousness of rights, because they are cowards, without respect for themselves, and without confidence in the sharers of their degraded lot. The quiet of slavery is like that which the Roman legions left in ancient Britain, — the stillness of death. Why were the Romans accustomed to work their slaves in chains

by day, and confine them in dungeons by night? Not because they loved cruelty for its own sake, but because their slaves were stung with a consciousness of degradation; because they brought from the forests of Dacia some rude ideas of human dignity, or from civilized countries some experience of social improvements, which naturally issued in violence and exasperation. They needed cruelty, for their own wills were not broken to another's, and the spirit of freemen was not wholly gone. The slave *must* meet cruel treatment either inwardly or outwardly. Either the soul or the body must receive the blow. Either the flesh must be tortured, or the spirit be struck down. Dreadful alternative to which slavery is reduced!

5. I proceed to another view of the evils of slavery. I refer to its influence on the master. This topic cannot, perhaps, be so handled as to avoid giving offence; but without it an imperfect view of the subject would be given. I will pass over many views. I will say nothing of the tendency of slavery to unsettle the ideas of right in the slave-holder, to impair his convictions of justice and benevolence; or of its tendency to associate with labor ideas of degradation, and to recommend idleness as an honorable exemption. I will confine myself to two considerations.

The first is, that slavery, above all other influences, nourishes the passion for power and its kindred vices. There is no passion which needs a stronger curb. Men's worst crimes have sprung from the desire of being masters, of bending others to their yoke. And the natural tendency of bringing others into subjection to our absolute will, is to quicken into fearful activity the imperious, haughty, proud, self-seeking propensities of our nature. Man cannot, without imminent peril to his virtue, own a fellow-creature, or use the word of absolute command to his brethren. God never delegated this power. It is a usurpation of the divine dominion, and its natural influence is to produce a spirit of superiority to divine as well as to human laws.

Undoubtedly this tendency is in a measure counteracted by the spirit of the age and the genius of Christianity, and in conscientious individuals it may be wholly overcome; but we see its fruits in the corruptions of moral sentiment which prevail among slave-holders. A quick resentment of whatever is thought to encroach on personal dignity, a trembling jealousy of reputation, vehemence of the vindictive passions, and contempt of all laws, human and divine, in retaliating injury, — these take rank among the virtues of men whose self-estimation has been fed by the possession of absolute power.

Of consequence, the direct tendency of slavery is to annihilate the control of Christianity. Humility is by eminence the spirit of Christianity. No vice was so severely rebuked by our Lord as the passion for ruling over others. A deference towards all human beings as our brethren, a benevolence which disposes us to serve rather than to reign, to concede our own rather than to encroach on others' rights, to forgive, not avenge wrongs, to govern our own spirits, instead of breaking the spirit of an inferior or foe, — this is Christianity; a religion too high and pure to be understood and obeyed anywhere as it should be, but which meets singular hostility in the habits of mind generated by slavery.

The slave-holder, indeed, values himself on his loftiness of spirit. He has a consciousness of dignity, which imposes on himself and others. But truth cannot stoop to this lofty mien. Truth, moral Christian truth, condemns it, and condemns those who bow to it. Self-respect, founded on a consciousness of our moral nature and immortal destiny, is, indeed, a noble principle; but this sentiment includes, as a part of itself, respect for all who partake our nature. A consciousness of dignity, founded on the subjection of others to our absolute will, is inhuman and unjust. It is time that the teachings of Christ were understood. In proportion as a man acquires a lofty bearing from the habit of command over wronged and depressed fellow-creatures, so far he casts away true honor, so far he has fallen in the sight of God and virtue.

I approach a more delicate subject, and one on which I shall not enlarge. To own the persons of others, to hold females in slavery, is necessarily fatal to the purity of a people. That unprotected females, stripped by their degraded condition of woman's self-respect, should be

used to minister to other passions in men than the love of gain, is next to inevitable. Accordingly, in such a community, the reins are given to youthful licentiousness. Youth, everywhere in peril, is in these circumstances urged to vice with a terrible power. And the evil cannot stop at youth. Early licentiousness is fruitful of crime in mature life. How far the obligation to conjugal fidelity, the sacredness of domestic ties, will be revered amidst such habits, such temptations, such facilities to vice, as are involved in slavery, needs no exposition. So sure and terrible is retribution even in this life! Domestic happiness is not blighted in the slave's hut alone. The master's infidelity sheds a blight ever his own domestic affections and joys. Home, without purity and constancy, is spoiled of its holiest charm and most blessed influences. I need not say, after the preceding explanations, that this corruption is far from being universal. Still, a slave-country reeks with licentiousness. It is tainted with a deadlier pestilence than the plague.

But the worst is not told. As a consequence of criminal connections, many a master has children born into slavery. Of these, most, I presume, receive protection, perhaps indulgence, during the life of the fathers; but, at their death, not a few are left to the chances of a cruel bondage. These cases must have increased, since the difficulties of emancipation have been multiplied. Still more: it is to be feared that there are cases in which the master puts his own children under the whip of the overseer, or else sells them to undergo the miseries of bondage among strangers. I should rejoice to learn that my impressions on this point are false. If they be true, then our own country, calling itself enlightened and Christian, is defiled with one of the greatest enormities on earth. We send missionaries to heathen lands. Among the pollutions of heathenism I know nothing worse than this. The heathen, who feasts on his country's foe, may hold up his head by the side of the Christian who sells his child for gain, — sells him to be a slave. God forbid that I should charge this crime on a people! But however rarely it may occur, it is a fruit of slavery, an exercise of power belonging to slavery, and no laws restrain or punish it. Such are the evils which spring naturally from the licentiousness generated by slavery.

6. I cannot leave the subject of the evils of slavery without saying a word of its political influence. Under this head, I shall not engage in discussions which belong to the economist. I shall not repeat, what has been often proved, that slave-labor is less productive than free: nor shall I show how the ability of a community to unfold its resources in peace, and to defend itself in war, must be impaired by degrading the laboring population to a state which takes from them motives to toil, and renders them objects of suspicion or dread. I wish only to speak of the influence of slavery on free institutions. This influence, we are gravely told, is favorable, and therefore I am bound to give it a brief notice. Political liberty is said to find strength and security in domestic servitude. Strange mode, indeed, of ensuring freedom to ourselves, to violate it in the persons of others! Among the new lights of the age, the most wonderful discovery is, that to spoil others of their rights is the way to assert the sacredness of our own.

And how is slavery proved to support free institutions? Slave-holding, we are told, infuses an indomitable spirit, and this is a pledge against tyranny. But do we not know that Asia and Africa, slave-holding countries from the earliest date of history, have been paralyzed for ages and robbed of all manly force by despotism? In the feudal ages, the baron, surrounded by his serfs, had undoubtedly enough of a fiery spirit to keep him free, if this were the true defence of freedom; but gradually his pride was curbed, his power broken; a greater tyrant swallowed him up; and the descendants of nobles, who would have died sooner than brooked a master, were turned into courtiers, as pliant as their fathers had been ferocious.

But "the free states of antiquity," we are told, "had slaves." So had the monarchies of the same periods. With which of these institutions was slavery most congenial? To which did it most probably give support? Besides, it is only by courtesy that we call the ancient republics free. Rome in her best days was an aristocracy; nor were private rights, which it is the chief office of

liberty to protect, rendered a whit more secure by the gradual triumphs of the people over patrician power. Slavery was at all periods the curse of Rome. The great mass of her free population, throwing almost every laborious occupation on the slaves, became an idle, licentious rabble; and this unprincipled populace, together with the slaves, furnished ready instruments for every private and public crime. When Clodius prowled the streets of Rome for the murder of Cicero and the best citizens, his train was composed in part of slaves, fit bloodhounds for his nefarious work. The republic in its proudest days was desolated and convulsed by servile wars. Imperial Rome was overwhelmed by savage hordes, for this among other reasons, that her whole peasantry consisted either of slaves, or of nominal freemen degraded to a servile condition, so that the legions could be recruited only from tribes of barbarians whom she had formerly subdued.

But the great argument in favor of the political benefits of slavery remains to be stated. In plain language it amounts to this, that slavery excludes the laboring or poorer classes from the elective franchise, from political power; and it is the turbulence of these classes which is supposed to constitute the chief peril of liberty. But, in slave-holding communities, are there no distinctions of condition among the free? Are none comparatively poor? Is there no democracy? Was not Athens, crowded as she was with slaves, the most turbulent of democracies? And further, do not the idleness and impatience of restraint, into which the free of a slave-holding community naturally fall, generate an intenser party-spirit, fiercer political passions, and more desperate instruments of ambition, than can be found among the laboring classes in a community where slavery is unknown? In which of the two great divisions of our own country are political strifes most likely to be settled by the sword? In the slave-holding States, or the free? The laboring classes, when brought up under free institutions and equal laws, are not necessarily or peculiarly disposed to abuse the elective franchise. Their daily toil, often exhausting, secures them from habitual political excitement. The most powerful spirits among them are continually rising to a prosperity which gives them an interest in public order. There is also a general diffusion of property, the result of unfettered industry, which forms a general motive to the support of the laws. It should be added, that the domestic virtues and religious sentiments, which in a Christian country spread through all ranks, and spread more widely among the industrious than the idle, are powerful checks on the passions, strong barriers against civil convulsion. Idleness, rather than toil, makes the turbulent partisan. Whoever knows the state of society in the free States, can testify that the love of liberty, pride in our free institutions, and jealousy of rights, are nowhere more active than in those very classes which in a slave-holding country are reduced to servitude. Undoubtedly, the jealousies, passions, and prejudices of the laboring portion of the community may work evil, and even ruin to the state; and so may the luxury, the political venality, the gambling spirit of trade, and the cupidity, to be found in other ranks or conditions. If freedom must be denied wherever it will be endangered, then every class in society must be reduced to slavery.

Free institutions rest on two great political virtues, — the love of liberty and the love of order. The slave-holder (I mean the slave-holder by choice) is of necessity more or less wanting in both. How plain is it that no man can love liberty with a true love who has the heart to wrest it from others? Attachment to freedom does not consist in spurning indignantly a yoke prepared for our own necks; for this is done even by the savage and the beast of prey. It is a moral sentiment, an impartial desire and choice, that others as well as ourselves may be protected from every wrong, may be exempted from every unjust restraint. Slave-holding, when perpetuated selfishly and from choice, is at an open war with this generous principle. It is a plain, habitual contempt of human rights, and of course impairs that sense of their sanctity which is their best protection. It offers, every day and hour, a precedent of usurpation to the ambitious. It creates a caste with despotic powers; and under such guardians is liberty peculiarly secure?

It creates a burning zeal for the rights of a privileged class, but not for the rights of men. These the voluntary slave-holder casts down by force; and, in the changes of human affairs, the time may not be distant when he will learn that force, accustomed to triumph over right, is prone to leap every bound, and to make the proud as well as abject stoop to its sway.

Slavery is also hostile to the love of order, which, in union with the love of liberty, is the great support of free institutions. Slave-holding in a republic tends directly to lawlessness. It gives the habit of command, not of obedience. The absolute master is not likely to distinguish himself by subjection to the civil power. The substitution of passion and self-will for law is nowhere so common as in the slave-holding States. In these it is thought honorable to rely on one's own arm, rather than on the magistrate, for the defence of many rights. In some, perhaps many, districts, the chief peace-officer seems to be the weapon worn as part of the common dress; and the multitude seem to be more awed by one another's passions than by the authority of the State. Such communities have no pledge of stable liberty. Reverence for the laws, as manifestations of the public will, is the very spirit of free institutions. Does this spirit find its best nutriment in the habits and feelings generated by slavery?

Slavery is a strange element to mix up with free institutions. It cannot but endanger them. It is a pattern for every kind of wrong. The slave brings insecurity on the free. Whoever holds one human being in bondage invites others to plant the foot on his own neck. Thanks to God, not one human being can be wronged with impunity. The liberties of a people ought to tremble until every man is free. Tremble they will. Their true foundation is sapped by the legalized degradation of a single innocent man to slavery. That foundation is impartial justice, is respect for human nature, is respect for the rights of every human being.

I have endeavored in these remarks to show the hostility between slavery and free institutions. If, however, I err, if these institutions cannot stand without slavery for their foundation, then I say, Let them fall. Then they ought to be buried in perpetual ruins. Then the name of republicanism ought to become a by-word and reproach among the nations. Then monarchy, limited as it is in England, is incomparably better and happier than our more popular forms. Then despotism, as it exists in Prussia, where equal laws are in the main administered with impartiality, ought to be preferred. A republican government, bought by the sacrifice of half or more than half of a people, by stripping them of their most sacred rights, by degrading them to a brutal condition, would cost too much. A freedom so tainted with wrong ought to be our abhorrence. They who tell us that slavery is a necessary condition of a republic, do not justify the former, but pronounce a sentence of reprobation on the latter. If they speak truth, we are bound as a people to seek more just and generous institutions, under which the rights of all will be secure.

I have now placed before the reader the chief evils of slavery. We are told, however, that these are not without mitigation, that slavery has advantages which do much to counterbalance its wrongs and pains. Not a few are partially reconciled to the institution by the language of confidence in which its benefits are sometimes announced. I shall therefore close this chapter with a very brief consideration of what are thought to be the advantages of slavery.

It is often said that the slave does less work than the free laborer; he bears a lighter burden than liberty would lay on him. Perhaps this is generally true; yet, when circumstances promise profit to the master from the imposition of excessive labor, the slave is not spared. In the West Indies the terrible waste of life among the overworked cultivators required large supplies from Africa to keep up the failing population. In this country, it is probably true that the slave works less than the free laborer: but it does not therefore follow that his work is lighter. For what is it that lightens toil? It is hope; it is love; it is strong motive. That labor is light which we do from the heart, to which a great good quickens us, which is to better our lot. That labor is light which is to comfort, adorn, and cheer our homes, to give instruc-

tion to our children, to solace the declining years of a parent, to give to our grateful and generous sentiments the means of exertion. Great effort from great motives is the best definition of a happy life. The easiest labor is a burden to him who has no motive for performing it. How wearisome is the task imposed by another, and wrongfully imposed! The slave cannot easily be made to do a freeman's work; and why? Because he wants a freeman's spirit, because the spring of labor is impaired within him, because he works as a machine, not a free agent. The compulsion under which he toils for another takes from labor its sweetness, makes the daily round of life arid and dull, makes escape from toil the chief interest of life.

We are further told, that the slave is freed from all care, that he is sure of future support, that when old he is not dismissed to the poor-house, but fed and sheltered in his own hut. This is true; but it is also true that nothing can be gained by violating the great laws and essential rights of our nature. The slave, we are told, has no care, his future is provided for. Yet God created him to provide for the future, to take care of his own happiness; and he cannot be freed from this care without injury to his moral and intellectual life. Why has God given foresight and power over the future, but to be used? Is it a blessing to a rational creature to be placed in a condition which chains his faculties to the present moment, which leaves nothing before him to rouse the intellect or touch the heart? Be it also remembered, that the same provision which relieves the slave from anxiety cuts him off from hope. The future is not, indeed, haunted by spectres of poverty, nor is it brightened by images of joy. It stretches before him sterile, monotonous, expanding into no refreshing verdure, and sending no cheering whisper of a better lot.

It is true that the free laborer may become a pauper; and so may the free rich man, both of the North and the South. Still, our capitalists never dream of flying to slavery as a security against the almshouse. Freedom undoubtedly has its perils. It offers nothing to the slothful and dissolute. Among a people left to seek their own good in their own way, some of all classes fail from vice, some from incapacity, some from misfortune. All classes will furnish members to the body of the poor. But in this country the number is small, and ought constantly to decrease. The evil, however lamentable, is not so remediless and spreading as to furnish a motive for reducing half the population to chains. Benevolence does much to mitigate it. The best minds are inquiring how it may be prevented, diminished, removed. It is giving excitement to a philanthropy which creates out of misfortune new bonds of union between man and man.

Our slave-holding brethren, who tell us that the condition of the slave is better than that of the free laborer at the North, talk ignorantly and rashly. They do not, cannot know, what to us is matter of daily observation, that from the families of our farmers and mechanics have sprung our most distinguished men, — men who have done most for science, arts, letters, religion, and freedom; and that the noblest spirits among us would have been lost to their country and mankind had the laboring class here been doomed to slavery. They do not know — what we rejoice to tell them — that this class partakes largely of the impulse given to the whole community; that the means of intellectual improvement are multiplying to the laborious as fast as to the opulent; that our most distinguished citizens meet them as brethren, and communicate to them in public discourses their own most important acquisitions. Undoubtedly, the Christian, republican spirit is not working, even here, as it should. The more improved and prosperous classes have not yet learned that it is their great mission to elevate morally and intellectually the less advanced classes of the community: but the great truth is more and more recognized, and accordingly a new era may be said to be opening on society.

It is said, however, that the slave, if not to be compared to the free laborer at the North, is in a happier condition than the Irish peasantry. Let this be granted. Let the security of the peasant's domestic relations, let his church and his school-house, and his faint hope of a better lot, pass for nothing. Be-

cause Ireland is suffering from the misgovernment and oppression of ages, does it follow that a less grinding oppression is a good? Besides, are not the wrongs of Ireland acknowledged? Is not British legislation laboring to restore her prosperity? Is it not true that, whilst the slave's lot admits no important change, the most enlightened minds are at work to confer on the Irish peasant the blessings of education, of equal laws, of new springs to exertion, of new sources of wealth? Other men, however fallen, may be lifted up. An immovable weight presses on the slave.

But still, we are told, the slave is gay. He is not as wretched as our theories teach. After his toil he sings, he dances, he gives no signs of an exhausted frame or gloomy spirit. The slave happy! Why, then, contend for rights? Why follow with beating hearts the struggles of the patriot for freedom? Why canonize the martyr to freedom? The slave happy! Then happiness is to be found in giving up the distinctive attributes of a man; in darkening intellect and conscience; in quenching generous sentiments; in servility of spirit; in living under a whip; in having neither property nor rights; in holding wife and child at another's pleasure; in toiling without hope; in living without an end! The slave, indeed, has his pleasures. His animal nature survives the injury to his rational and moral powers; and every animal has its enjoyments. The kindness of Providence allows no human being to be wholly divorced from good. The lamb frolics; the dog leaps for joy; the bird fills the air with cheerful harmony; and the slave spends his holiday in laughter and the dance. Thanks to Him who never leaves himself without witness; who cheers even the desert with spots of verdure, and opens a fountain of joys in the most withered heart! It is not possible, however, to contemplate the occasional gayety of the slave without some mixture of painful thought. He is gay, because he has not learned to think; because he is too fallen to feel his wrongs; because he wants just self-respect. We are grieved by the gayety of the insane. There is a sadness in the gayety of him whose lightness of heart would be turned to bitterness and indignation, were one ray of light to awaken in him the spirit of a man.

That there are those among the free who are more wretched than slaves is undoubtedly true; just as there is incomparably greater misery among men than among brutes. The brute never knows the agony of a human spirit torn by remorse, or wounded in its love. But would we cease to be human because our capacity for suffering increases with the elevation of our nature? All blessings may be perverted, and the greatest perverted most. Were we to visit a slave-country, undoubtedly the most miserable human beings would be found among the free; for among them the passions have wider sweep, and the power they possess may be used to their own ruin. Liberty is not a necessity of happiness. It is only a means of good. It is a trust which may be abused. Are all such trusts to be cast away? Are they not the greatest gifts of heaven?

But the slave, we are told, often manifests affection to his master, grieves at his departure, and welcomes his return. I will not endeavor to explain this by saying that the master's absence places the slave under the overseer; nor will I object that the slave's propensity to steal from his master, his need of the whip to urge him to toil, and the dread of insurrection which he inspires, are signs of any thing but love. There is, undoubtedly, much more affection in this relation than could be expected. Of all races of men, the African is the mildest and most susceptible of attachment. He loves, where the European would hate. He watches the life of a master whom the North American Indian, in like circumstances, would stab to the heart. The African is affectionate. Is this a reason for holding him in chains? We cannot, however, think of this most interesting feature of slavery with unmixed pleasure. It is the curse of slavery that it can touch nothing which it does not debase Even love, that sentiment given us by God to be the germ of a divine virtue, becomes in the slave a weakness, almost a degradation. His affections lose much of their beauty and dignity. He ought, indeed, to feel benevolence toward his master; but to attach himself to a man who keeps him in the dust and denies him the rights of

a man; to be grateful and devoted to one who extorts his toil and debases him into a chattel; this has a taint of servility, which makes us grieve whilst we admire. However, we would not diminish the attachment of the slave. He is the happier for his generosity. Let him love his master, and let the master win love by kindness. We only say, Let not this manifestation of a generous nature in the slave be turned against him. Let it not be made an answer to an exposition of his wrongs. Let it not be used as a weapon for his perpetual degradation.

But the slave, we are told, is taught religion. This is the most cheering sound which comes to us from the land of bondage. We are rejoiced to learn that any portion of the slaves are instructed in that truth which gives inward freedom. They hear, at least, one voice of deep, genuine love, — the voice of Christ; and read in his cross what all other things hide from them, the unutterable worth of their spiritual nature. This portion, however, is small. The greater part are still buried in heathen ignorance. Besides, religion, though a great good, can hardly exert its full power on the slave. Will it not be taught to make him obedient to his master, rather than to raise him to the dignity of a man? Is slavery, which tends so proverbially to debase the mind, the preparation for spiritual truth? Can the slave comprehend the principle of love, the essential principle of Christianity, when he hears it from the lips of those whose relations to him express injustice and selfishness? But suppose him to receive Christianity in its purity, and to feel all its power. Is this to reconcile us to slavery? Is a being, who can understand the sublimest truth which has ever entered the human mind, who can love and adore God, who can conform himself to the celestial virtue of the Saviour, for whom that Saviour died, to whom heaven is opened, whose repentance now gives joy in heaven, — is such a being to be held as property, driven by force as the brute, and denied the rights of man by a fellow-creature, by a professed disciple of the just and merciful Saviour? Has he a religious nature, and dares any one hold him as a slave?

I have now completed my views of the evils of slavery, and have shown how little they are mitigated by what are thought its advantages. In this whole discussion I have cautiously avoided quoting particular examples of its baneful influences. I have not brought together accounts of horrible cruelty which come to us from the South. I have confined myself to the natural tendencies of slavery, to evils bound up in its very nature, which, as long as man is man, cannot be separated from it. That these evils are unmixed, I do not say. More or less of good may often be found in connection with them. No institution, be it what it may, can make the life of a human being wholly evil, or cut off every means of improvement. God's benevolence triumphs over all the perverseness and folly of man's devices. He sends a cheering beam into the darkest abode. The slave has his hours of exhilaration. His hut occasionally rings with thoughtless mirth. Among this class, too, there are, and must be, occasionally, higher pleasures. God is no respecter of persons; and in some slaves there is a happy nature which no condition can destroy, just as among children we find some whom the worst education cannot spoil. The African is so affectionate, imitative, and docile, that in favorable circumstances he catches much that is good; and accordingly the influence of a wise and kind master will be seen in the very countenance and bearing of his slaves. Among this degraded people, there are, occasionally, examples of superior intelligence and virtue, showing the groundlessness of the opinion that they are incapable of filling a higher rank than slavery, and showing that human nature is too generous and hardy to be wholly destroyed in the most unpropitious state. We also witness in this class, and very often, a superior physical development, a grace of form and motion, which almost extorts a feeling approaching respect. I mean not to affirm that slavery excludes all good, for human life cannot long endure under the privation of every thing happy and improving. I have spoken of its natural tendencies and results. These are wholly and only evil.

I am aware that it will be replied to the views now given of slavery, that persons living at a distance from it can-

not comprehend it, that its true character can be learned only from those who know it practically, and are familiar with its operations. To this I will not reply, that I have seen it near at hand. It is sufficient to reply, that men may lose the power of seeing an object fairly by being too near as well as by being too remote. The slave-holder is too familiar with slavery to understand it. To be educated in injustice is almost necessarily to be blinded by it more or less. To exercise usurped power from birth is the surest way to look upon it as a right and a good. The slaveholder tells us that he only can instruct us about slavery. But suppose that we wished to learn the true character of despotism; should we go to the palace and take the despot as our teacher? Should we pay much heed to his assurance that he alone could understand the character of absolute power, and that we in a republic could know nothing of the condition of men subjected to irresponsible will? The sad influence of slavery in darkening the mind which is perpetually conversant with it, is disclosed to us in the recent attempts made at the South to represent this institution as a good. Freemen, who would sooner die than resign their rights, talk of the happiness of those from whom every right is wrested. They talk of the slave as "property," with the same confidence as if this were the holiest claim. This is one of the mournful effects of slavery. It darkens the moral sense of the master. And can men, whose position is so unfavorable to just, impartial judgment, expect us to acquiesce in their views?

There is another reply. If the slaveholding States expect us to admit their views of this institution, they must allow it to be freely discussed among themselves. Of what avail is their testimony in favor of slavery, when not a tongue is allowed to say a word in its condemnation? Of what use is the press, when it can publish only on one side? In large portions of the slave-holding States, freedom of speech on this subject is at an end. Whoever should publish among them the sentiments respecting slavery which are universally adopted through the civilized world, would put his life in jeopardy, would probably be flayed or hung. On this great subject, which affects vitally their peace and prosperity, their moral and political interests, no philanthropist, who has come to the truth, can speak his mind. Even the minister of religion, who feels the hostility between slavery and Christianity, dares not speak. His calling might not save him from popular rage. Thus slavery avenges itself. It brings the masters under despotism. It takes away that liberty which a freeman prizes as life, — liberty of speech. All this, we are told, is necessary, and so it may be; but an institution imposing such a necessity cannot be a good: and one thing is plain, — the testimony of men placed under such restraints cannot be too cautiously received. We have better sources of knowledge. We have the testimony of ages, and the testimony of the unchangeable principles of human nature. These assure us that slavery is "evil, and evil continually."

I ought not to close this head without acknowledging (what I cheerfully do) that in many cases the kindness of masters does much for the mitigation of slavery. Could it be rendered harmless, the efforts of many would not be spared to make it so. It is evil, not through any singular corruption in the slaveholder, but from its own nature, and in spite of all efforts to make it a good. It is evil, not because it exists on this or that spot. Were it planted at the North, it might become a greater curse, more hardening and depraving than it now proves under a milder sky. It is not of the particular form of slavery in this country that I complain. I am willing to allow that it is here comparatively mild; that on many plantations no abuses exist, but such as are inseparable from its very nature. The mischief lies in its very nature. "Men do not gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles." An institution so founded in wrong, so imbued with injustice, cannot be made a good. It cannot, like other institutions, be perpetuated by being improved. To improve it is to prepare the way for its subversion. Every melioration of the slave's lot is a step toward freedom. Slavery is thus radically, essentially evil. Every good man should earnestly pray, and use every virtuous influence, that an institution so blighting to human nature may be brought to an end.

CHAPTER V.

Scripture.

Attempts are often made to support slavery by the authority of revelation. "Slavery," it is said, "is allowed in the Old Testament, and not condemned in the New. Paul commands slaves to obey. He commands masters, not to release their slaves, but to treat them justly. Therefore slavery is right, is sanctified by God's word." In this age of the world, and amidst the light which has been thrown on the true interpretation of the Scriptures, such reasoning hardly deserves notice. A few words only will be offered in reply.

This reasoning proves too much. If usages, sanctioned in the Old Testament and not forbidden in the New, are right, then our moral code will undergo a sad deterioration. Polygamy was allowed to the Israelites, was the practice of the holiest men, and was common and licensed in the age of the Apostles. But the Apostles nowhere condemn it, nor was the renunciation of it made an essential condition of admission into the Christian church. It is true that in one passage Christ has condemned it by implication. But is not slavery condemned by stronger implication, in the many passages which make the new religion to consist in serving one another, and in doing to others what we would that they should do to ourselves? Why may not Scripture be used to stock our houses with wives as well as with slaves?

Again. Paul is said to sanction slavery. Let us now ask, What was slavery in the age of Paul? It was the slavery, not so much of black as of white men, not merely of barbarians, but of Greeks, not merely of the ignorant and debased, but of the virtuous, educated, and refined. Piracy and conquest were the chief means of supplying the slave-market, and they heeded neither character nor condition. Sometimes the greater part of the population of a captured city was sold into bondage, sometimes the whole, as in the case of Jerusalem. Noble and royal families, the rich and great, the learned and powerful, the philosopher and poet, the wisest and best men, were condemned to the chain. Such was ancient slavery. And this, we are told, is allowed and confirmed by the word of God! Had Napoleon, on capturing Berlin or Vienna, doomed most or the whole of their inhabitants to bondage; had he seized on venerable matrons, the mothers of illustrious men, who were reposing, after virtuous lives, in the bosom of grateful families; had he seized on the delicate, refined, beautiful young woman, whose education had prepared her to grace the sphere in which God had placed her, and over all whose prospects the freshest hopes and most glowing imaginations of early life were breathed; had he seized on the minister of religion, the man of science, the man of genius, the sage, the guides of the world; had he scattered these through the slave-markets of the world, and transferred them to the highest bidders at public auction, the men to be converted into instruments of slavish toil, the women into instruments of lust, and both to endure whatever indignities and tortures absolute power can inflict, — we should then have had a picture, in the present age, of slavery as it existed in the time of Paul. Such slavery, we are told, was sanctioned by the Apostle! Such, we are told, he pronounced to be morally right! Had Napoleon sent some cargoes of these victims to these shores, we might have bought them, and degraded the noblest beings to our lowest uses, and might have cited Paul to testify to our innocence! Were an infidel to bring this charge against the Apostle, we should say that he was laboring in his vocation; but that a professed Christian should so insult this sainted philanthropist, this martyr to truth and benevolence, is a sad proof of the power of slavery to blind its supporters to the plainest truth.

Slavery, in the age of the Apostle, had so penetrated society, was so intimately interwoven with it, and the materials of servile war were so abundant, that a religion preaching freedom to the slave would have shaken the social fabric to its foundation, and would have armed against itself the whole power of the state. Paul did not then assail the institution. He satisfied himself with spreading principles which, however slowly, could not but work its destruction. He commanded Philemon to receive his fugitive slave, Onesimus,

"not as a slave, but above a slave, as a brother beloved;" and he commanded masters to give to their slaves that which was "*just* and *equal*;" thus asserting for the slave the rights of a Christian and a man; and how, in his circumstances, he could have done more for the subversion of slavery, I do not see.

Let me offer another remark. The perversion of Scripture to the support of slavery is singularly inexcusable in this country. Paul not only commanded slaves to obey their masters. He delivered these precepts: "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation." This passage was written in the time of Nero. It teaches passive obedience to despotism more strongly than any text teaches the lawfulness of slavery. Accordingly it has been quoted for ages by the supporters of arbitrary power, and made the stronghold of tyranny. Did our fathers acquiesce in the most obvious interpretation of this text? Because the first Christians were taught to obey despotic rule, did our fathers feel as if Christianity had stripped men of their rights? Did they argue that tyranny was to be excused because forcible opposition to it is in most cases wrong? Did they argue that absolute power ceases to be unjust because, as a general rule, it is the duty of subjects to obey? Did they infer that bad institutions ought to be perpetual because the subversion of them by force will almost always inflict greater evil than it removes? No; they were wiser interpreters of God's word. They believed that despotism was a wrong, notwithstanding the general obligation upon its subjects to obey; and that whenever a whole people should so feel the wrong as to demand its removal, the time for removing it had fully come. Such is the school in which we here have been brought up. To us, it is no mean proof of the divine original of Christianity, that it teaches human brotherhood and favors human rights; and yet, on the ground of two or three passages, which admit different constructions, we make Christianity the minister of slavery, the forger of chains for those whom it came to make free.

It is a plain rule of scriptural criticism, that particular texts should be interpreted according to the general tenor and spirit of Christianity. And what is the general, the perpetual teaching of Christianity in regard to social duty? "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets." Now, does not every man feel that nothing, nothing could induce him to consent to be a slave? Does he not feel that, if reduced to this abject lot, his whole nature, his reason, conscience, affections, would cry out against it as the greatest of calamities and wrongs? Can he pretend, then, that, in holding others in bondage, he does to his neighbor what he would that his neighbor should do to him? Of what avail are a few texts, which were designed for local and temporary use, when urged against the vital, essential spirit, and the plainest precepts of our religion?

I close this section with a few extracts from a recent work of one of our most distinguished writers; not that I think additional arguments necessary, but because the authority of Scripture is more successfully used than any thing else to reconcile good minds to slavery: —

"This very course, which the gospel takes on this subject, seems to have been the only one that could have been taken in order to effect the universal abolition of slavery. The gospel was designed, not for one race or for one time, but for all races and for all times. It looked, not at the abolition of this form of evil for that age alone, but for its universal abolition. Hence the important object of its Author was to gain it a lodgment in every part of the known world; so that, by its universal diffusion among all classes of society, it might quietly and peacefully modify and subdue the evil passions of men; and thus, without violence, work a revolution in the whole mass of mankind. In this manner alone could its object — a universal moral revolution — have been accomplished. For if it had forbidden the *evil*, instead of subverting the *principle*, if it had proclaimed the unlawfulness of slavery, and taught slaves to *resist* the oppression of their masters, it would instantly have arrayed the two parties in deadly hostility throughout the civilized world; its announcement would

have been the signal of servile war; and the very name of the Christian religion would have been forgotten amidst the agitations of universal bloodshed. The fact, under these circumstances, that the gospel does not forbid slavery, affords no reason to suppose that it does not mean to prohibit it; much less does it afford ground for belief that Jesus Christ intended *to authorise it.*

"It is important to remember, that two grounds of moral obligation are distinctly recognized in the gospel. The first is our duty to man as man; that is, on the ground of the relation which men sustain to each other; the second is our duty to man as a creature of God; that is, on the ground of the relation which we all sustain to God. Now, it is to be observed that it is precisely upon this latter ground that the slave is commanded to obey his master. It is never urged, like the duty of obedience to parents, *because it is right*, but because the cultivation of meekness and forbearance under injury will be well-pleasing unto God. The manner in which the duty of servants or slaves is inculcated, therefore, affords no ground for the assertion that the gospel authorizes one man to hold another in bondage, any more than the command to honor the king, when that king was Nero, authorized the tyranny of the emperor; or than the command to turn the other cheek, when one is smitten, justifies the infliction of violence by an injurious man." *

CHAPTER VI.

Means of Removing Slavery.

How slavery shall be removed is a question for the slave-holder, and one which he alone can fully answer. He alone has an intimate knowledge of the character and habits of the slaves, to which the means of emancipation should be carefully adapted. General views and principles may and should be suggested at a distance; but the mode of applying them can be understood only by those who dwell on the spot where the evil exists. To the slave-holder belongs the duty of settling and employing the best methods of liberation, and to no other. We have no right of interference, nor do we desire it. We hold that the dangers of emancipation, if such there are, would be indefinitely increased were the boon to come to the slave from a foreign hand, — were he to see it forced on the master by a foreign power. It is of the highest importance that slavery should be succeeded by a friendly relation between master and slave; and, to produce this, the latter must see in the former his benefactor and deliverer. His liberty must seem to him an expression of benevolence and regard for his rights. He must put confidence in his superiors, and look to them cheerfully and gratefully for counsel and aid. Let him feel that liberty has been wrung from an unwilling master, who would willingly replace the chain, and jealousy, vindictiveness, and hatred would spring up to blight the innocence and happiness of his new freedom, and to make it a peril to himself and all around him. I believe, indeed, that emancipation, though so bestowed, would be better than everlasting bondage; but the responsibility of so conferring it is one that none of us are anxious to assume.

We cannot but fear much from the experiment now in progress in the West Indies, on account of its being the work of a foreign hand. The planters, especially of Jamaica, have opposed the mother country with a pertinaciousness bordering on insanity; have done much to exasperate the slaves, whose freedom they could not prevent; have done nothing to prepare them for liberty; have met them with gloom on their countenances, and with evil auguries on their lips; have taught them to look abroad for relief, and to see in their masters only obstructions to the amelioration of their lot. It is possible that, under all these obstacles, emancipation may succeed. God grant it success! If it fail, the planter will have brought the ruin very much on himself. Policy, as well as duty, so plainly taught him to take into his own hands the work which a superior power had begun, to spare no effort, no expense, for binding to him by new ties those who were to throw off their former chains, that we know not how to account for his conduct, but by supposing that his unhappy position as a slave-holder had robbed him of his reason, as well as blunted his moral sense.

In this country, no power but that of the slave-holding States can remove the evil, and none of us are anxious to

* Wayland's "Elements of Moral Science," pages 225 and 226. The discussion of Slavery, in the chapter from which these extracts are made, is well worthy attention.

take the office from their hands. They alone can do it safely. They alone can determine and apply the true and sure means of emancipation. That such means exist, I cannot doubt; for emancipation has already been carried through successfully in other countries; and even were there no precedent, I should be sure that, under God's benevolent and righteous government, there could not be a necessity for holding human beings in perpetual bondage. This faith, however, is not universal. Many, when they hear of the evils of slavery, say, "It is bad, but remediless. There are no means of relief." They say, in a despairing tone, "Give us your plan;" and justify their indifference to emancipation by what they call its hopelessness. This state of mind has induced me to offer a few remarks on the means of removing slavery; not that I think of drawing up a plan; for to this I am necessarily unequal. No individual so distant can do the work, to which the whole intellect and benevolence of the South should be summoned. I wish only to suggest a few principles, which I think would ensure a happy result to the benevolent enterprise, and which may help to remove the incredulity of which I have complained.

What, then, is to be done for the removal of slavery? In the first place, the great principle, that man cannot rightfully be held as property, should be admitted by the slave-holder. As to any public forms of setting forth this principle, they are of little or no moment, provided it be received into the mind and heart. The slave should be acknowledged as a partaker of a common nature, as having the essential rights of humanity. This great truth lies at the foundation of every wise plan for his relief. The cordial admission of it would give a consciousness of dignity, of grandeur, to efforts for emancipation. There is, indeed, a grandeur in the idea of raising more than two millions of human beings to the enjoyment of human rights, to the blessings of Christian civilization, to the means of indefinite improvement. The slave-holding States are called to a nobler work of benevolence than is committed to any other communities. They should comprehend its dignity. This they cannot do till the slave is truly, sincerely, with the mind and heart, recognized as a man, — till he ceases to be regarded as property.

It may be asked whether I intend that the slave should be immediately set free from all his present restraints. By no means. Nothing is farther from my thoughts. The slave cannot rightfully, and should not, be owned by the individual. But, like every other citizen, he is subject to the community, and the community has a right and is bound to continue all such restraints as its own safety and the well-being of the slave demand. It would be cruelty, not kindness, to the latter to give him a freedom which he is unprepared to understand or enjoy. It would be cruelty to strike the fetters from a man whose first steps would infallibly lead him to a precipice. The slave should not have an owner, but he should have a guardian. He needs authority, to supply the lack of that discretion which he has not yet attained; but it should be the authority of a friend; an official authority, conferred by the state, and for which there should be responsibleness to the state; an authority especially designed to prepare its subjects for personal freedom. The slave should not, in the first instance, be allowed to wander at his will beyond the plantation on which he toils; and if he cannot be induced to work by rational and natural motives, he should be obliged to labor, on the same principles on which the vagrant in other communities is confined and compelled to earn his bread. The gift of liberty would be a mere name, and worse than nominal, were he to be let loose on society, under circumstances driving him to crimes, for which he would be condemned to severer bondage than he had escaped. Many restraints must be continued; but continued, not because the colored race are property, not because they are bound to live and toil for an owner, but solely and wholly because their own innocence, security, and education, and the public order and peace, require them, during the present incapacity, to be restrained. It should be remembered that this incapacity is not their fault, but their misfortune; that not they, but the community, are responsible for it; and that the community, without crime, profit by its own wrong. If the government should make

any distinction among the citizens, it should be in behalf of the injured. Instead of urging the past existence of slavery, and the incapacity which it has induced, as apologies or reasons for continuing the yoke, the community should find in these very circumstances new obligations to effort for the wronged.

There is but one weighty argument against immediate emancipation; namely, that the slave would not support himself and his children by honest industry; that, having always worked on compulsion, he will not work without it; that, having always labored from another's will, he will not labor from his own; that there is no spring of exertion in his own mind; that he is unused to forethought, providence, and self-denial, and the responsibilities of domestic life; that freedom would produce idleness; idleness, want; want, crime; and that crime, when it should become the habit of numbers, would bring misery, perhaps ruin, not only on the offenders, but the state. Here lies the strength of the argument for continuing present restraint. Give the slaves disposition and power to support themselves and their families by honest industry, and complete emancipation should not be delayed one hour.

The great step, then, towards the removal of slavery, is to prepare the slaves for self-support. And this work seems attended with no peculiar difficulty. The colored man is not a savage, to whom toil is torture, who has centred every idea of happiness and dignity in a wild freedom, who must exchange the boundless forest for a narrow plantation, and bend his proud neck to an unknown yoke. Labor was his first lesson, and he has been repeating it all his life. Can it be a hard task to teach him to labor for himself, — to work from impulses in his own breast?

Much may be done at once to throw the slave on himself, to accustom him to work for his own and his family's support, to awaken forethought, and strengthen the habit of providing for the future. On every plantation there are slaves who would do more for wages than from fear of punishment. There are those who, if intrusted with a piece of ground, would support themselves and pay a rent in kind. There are those who, if moderate task-work were given them, would gain their whole subsistence in their own time. Now, every such man ought to be committed very much to himself. It is a crime to subject to the whip a man who can be made to toil from rational and honorable motives. This partial introduction of freedom would form a superior class among the slaves, whose example would have immense moral power on those who needed compulsion. The industrious and thriving would give an impulse to the whole race. It is important that the property thus earned by the slave should be made as sacred as that of any other member of the community, and for this end he should be enabled to obtain redress of wrongs. In case of being injured by his master in this or in any respect, he should either be set free, or, if unprepared for liberty, should be transferred to another guardian. This system may seem to many to be attended with insuperable difficulties; but if established and watched over by a community sincerely desirous of emancipation (and no other influence can establish it here), it would find in public sentiment, even more than in law, the means of execution.

As another means of raising the slave and fitting him to act from higher motives than compulsion, a system of bounties and rewards should be introduced. New privileges, increased indulgences, honorable distinctions, expressions of respect, should be awarded to the honest and industrious. No people are more alive to commendation and honorable distinction than the colored race. Prizes for good conduct, adapted to their tastes and character, might in a good degree supersede the lash. The object is to bring the slave to labor from other motives than brutal compulsion. Such motives may easily be found, if the end be conscientiously proposed.

One of the great means of elevating the slave, and calling forth his energies, is to place his domestic relations on new ground. This is essential. We wish him to labor for his family. Then he must have a family to labor for. Then his wife and children must be truly his own. Then his home must be inviolate. Then the responsibilities of a husband and father must be laid on him. It is

agreed that he will be fit for freedom as soon as the support of his family shall become his habit and his happiness; and how can he be brought to this condition, as long as he shall see no sanctity in the marriage bond, as long as he shall see his wife and his children exposed to indignity and to sale, as long as their support shall not be intrusted to his care? No measure for preparing the slave for liberty can be so effectual as the improvement of his domestic lot. The whole power of religion should be employed to impress him with the sacredness and duties of marriage. The chaste and the faithful in this connection should receive open and strong marks of respect. They should be treated as at the head of their race. The husband and wife, who prove false to each other, and who will not labor for their children, should be visited with the severest rebuke. To create a sense of domestic obligation, to awaken domestic affections, to give the means of domestic happiness, to fix deeply a conviction of the indissolubleness of marriage, and of the solemnity of the parental relation, — these are the essential means of raising the slave to a virtuous and happy freedom. All other men labor for their families; and so will the slave, if the sentiments of a man be cherished in his breast. We keep him in bondage, because, if free, he will leave his wife and children to want; and this bondage breaks down all the feelings and habits which would incite him to toil for their support. Not a step will be taken towards the preparation of the slave for voluntary labor till his domestic rights be respected. The violation of these cries to God more than any other evil of his lot.

To carry this and all other means of improvement into effect, it is essential that the slave should no longer be bought and sold. As long as he is made an article of merchandise, he cannot be fitted for the offices of a man. He will have little motive to accumulate comforts and ornaments in his hut, if at any moment he may be torn from it. While treated as property, he will have little encouragement to accumulate property, for it cannot be secure. While his wife and children may be exposed at auction, and carried he knows not where, can he be expected to feel and act as a husband and father? It is time that this Christian and civilized country should no longer be dishonored by one of the worst usages of barbarism. Break up the slave-market, and one of the chief obstructions to emancipation will be removed.

Let me only add, that religious instruction should go hand-in-hand with all other means for preparing the slave for freedom. The colored race are said to be peculiarly susceptible of the religious sentiment. If this be addressed wisely and powerfully, if the slave be brought to feel his relation and accountableness to God, and to comprehend the spirit of Christianity, he is fit for freedom. To accomplish this work, perhaps preaching should not be the only or chief instrument. Were the colored population to be assembled into Sunday-schools, and were the whites to become their teachers, a new and interesting relation would be formed between the races, and an influence be exerted which would do much to insure safety to the gift of freedom.

In these remarks, I have not intended to say that emancipation is an easy work, the work of a day, a good to be accomplished without sacrifices and toil. The colored man is, indeed, singularly susceptible of improvement, in consequence of the strength of his propensities to imitation and sympathy. But all great changes in society have their difficulties and inconveniences, and demand patient labor. I ask for no precipitate measures, no violent changes. What is needed is, that the slave-holding States should resolve conscientiously and in good faith to remove this greatest of moral evils and wrongs, and should bring immediately to the work their intelligence, virtue, and power. That its difficulties would yield before such energies, who can doubt? Our weakness for holy enterprises lies generally in our own reluctant wills. Breathe into men a fervent purpose, and you awaken powers before unknown. How soon would slavery disappear were the obligation to remove it thoroughly understood and deeply felt! We are told that the slave-holding States have recently prospered beyond all precedent. This accession to their wealth should be consecrated to the work of liberating their fellow-creatures. Not one indulgence should be

added to their modes of life until the cry of the oppressed has ceased from their fields, until the rights of every human being are restored. Government should devote itself to this as its great object. Legislatures should meet to free the slave. The church should rest not, day or night, till this stain be wiped away. Let the deliberations of the wise, the energies of the active, the wealth of the prosperous, the prayers and toils of the good, have emancipation for their great end. Let this be discussed habitually in the family circle, in the conference of Christians, in the halls of legislation. Let it mingle with the first thoughts of the slave-holder in the morning and the last at night. Who can doubt that to such a spirit God would reveal the means of wise and powerful action? There is but one obstacle to emancipation, and that is, the want of that spirit in which Christians and freemen should resolve to exterminate slavery.

I have said nothing of colonization among the means of removing slavery, because I believe that to rely on it for this object would be equivalent to a resolution to perpetuate the evil without end. Whatever good it may do abroad, — and I trust it will do much, — it promises little at home. If the slave-holding States, however, should engage in colonization with a firm faith in its practicableness, with an energy proportionate to its greatness, and with a sincere regard to the welfare of the colored race, I am confident it will not fail from want of sympathy and aid on the part of the other States. In truth, these States will not withhold their hearts or hands or wealth from any well-considered plan for the removal of slavery.

I have said nothing of the inconveniences and sufferings which, it is urged, will follow emancipation, be it ever so safe; for these, if real, weigh nothing against the claims of justice. The most common objection is, that a mixture of the two races will be the result. Can this objection be urged in good faith? Can this mixture go on faster or more criminally than at the present moment? Can the slave-holder use the word "Amalgamation" without a blush? Nothing, nothing can arrest this evil but the raising of the colored woman to a new sense of character, to a new self-respect; and this she cannot gain but by being made free. That emancipation will have its evils, we know; for all great changes, however beneficial, in the social condition of a people, must interfere with some interests, must bring loss or hardship to one class or another; but the evils of slavery exceed beyond measure the greatest which can attend its removal. Let the slave-holder desire earnestly, and in the spirit of self-sacrifice, to restore freedom, to secure the rights and the happiness of the slave, and a new light will break upon his path. "Every mountain of difficulty will be brought low, and the rough places be made smooth;" the means of duty will become clear. But, without this spirit, no eloquence of man or angel can persuade the slave-holder of the safety of emancipation.

Some readers may perhaps be disappointed that, in speaking of the means of removing slavery, I have suggested nothing which may be done for the cause by the friends of emancipation in the free States. On this point my opinions may easily be gathered from what has been already said. Our proper and only means of action is, to spread the truth on the subject of slavery; and let none contemn this means because of its gradual influence. It is not therefore less sure. No state, unless cut off like Paraguay from the communion of nations, can at the present day escape the power of strong, deep, enlightened opinion. Every state, acknowledging Christianity, encouraging education, and holding intercourse with the civilized world, must be pervaded by great and universally acknowledged truths, especially when these, as in the present case, coincide with its prosperity as well as with its honor. Let, then, the friends of freedom and humanity be true to their principles, and commend them by wise inculcation to all within their influence. From this work let it be their constant care to exclude the evil passions which so often bring reproach and failure on a good cause. It is by calm, firm assertion of great principles, and not by personalities and vituperations, that strength is to be given to the constantly increasing reprobation of slavery through the civilized world.

Objections, however, are made to this mode of acting on slavery. We are

told that, in declaring slavery to be one of the greatest wrongs, we violate the Constitution. What! Can it be that a free constitution, intended to guard all rights, and especially to preserve inviolate the liberty of the press, has in any way foreclosed the discussion of a great moral and religious question? Nothing but express language, too plain to be escaped, can justify us in fastening on this venerable instrument so palpable an inconsistency. But, instead of being embodied in plain words, the doctrine in question is at best a matter of uncertain inference. Admit such licentiousness of construction, and there is no power which may not be grafted on the Constitution: the mercenary and ambitious may warp it into any shape to suit their designs. But on this point no labored reasoning is necessary. It is settled for us by the fathers of our freedom and the framers of our present government. In the period immediately succeeding the adoption of the Constitution, Franklin, the calm and sagacious, and Jay, the inflexibly just, were presidents of societies for the abolition of slavery. Societies of this description were spread over a large part of the country, and were established even in Maryland and Virginia. We have the records of their annual conventions, and among their delegates we find some of the most honored names in our country. Those of us whose recollections go back to that period, can bear witness to the freedom with which slavery was then discussed in conversation and by the press. The servile doctrine which some would now fasten on the Constitution would have been rejected with indignation by our fathers. That manly generation had not been enervated by long prosperity. The calculations of commerce and the spirit of gain had not then prescribed bounds to speech and the press.

It is further objected to the discussion of slavery, that it will incite the slaves to revolt. This objection is founded on ignorance. A book, addressed to the intelligent of this country and the world, and designed to operate on public opinion, could no more influence the slave than a speech in an unknown tongue. Unlettered, confined to daily toil, and watched by the overseer, he is in little danger of catching the fever of liberty from discussions intended to act on th minds of the free. This objection, if fairly carried out, is disproved by its absurdity. The amount of it is, that nothing must be published against slavery. Then the noblest and most popular works of literature must be proscribed. Then the writings of the sainted Cowper must undergo purgation; for, among the witnesses against slavery, he is, perhaps, the most awakening. Then the history of the American Revolution must be blotted out. Then the newspapers must beware of speaking of human rights. In truth, our liberty must be kept a secret; for the great danger of the slave-holder arises from the infusion of liberty into the whole of our social system. A grave book is a dead letter to the slave; but, in our free institutions and manners, there is a living spirit, which he can comprehend and feel. Slavery, under a free government, is a jarring element, a startling contrast; and the most effectual means of preventing disaffection among the enslaved would be, to keep all signs of liberty out of their sight, to cast society in a servile mould, to make it a consistent despotism.

A good book, expounding at once the rights and duties of the slave, if it could be brought down to his comprehension, would rather quiet than disturb him; for it would teach him that submission to wrong is often a duty, and that, in his particular case, revolt would be an infraction of divine as well as human laws. There are, indeed, some persons among us so uninstructed in the established principles of moral and political science as to imagine that, when a writer pronounces slavery an aggravated wrong, he necessarily and of course summons the slave to insurrection. Such ought to know, what is so generally understood, that insurrection against the civil power is never authorized but in cases which exclude all other modes of relief, and which give the hope of better institutions. A book, written under the influence of this truth, were it, against all probabilities, to reach the slave, would teach him patience, not exasperation.

It may be added, that if we must cease to write against slavery, lest we stir up revolt, then we must cease to speak against it, for both must have the

same tendency. Speech has wings as well as the printed word. Sometimes the living voice is more quickening than the press. According to the objection under consideration, we must, then, shut our lips on this great subject. The condemning whisper must not be heard, lest some rash hearer should echo and spread the fatal truth. And is it come to this, that freemen must not give utterance to their deepest moral convictions? Is slavery not only to darken the South, but to spread a prison-gloom over the North? Are the free States to renounce one of their dearest rights, because, if they speak the language of freemen, some dangerous word may chance to stray beyond their borders, and may possibly find its way to the hut of the slave? If so, all rights must be renounced, as far and as fast as the fears, passions, and menaces of other parts of the country shall require the surrender.

Undoubtedly, if slavery be discussed, some will write about it petulantly, passionately, so as to stir up among the masters much unnecessary irritation. This evil must be expected and borne, unless we are prepared for a censorship of the press. There is no subject from which the rash can be debarred. Even the first principles of morals and religion, on which the order, safety, and happiness of society mainly rest, are sometimes covertly, sometimes directly impugned. But must nothing be written on morals and religion, must the wise and good be put to silence, because, under a system of freedom, the misguided and depraved will labor to obscure or subvert the truth? Would not the whole activity of life be arrested, if every power which may be abused should be renounced? Besides, is there any portion of our country so wanting in wisdom, self-respect, and common self-control, as to be driven to rash and ruinous measures by coarse invectives, which in a great degree defeat themselves by their very violence? The declamations of the passionate on the subject of slavery pass by us at the North as "the idle wind, which we regard not." Liberty naturally runs into these extravagances, and they who would tame it by laws to such propriety of expression as never to give offence, would leave us only the name of freemen.

CHAPTER VII.

Abolitionism.

The word Abolitionist, in its true meaning, comprehends every man who feels himself bound to exert his influence for removing slavery. It is a name of honorable import, and was worn not long ago by such men as Franklin and Jay. Events, however, continually modify terms; and, of late, the word abolitionist has been narrowed from its original import, and restricted to the members of associations formed among us to promote immediate emancipation. It is not without reluctance that I give up to a small body a name which every good man ought to bear. But, to make myself intelligible, and to avoid circumlocution, I shall use the word in what is now its common acceptation.

I approach this subject unwillingly, because it will be my duty to censure those whom at this moment I would on no account hold up to public displeasure. The persecutions which the abolitionists have suffered, and still suffer, awaken only my grief and indignation, and incline me to defend them to the full extent which truth and justice will admit. To the persecuted, of whatever name, my sympathies are pledged, and especially to those who are persecuted in a cause substantially good. I would not for worlds utter a word to justify the violence recently offered to a party, composed very much of men blameless in life, and holding the doctrine of non-resistance to injuries; and of women, exemplary in their various relations, and acting, however mistakenly, from benevolent and pious impulses.

Of the abolitionists I know very few; but I am bound to say of these, that I honor them for their strength of principle, their sympathy with their fellow-creatures, and their active goodness. As a party, they are singularly free from political and religious sectarianism, and have been distinguished by the absence of management, calculation, and worldly wisdom. That they have ever proposed or desired insurrection or violence among the slaves, there is no reason to believe. All their principles repel the supposition. It is a remarkable fact, that though the South and the North have been leagued to crush them,

though they have been watched by a million of eyes, and though prejudice has been prepared to detect the slightest sign of corrupt communication with the slave, yet this crime has not been fastened on a single member of this body. A few individuals at the South have, indeed, been tortured or murdered by enraged multitudes on the charge of stirring up revolt; but their guilt and their connection with the abolitionists were not, and, from the peculiar circumstances of the case, could not be, established by those deliberate and regular modes of investigation which are necessary to an impartial judgment. Crimes, detected and hastily punished by the multitude in a moment of feverish suspicion and wild alarm, are generally creatures of fear and passion. The act which caused the present explosion of popular feeling was the sending of pamphlets by the abolitionists into the slave-holding States. In so doing, they acted with great inconsideration; but they must have been insane had they intended to stir up a servile war; for the pamphlets were sent, not by stealth, but by the public mail; and not to the slaves, but to the masters; to men in public life, to men of the greatest influence and distinction. Strange incendiaries these! They flourished their firebrands about at noon-day; and, still more, put them into the hands of the very men whom it is said they wished to destroy. They are accused, indeed, of having sent some of the pamphlets to the free colored people, and if so, they acted with great and culpable rashness. But the publicity of the whole transaction absolves them of corrupt design.

The charge of corrupt design, so vehemently brought against the abolitionists, is groundless. The charge of fanaticism I have no desire to repel. But in the present age it will not do to deal harshly with the characters of fanatics. They form the mass of the people. Religion and politics, philanthropy and temperance, nullification and antimasonry, the levelling spirit of the working man, and the spirit of speculation in the man of business, all run into fanaticism. This is the type of all our epidemics. A sober man who can find? The abolitionists have but caught the fever of the day. That they should have escaped would have been a moral miracle. I offer these remarks simply from a sense of justice. Had not a persecution, without parallel in our country, broken forth against this society, I should not have spoken a word in their defence. But whilst I have power, I owe it to the persecuted. If they have laid themselves open to the laws, let them suffer. For all their errors and sins let the tribunal of public opinion inflict the full measure of rebuke which they deserve. I ask no favor for them. But they shall not be stripped of the rights of man, of rights guarantied by the laws and Constitution, without one voice, at least, being raised in their defence.

The abolitionists have done wrong, I believe; nor is their wrong to be winked at, because done fanatically, or with good intention; for how much mischief may be wrought with good design! They have fallen into the common error of enthusiasts, that of taking too narrow views, of feeling as if no evil existed but that which they opposed, and as if no guilt could be compared with that of countenancing or upholding it. The tone of their newspapers, as far as I have seen them, has often been fierce, bitter, exasperating. Their imaginations have fed too much on pictures of the cruelty to which the slave is exposed, till not a few have probably conceived of his abode as perpetually resounding with the lash, and ringing with shrieks of agony. I know that many of their publications have been calm, well considered, abounding in strong reasoning, and imbued with an enlightened love of freedom. But some, which have been most widely scattered, and are most adapted to act on the common mind, have had a tone unfriendly both to manners and to the spirit of our religion. I doubt not that the majority of the abolitionists condemn the coarseness and violence of which I complain. But in this, as in most associations, the many are represented and controlled by the few, and are made to sanction and become responsible for what they disapprove.

One of their errors has been the adoption of "Immediate Emancipation" as their motto. To this they owe not a little of their unpopularity. This phrase has contributed much to spread far and wide the belief that they wished immediately to free the slave from all his re-

straints. They made explanations; but thousands heard the motto who never saw the explanation; and it is certainly unwise for a party to choose a watch-word which can be rescued from misapprehension only by labored explication. It may also be doubted whether they ever removed the objection which their language so universally raised, whether they have not always recommended a precipitate action, inconsistent with the well-being of the slave and the order of the state.

Another objection to their movements is, that they have sought to accomplish their objects by a system of agitation; that is, by a system of affiliated societies, gathered and held together and extended by passionate eloquence. This, in truth, is the common mode by which all projects are now accomplished. The age of individual action is gone. Truth can hardly be heard unless shouted by a crowd. The weightiest argument for a doctrine is the number which adopts it. Accordingly, to gather and organize multitudes is the first care of him who would remove an abuse or spread a reform. That the expedient is in some cases useful, is not denied. But generally it is a showy, noisy mode of action, appealing to the passions, and driving men into exaggeration; and there are special reasons why such a mode should not be employed in regard to slavery; for slavery is so to be opposed as not to exasperate the slave, or endanger the community in which he lives. The abolitionists might have formed an association; but it should have been an elective one. Men of strong moral principle, judiciousness, sobriety, should have been carefully sought as members. Much good might have been accomplished by the co-operation of such philanthropists. Instead of this, the abolitionists sent forth their orators, some of them transported with fiery zeal, to sound the alarm against slavery through the land, to gather together young and old, pupils from schools, females hardly arrived at years of discretion, the ignorant, the excitable, the impetuous, and to organize these into associations for the battle against oppression. They preached their doctrine to the colored people, and collected these into their societies. To this mixed and excitable multitude, appeals were made in the piercing tones of passion; and slave-holders were held up as monsters of cruelty and crime. Now to this procedure I must object, as unwise, as unfriendly to the spirit of Christianity, and as increasing, in a degree, the perils of the slave-holding States. Among the unenlightened, whom they so powerfully addressed, was there no reason to fear that some might feel themselves called to subvert this system of wrong, by whatever means? From the free colored people this danger was particularly to be apprehended. It is easy for us to place ourselves in their situation. Suppose that millions of white men were enslaved, robbed of all their rights, in a neighboring country, and enslaved by a black race, who had torn their ancestors from the shores on which our fathers had lived. How deeply should we feel their wrongs! And would it be wonderful if, in a moment of passionate excitement, some enthusiast should think it his duty to use his communication with his injured brethren for stirring them up to revolt?

Such is the danger from abolitionism to the slave-holding States. I know no other. It is but justice to add, that the principle of non-resistance, which the abolitionists have connected with their passionate appeals, seems to have counteracted the peril. I know not a case in which a member of an anti-slavery society has been proved by legal investigation to have tampered with the slaves; and, after the strongly pronounced and unanimous opinion of the free States on the subject, this danger may be considered as having passed away. Still a mode of action requiring these checks is open to strong objections, and ought to be abandoned. Happy will it be if the disapprobation of friends, as well as of foes, should give to abolitionists a caution and moderation which would secure the acquiescence of the judicious, and the sympathies of the friends of mankind! Let not a good cause find its chief obstruction in its defenders. Let the truth, and the whole truth, be spoken without paltering or fear; but so spoken as to convince, not inflame, as to give no alarm to the wise, and no needless exasperation to the selfish and passionate.

I know it is said that nothing can be done but by excitement and vehemence;

that the zeal which dares every thing is the only power to oppose to long-rooted abuses. But it is not true that God has committed the great work of reforming the world to passion. Love is a minister of good only when it gives energy to the intellect, and allies itself with wisdom. The abolitionists often speak of Luther's vehemence as a model to future reformers. But who that has read history does not know that Luther's reformation was accompanied by tremendous miseries and crimes, and that its progress was soon arrested? And is there not reason to fear that the fierce, bitter, persecuting spirit which he breathed into the work not only tarnished its glory, but limited its power? One great principle, which we should lay down as immovably true, is, that if a good work cannot be carried on by the calm, self-controlled, benevolent spirit of Christianity, then the time for doing it has not come. God asks not the aid of our vices. He can overrule them for good, but they are not the chosen instruments of human happiness.

We, indeed, need zeal, — fervent zeal, — such as will fear no man's power, and shrink before no man's frown, — such as will sacrifice life to truth and freedom. But this energy of will ought to be joined with deliberate wisdom and universal charity. It ought to regard the whole in its strenuous efforts for a part. Above all, it ought to ask, first, not what means are most effectual, but what means are sanctioned by the moral law and by Christian love. We ought to think much more of walking in the right path than of reaching our end. We should desire virtue more than success. If by one wrong deed we could accomplish the liberation of millions, and in no other way, we ought to feel that this good, for which, perhaps, we had prayed with an agony of desire, was denied us by God, was reserved for other times and other hands. The first object of a true zeal is, not that we may prosper, but that we may do right, that we may keep ourselves unspotted from every evil thought, word, and deed. Under the inspiration of such a zeal, we shall not find in the greatness of an enterprise an apology for intrigue or for violence. We shall not need immediate success to spur us to exertion. We shall not distrust God because he does not yield to the cry of human impatience. We shall not forsake a good work because it does not advance with a rapid step. Faith in truth, virtue, and Almighty Goodness, will save us alike from rashness and despair.

In lamenting the adoption by the abolitionists of the system of agitation or extensive excitement, I do not mean to condemn this mode of action as only evil. There are cases to which it is adapted; and, in general, the impulse which it gives is better than the selfish, sluggish indifference to good objects into which the multitude so generally fall. But it must not supersede or be compared with individual action. The enthusiasm of the individual in a good cause is a mighty power. The forced, artificially excited enthusiasm of a multitude, kept together by an organization which makes them the instruments of a few leading minds, works superficially, and often injuriously. I fear that the native, noble-minded enthusiast often loses that single-heartedness which is his greatest power, when once he strives to avail himself of the machinery of associations. The chief strength of a reformer lies in speaking truth purely from his own soul, without changing one tone for the purpose of managing or enlarging a party. Truth, to be powerful, must speak in her own words, and in no other's; must come forth, with the authority and spontaneous energy of inspiration, from the depths of the soul. It is the voice of the individual giving utterance to the irrepressible convictions of his own thoroughly moved spirit, and not the shout of a crowd, which carries truth far into other souls, and insures it a stable empire on earth. For want of this, most which is now done is done superficially. The progress of society depends chiefly on the honest inquiry of the individual into the particular work ordained him by God, and on his simplicity in following out his convictions. This moral independence is mightier, as well as holier, than the practice of getting warm in crowds, and of waiting for an impulse from multitudes. The moment a man parts with moral independence; the moment he judges of duty, not from the inward voice, but from the interests and will of a party; the moment he com-

mits himself to a leader or a body, and winks at evil, because division would hurt the cause; the moment he shakes off his particular responsibility, because he is but one of a thousand or million by whom the evil is done, — that moment he parts with his moral power. He is shorn of the energy of single-hearted faith in the right and the true. He hopes from man's policy what nothing but loyalty to God can accomplish. He substitutes coarse weapons forged by man's wisdom for celestial power.

The adoption of the common system of agitation by the abolitionists has not been justified by success. From the beginning it created alarm in the considerate, and strengthened the sympathies of the free States with the slaveholder. It made converts of a few individuals, but alienated multitudes. Its influence at the South has been almost wholly evil. It has stirred up bitter passions and a fierce fanaticism, which have shut every ear and every heart against its arguments and persuasions. These effects are more to be deplored, because the hope of freedom to the slave lies chiefly in the dispositions of his master. The abolitionist proposed, indeed, to convert the slaveholders; and for this end he approached them with vituperation, and exhausted on them the vocabulary of reproach. And he has reaped as he sowed. His vehement pleadings for the slaves have been answered by wilder tones from the slave-holder; and, what is worse, deliberate defences of slavery have been sent forth, in the spirit of the dark ages, and in defiance of the moral convictions and feelings of the Christian and civilized world. Thus, with good purposes, nothing seems to have been gained. Perhaps (though I am anxious to repel the thought) something has been lost to the cause of freedom and humanity.

I earnestly desire that abolitionism may lay aside the form of public agitation, and seek its end by wiser and milder means. I desire as earnestly, and more earnestly, that it may not be put down by lawless force. There is a worse evil than abolitionism, and that is the suppression of it by lawless force. No evil greater than this can exist in the state, and this is never needed. Be it granted that it is the design, or direct, palpable tendency of abolitionism to stir up insurrection at the South, and that no existing laws can meet the exigency. It is the solemn duty of the chief magistrate of the state to assemble immediately the legislative bodies, and their duty immediately to apply the remedy of law. Let every friend of freedom, let every good man, lift up his voice against mobs. Through these lies our road to tyranny. It is these which have spread the opinion, so common at the South, that the free States cannot long sustain republican institutions. No man seems awake to their inconsistency with liberty. Our whole phraseology is in fault. Mobs call themselves, and are called, the people, when in truth they assail immediately the sovereignty of the people, when they involve the guilt of usurpation and rebellion against the people. It is the fundamental principle of our institutions, that the people is sovereign. But by the people we mean not an individual here and there, not a knot of twenty or a hundred or a thousand individuals in this or that spot, but the community formed into a body politic, and expressing and executing its will through regularly appointed organs. There is but one expression of the will or sovereignty of the people, and that is law. Law is the voice, the living act, of the people. It has no other. When an individual suspends the operation of law, resists its established ministers, and forcibly substitutes for it his own will, he is a usurper and rebel. The same guilt attaches to a combination of individuals. These, whether many or few, in forcibly superseding public law and establishing their own, rise up against the people as truly as a single usurper. The people should assert its insulted majesty, its menaced sovereignty, in one case as decidedly as in the other. The difference between the mob and the individual is, that the usurpation of the latter has a permanence not easily given to the tumultuary movements of the former. The distinction is a weighty one. Little importance is due to sudden bursts of the populace, because they so soon pass away. But when mobs are organized, as in the French Revolution, or when they are deliberately resolved on and systematically resorted to, as the means of putting down an odious party, they

lose this apology. A conspiracy exists against the sovereignty of the people, and ought to be suppressed, as among the chief evils of the state.

In this part of the country our abhorrence of mobs is lessened by the fact that they were thought to do good service in the beginning of the Revolution. They probably were useful then; and why? The work of that day was revolution. To subvert a government was the fearful task to which our fathers thought themselves summoned. Their duty, they believed, was insurrection. In such a work mobs had their place. The government of the state was in the hands of its foes. The people could not use the regular organs of administration, for these were held and employed by the power which they wished to crush. Violent, irregular efforts belonged to that day of convulsion. To resist and subvert institutions is the very work of mobs; and when these institutions are popular, when their sole end is to express and execute the will of the people, then mobs are rebellion against the people, and as such should be understood and suppressed. A people is never more insulted than when a mob takes its name. Abolition must not be put down by lawless force. The attempt so to destroy it ought to fail. Such attempts place abolitionism on a new ground. They make it, not the cause of a few enthusiasts, but the cause of freedom. They identify it with all our rights and popular institutions. If the Constitution and the laws cannot put it down, it must stand; and he who attempts its overthrow by lawless force is a rebel and usurper. The supremacy of law and the sovereignty of the people are one and indivisible. To touch the one is to violate the other. This should be laid down as a first principle, an axiom, a fundamental article of faith which it must be heresy to question. A newspaper which, openly or by innuendoes, excites a mob, should be regarded as sounding the tocsin of insurrection. On this subject the public mind slumbers, and needs to be awakened, lest it sleep the sleep of death.

How obvious is it that pretexts for mobs will never be wanting if this disorganizing mode of redressing evils be in any case allowed! We all recollect that when a recent attempt was made on the life of the President of the United States, the cry broke forth from his friends "that the assassin was instigated by the continual abuse poured forth on this distinguished man, and especially by the violent speeches uttered daily in the Senate of the United States." Suppose, now, that his adherents, to save the Chief Magistrate from murder, and to guard his constitutional advisers, had formed themselves into mobs, to scatter the meetings of his opponents. And suppose that they had resolved to put to silence the legislators who, it was said, had abused their freedom of speech to blacken the character and put in peril the life of the Chief Magistrate. Would they not have had a better pretext than mobs against abolition? Was not assassination attempted? Had not the President received letters threatening his life unless his measures were changed? Can a year or a month pass which will not afford equally grave reasons for insurrections of the populace? A system of mobs and a free government cannot stand together. The men who incite the former, and especially those who organize them, are among the worst enemies of the state. Of their motives I do not speak. They may think themselves doing service to their country, for there is no limit to the delusions of the times. I speak only of the nature and tendency of their actions. They should be put down at once by law, and by the moral sentiment of an insulted people.

In addition to all other reasons, the honor of our nation and the cause of free institutions should plead with us to defend the laws from insult, and social order from subversion. The moral influence and reputation of our country are fast declining abroad. A letter, recently received from one of the most distinguished men of the continent of Europe, expresses the universal feeling on the other side of the ocean. After speaking of the late encroachments on liberty in France, he says: "On your side of the Atlantic you contribute, also, to put in peril the cause of liberty. We did take pleasure in thinking that there was, at least in the New World, a country where liberty was well understood, where all rights were guarantied, where the people was proving itself wise and virtuous. For some time

past the news we receive from America is discouraging. In all your large cities we see mobs after mobs, and all directed to an odious purpose. When we speak of liberty, its enemies reply to us by *pointing to America*." The persecuted abolitionists have the sympathies of the civilized world. The country which persecutes them is covering itself with disgrace, and filling the hearts of the friends of freedom with fear and gloom. Already despotism is beginning to rejoice in the fulfilment of its prophecies, in our prostrated laws and dying liberties. Liberty is, indeed, threatened with death in a country where any class of men are stripped with impunity of their constitutional rights. All rights feel the blow. A community giving up any of its citizens to oppression and violence is preparing for itself the same fate. It invites chains for itself, in suffering them to be imposed on any whom it is bound to protect.

CHAPTER VIII.

Duties.

A few words remain to be spoken in relation to the duties of the free States. These need to feel the responsibilities and dangers of their present position. The country is approaching a crisis on the greatest question which can be proposed to it, — a question not of profit or loss, of tariffs or banks, or any temporary interests, but a question involving the first principles of freedom, morals, and religion. Yet who seems to be awake to the solemnity of the present moment? Who seems to be settling for himself the great fundamental truths by which private efforts and public measures are to be determined?

The North has duties to perform towards the South and towards itself. Let it resolve to perform them faithfully, impartially; asking first for the right, and putting entire confidence in well-doing. The North is bound to frown on all attempts of its citizens, should such be threatened, to excite insurrection at the South, on all attempts, to tamper with and to dispose to violence the minds of the slaves. The severest laws which the constitutions of the different States admit may justly be resorted to for this end, and they should be strictly enforced. I believe, indeed, that there is no special need for new legislation on the subject. I believe that there was never a moment when the slave-holding States had so little to apprehend from the free, when the moral feeling of the community in regard to the crime of instigating revolt was so universal, thorough, and inflexible, as at the present moment. Still, if the South needs other demonstrations than it now has of the moral and friendly spirit which in this respect pervades the North, let them be given to the full extent which the spirit and provisions of our respective constitutions allow. Still more; it is the duty of the free States to act by opinion, where they cannot act by law, to discountenance a system of agitation on the subject of slavery, to frown on passionate appeals to the ignorant, and on indiscriminate and inflammatory vituperation of the slave-holder. This obligation also has been and will be fulfilled. There was never a stronger feeling of responsibility in this particular than at the present moment.

There are, however, other duties of the free States, to which they *may* prove false, and which they are too willing to forget. They are bound, not in their public, but individual capacities, to use every virtuous influence for the abolition of slavery. They are bound to encourage that manly, moral, religious discussion of it, through which strength will be given to the continually increasing opinion of the civilized and Christian world in favor of personal freedom. They are bound to seek and hold the truth in regard to human rights, to be faithful to their principles in conversation and conduct, never, never to surrender them to private interest, convenience, flattery, or fear.

The duty of being true to our principles is not easily to be performed. At this moment an immense pressure is driving the North from its true ground. God save it from imbecility, from treachery to freedom and virtue! I have certainly no feelings but those of good-will towards the South; but I speak the universal sentiment of this part of the country, when I say that the tone which the South has often assumed towards the North has been that of a superior, — a tone unconsciously borrowed from the habit of command to which it is unhappily accustomed by the form of its soci-

ety. I must add, that this high bearing of the South has not always been met by a just consciousness of equality, a just self-respect at the North. The causes I will not try to explain. The effect, I fear, is not to be denied. It is said that some who have represented the North in Congress have not always represented its dignity, its honor; that they have not always stood erect before the lofty bearing of the South. Here lies our danger. The North will undoubtedly be just to the South. It must also be just to itself. This is not the time for sycophancy, for servility, for compromise of principle, for forgetfulness of our rights. It is the time to manifest the spirit of men,—a spirit which prizes, more than life, the principles of liberty, of justice, of humanity, of pure morals, of pure religion.

Let it not be thought that I would recommend to the North, what in some parts of our country is called "Chivalry,"—a spirit of which the duelling pistol is the best emblem, and which settles controversies with blood. A Christian and civilized man cannot but be struck with the approach to barbarism, with the insensibility to true greatness, with the incapacity of comprehending the divine virtues of Jesus Christ, which mark what is called "chivalry." I ask not the man of the North to borrow it from any part of the country. But I do ask him to stand in the presence of this "chivalry" with the dignity of moral courage and moral independence. Let him, at the same moment, remember the courtesy and deference due to the differing opinions of others, and the sincerity and firmness due to his own. Let him understand the lofty position which he holds on the subject of slavery, and never descend from it for the purpose of soothing prejudice or disarming passion. Let him respect the safety of the South, and still manifest his inflexible adherence to the cause of human rights and personal freedom.

On this point I must insist, because I see the North giving way to the vehemence of the South. In some, perhaps many, of our recent "Resolutions," a spirit has been manifested at which, if not we, our children will blush. Not long ago there were rumors that some of our citizens wished to suppress by law all discussion, all expression of opinion on slavery, and to send to the South such members of our community as might be claimed as instigators of insurrection. Such encroachments on rights could not, of course, be endured. We are not yet so fallen. Some generous inspirations, some echoes of the old eloquence of liberty, still come down to us from our fathers. Could such encroachments be borne, would not the soil of New England, so long trodden by freemen, quake under the steps of her degenerate sons? We are not prepared for these. But a weak, yielding tone, for which we seem to be prepared, may be the beginning of concessions which we shall one day bitterly rue.

The means used at the South to bring the North to compliance seem to demand particular attention. I will not record the contemptuous language which has been thrown on the money-getting habits of New England, or the menaces which have been addressed to our cupidity, for the purpose of putting us to silence on the subject of slavery. Such language does in no degree move me. I only ask that we may give no ground for its application. We can easily bear it if we do not deserve it. Our mother country has been called a nation of shopkeepers, and New England ought not to be provoked by the name. Only let us give no sanction to the opinion that our spirit is narrowed to our shops; that we place the art of bargaining above all arts, all sciences, accomplishments, and virtues; that, rather than lose the fruits of the slave's labor, we would rivet his chains; that, sooner than lose a market, we would make shipwreck of honor; that, sooner than sacrifice present gain, we would break our faith to our fathers and our children, to our principles and our God. To resent or retaliate reproaches would be unwise and unchristian. The only revenge worthy of a good man is to turn reproaches into admonitions against baseness, into incitements to a more generous virtue. New England has long suffered the imputation of a sordid, calculating spirit, of supreme devotion to gain. Let us show that we have principles, compared with which the wealth of the world is light as air. It is a common remark here, that there is not a community under heaven through which there is so general a diffusion of

mtelligence and healthful moral sentiment as in New England. Let not the just influence of such a society be impaired by any act which would give to prejudice the aspect of truth.

The free States, it is to be feared, must pass through a struggle. May they sustain it as becomes their freedom! The present excitement at the South can hardly be expected to pass away without attempts to wrest from them unworthy concessions. The tone in regard to slavery in that part of our country is changed. It is not only more vehement, but more false than formerly. Once slavery was acknowledged as an evil. Now it is proclaimed to be a good. We have even been told, not by a handful of enthusiasts in private life, but by men in the highest station and of widest influence at the South, that slavery is the soil into which political freedom strikes its deepest roots, and that republican institutions are never so secure as when the laboring class is reduced to servitude. Certainly, no assertion of the wildest abolitionist could give such a shock to the slave-holder as this new doctrine is fitted to give to the people of the North. Liberty, with a slave for her pedestal and a chain in her hand, is an image from which our understandings and hearts alike recoil. A doctrine more wounding or insulting to the mechanics farmers, laborers of the North than this strange heresy, cannot well be conceived. A doctrine more irreverent, more fatal to republican institutions, was never fabricated in the councils of despotism. It does not, however, provoke us. I recall it only to show the spirit in which slavery is upheld and to remind the free States of the calm energy which they will need to keep themselves true to their own principles of liberty.

There is a great dread in this part of the country that the union of the States may be dissolved by the conflict about slavery. To avert this evil, every sacrifice should be made but that of honor, freedom and principle. No one prizes the Union more than myself. Perhaps I may be allowed to say that I am attached to it by no common love. Most men value the Union as a means; to me it is an end. Most would preserve it for the prosperity of which it is the instrument; I love and would preserve it for its own sake. Some value it as favoring public improvements, facilities of commercial exchange, &c.; I value these improvements and exchanges chiefly as favoring union. I ask of the General Government to unite us, to hold us together as brethren in peace; and I care little whether it does any thing else. So dear to me is union. Next to liberty, it is our highest national interest. All the pecuniary sacrifices which it can possibly demand should be made for it. The politicians in some parts of our country, who are calculating its value, and are willing to surrender it because they may grow richer by separation, seem to me bereft of reason. Still, if the Union can be preserved only by the imposition of chains on speech and the press, by prohibition of discussion on a subject involving the most sacred rights and dearest interests of humanity, then union would be bought at too dear a rate; then it would be changed from a virtuous bond into a league of crime and shame. Language cannot easily do justice to our attachment to the Union. We will yield every thing to it but truth, honor, and liberty. These we can never yield.

Let the free States be firm, but also patient, forbearing, and calm. From the slave-holder they cannot look for perfect self-control. From his position he would be more than man were he to observe the bounds of moderation. The consciousness which tranquillizes the mind can hardly be his. On this subject he has always been sensitive to excess. Much exasperation is to be expected. Much should be borne. Every thing may be surrendered but our principles and our rights.

The work which I proposed to myself is now completed. I ask and hope for it the Divine blessing, as far as it expresses truth, and breathes the spirit of justice and humanity. If I have written any thing under the influence of prejudice, passion, or unkindness to any human being, I ask forgiveness of God and man. I have spoken strongly, not to offend or give pain, but to produce in others deep convictions corresponding to my own. Nothing could have induced me to fix my thoughts on this

painful subject, but a conviction, which pressed on me with increasing weight, that the times demanded a plain and free exposition of the truth. The few last months have increased my solicitude for the country. Public sentiment has seemed to me to be losing its healthfulness and vigor. I have seen symptoms of the decline of the old spirit of liberty. Servile opinions have seemed to gain ground among us. The faith of our fathers in free institutions has waxed faint, and is giving place to despair of human improvement. I have perceived a disposition to deride abstract rights, to speak of freedom as a dream, and of republican governments as built on sand. I have perceived a faintheartedness in the cause of human rights. The condemnation which has been passed on abolitionists has seemed to be settling into acquiescence in slavery. The sympathies of the community have been turned from the slave to the master. The impious doctrine, that human laws can repeal the divine, can convert unjust and oppressive power into a moral right, has more and more tinctured the style of conversation and the press. With these sad and solemn views of society, I could not be silent; and I thank God, amidst the consciousness of great weakness and imperfection, that I have been able to offer this humble tribute, this sincere though feeble testimony, this expression of heart-felt allegiance, to the cause of freedom, justice, and humanity.

Having stated the circumstances which have moved me to write, I ought to say that they do not discourage me. Were darker omens to gather round us, I should not despair. With a faith like his who came to prepare the way for the Great Deliverer, I feel and can say, "The kingdom of heaven," the reign of justice and disinterested love, "is at hand, and all flesh shall see the salvation of God." I know, and rejoice to know, that a power, mightier than the prejudices and oppression of ages, is working on earth for the world's redemption, — the power of Christian truth and goodness. It descended from heaven in the person of Christ. It was manifest in his life and death. From his cross it went forth conquering and to conquer. Its mission is "to preach deliverence to the captive, and to set at liberty them that are bound." It has opened many a prison-door. It is ordained to break every chain. I have faith in its triumphs. I do not, cannot despair.

NOTE. — It was my purpose to address a chapter to the South, but I have thought fit to omit it. I beg, however, to say, that nothing which I have written can have proceeded from unkind feeling towards the South; for in no other part of the country have my writings found a more gratifying reception; from no other part have I received stronger expressions of sympathy. To these I am certainly not insensible. My own feelings, had I consulted them, would have led me to stifle every expression which could give pain to those from whom I have received nothing but good-will.

I wished to suggest to the slaveholders that the excitement now prevalent among themselves is incomparably more perilous, more fitted to stir up insurrection, than all the efforts of abolitionists, allowing these to be ever so corrupt. I also wished to remind the men of principle and influence in that part of the country of the necessity of laying a check on lawless procedures, in regard to the citizens of the North. We have heard of large subscriptions at the South for the apprehension of some of the abolitionists in the free States, and for the transportation of them to parts of the country where they would meet the fate which, it is said, they deserve. Undoubtedly, the respectable portion of the slave-holding communities are not answerable for these measures. But does not policy, as well as principle, require such men steadily to discountenance them? At present, the free States have stronger sympathies with the South than ever before. But can it be supposed that they will suffer their citizens to be stolen, exposed to violence, and murdered by other States? Would not such an outrage rouse them to feel and act as one man? Would it not identify the abolitionists with our most sacred rights? One kidnapped, murdered abolitionist would do more for the violent destruction of slavery than a thousand societies. His name would be sainted. The day of his death would be set apart for solemn, heart-stirring commemoration. His blood would cry

through the land with a thrilling voice, would pierce every dwelling, and find a response in every heart. Do men, under the light of the present day, need to be told that enthusiasm is not a flame to be quenched with blood? On this point, good and wise men, and the friends of the country at the North and South, can hold but one opinion; and if the press, which, I grieve to say, has kept an ominous silence amidst the violations of law and rights, would but speak plainly and strongly, the danger would be past.

The views and principles supported in this short work will, of course, provoke much opposition, and — what I greatly lament — they will excite the displeasure not only of the selfish and violent, but of good and honorable men, whose unfavorable position hardly admits an impartial judgment of slavery, and renders them excessively sensitive to every exposition of it. I shall not, however, be anxious to defend what I have written. The principles here laid down, if true, will stand. I should anticipate little good from engaging in controversies with individuals. The selfish passions, awakened by such collisions, too often prevail over the love of truth; and without this, the truth cannot be worthily maintained. In regard to slavery, it is peculiarly important that discussion should be calm, general, unmixed with personalities. In this way, I trust that the subject will be better understood by all parties. I should rejoice to be convinced that slavery is a less debasing influence than I have affirmed. How welcome would be brighter views of life and of mankind! Still, we must see things as they are, and not turn away from the most painful truth.

I have only to add, that I alone am responsible for what I have now written. I represent no society, no body of men, no part of the country. I have written by no one's instigation, and with no one's encouragement, but solely from my own convictions. If cause of offence is given, the blame ought to fall on me alone.

NOTE FOR THE FOURTH EDITION. — In commencing the chapter on Abolitionism, I have expressed my respect for the few abolitionists whom I have known. I am bound to say that, in consequence of hearing and seeing more of this body, I have an increasing persuasion of the purity of purpose and the moral worth of its members generally. I have spoken freely of their errors; but these ought not to blind us to their virtues and sacrifices, and especially ought not to prejudice us against the truths which they contend for. We must not abandon great principles because asserted unwisely. We must not grow cold to a good cause because reproach is brought on it by defenders who have more zeal than discretion. Its dangers should attach us to it more closely, and we should do what we can to lead its friends to the use of means corresponding to its dignity, and fitted to insure its success.

In the chapter on the Means of Removing Slavery, I have expressed my fears as to the result of the experiment now going on in the English West Indies. I rejoice to say that recent accounts from those islands have diminished my apprehensions. It is stated that in some of the islands real estate has risen in value since the emancipation, and that imports are considerably increased. I have just heard that a West Indian planter residing in this country, who was strenuously opposed to the Act of Emancipation, speaks now of his estate as more productive than formerly. That no disturbance of the peace has followed this great change is well understood, and this is the essential point. Undoubtedly the experiment is not yet decided, and reports are to be received with caution; but the success of the measure has as yet surpassed the expectations of all except the abolitionists. As yet they have proved the truest prophets. May events set the seal of truth on all their predictions! This country is interested in nothing more than in the success of emancipation in the West Indies. With this example before us, the destruction of slavery would be as speedy as it is sure.

No part of my book on Slavery seems to have given so much offence as that in which I have spoken of conjugal infidelity on the part of the master as increased by slavery. Of the abuse heaped on me for this opinion I shall, of course, say nothing. Had I received nothing but abuse, the remarks now to be made would not be offered to the public; but a gentleman of high char-

acter, Mr. Leigh, of Virginia, has solemnly protested against my statement in the senate of the United States, and I should do him great wrong were I to confound him with the vulgar politicians, too common in Congress as well as out of it, who are ready to say any thing and every thing which may serve their cause. Mr. Leigh expresses his deliberate conviction that conjugal fidelity is not more respected in any part of the country than in the slave-holding States. It will be observed, in recurring to my book, that I said nothing of the slave-holding States, but of slave countries generally, and that I argued not from reports or documents, but from the principles of human nature and from the very nature of slavery. I feel as if such reasoning could not deceive me; but I will now say — what I forbore to say in the first instance — that I should not have brought this charge against slavery, had not the general argument drawn from human nature been corroborated by all the evidence which the case will well admit. In that part of my work, I expressed not my own opinion alone, but the common, and perhaps I should say the universal, opinion of the North, and, still more, the public opinion of the civilized world. During my whole life, I have not met an individual who has questioned whether slavery exerts a disastrous influence on the domestic relations. I do not believe that, among the well-informed at the North, an individual is to be found who supposes that the obligations of marriage are as much respected in the slave-holding States as in the free. On reading Mr. Leigh's speech, I determined to make inquiries, with the purpose of retracting my error in the face of the world, if I should find reason to charge myself with rashness. I have obtained the opinions of those whose authority in such a case seems to me most worthy of confidence, and in every instance I have been assured that I have uttered only the truth. I know not how many have spoken to me on this point in the most undoubting tone. In my book, I have only given expression to the public sentiment of the North, and I as little expected to hear my correctness questioned as to hear the existence of slavery denied. I do not, of course, intend to impute the least unfairness to Mr. Leigh, who is known among us only as a virtuous man, who does honor to his country. I presume that, in the comparison which he made between the slave-holding States and other parts of the country, he spoke without a sufficient knowledge of the latter. I cannot, therefore, I dare not, expunge from my book the offensive passage, though in the revised edition I have somewhat changed its form. If I know my own heart, I should rejoice to be able to expunge it.

I have regretted that a passage which I prepared for this work at the time of its composition was not inserted. In the chapter of Explanations, after speaking of the examples of moral and religious excellence to be found in the slave-holding States, I expressed, in a few sentences, my deep sense of the virtues as well as the accomplishments of the women of the South. I wrote this passage with a fervent heart, because it was dictated, in a measure, by the grateful recollection of unwearied kindnesses received from woman during a residence in that part of the country in my youth. I should be glad to publish it now, had it not been destroyed with the manuscript of which it formed a part, for it expressed feelings which time has only strengthened. After much deliberation I omitted it in the first edition, and did so from considerations which I cannot now approve. I feared that what I had written would be set down by strangers as a commonplace of flattery. I feared that I might seem desirous to expiate by this praise the censures contained in other parts of the book, — desirous to shield myself from the obloquy to which I was exposing myself in publishing unpopular truth. I did on this occasion what I have too often done. In shrinking from the appearance of vices which I abhor, I was unjust to my convictions and affections. The reader will excuse this reference to myself, when he learns that I have been shamelessly accused of casting reproach on the purity of the women at the South. I should not, however, have noticed this calumny, had not the preceding part of this note almost compelled me to refer to it. I feel too much about the great subject on which I have written to be very solicitous about what is said of myself. I feel that I am nothing, that my reputation is nothing.

in comparison with the fearful wrong and evil which I have labored to expose; and I should count myself unworthy the name of a man or a Christian, if the calumnies of the bad, or even the disapprobation of the good, could fasten my thoughts on myself and turn me aside from a cause which, as I believe, truth, humanity, and God call me to maintain.

THE ABOLITIONISTS:

A Letter to James G. Birney.

[THE following letter was prepared for the "Philanthropist," an antislavery paper, published at Cincinnati, and edited by James G. Birney, a gentleman highly respected for his intellectual and moral endowments. It was occasioned by the attempt made in that city to suppress the antislavery party by force. Mr. Birney was driven from Cincinnati, and the press at which the "Philanthropist" was printed was broken up. A particular account of this disgraceful affair may be found in the "Narrative of the late Riotous Proceedings against the Liberty of the Press at Cincinnati," prepared by Mr. Birney and his associates. The following letter, besides appearing in the "Philanthropist," has been published as a pamphlet for distribution at the West, and the author now submits it to the community here in the same form, with a few slight changes and with some new matter in a note. — BOSTON, *December* 20, 1836.]

BOSTON, *Nov.* 1, 1836.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have not the pleasure of knowing you personally; but your history and writings have given me an interest in you, which induces and encourages me to address you with something of the freedom of acquaintance. I feel myself attracted to the friends of humanity and freedom, however distant; and when such are exposed by their principles to peril and loss, and stand firm in the evil day, I take pleasure in expressing to them my sympathy and admiration. The first accounts which reached me of the violence which drove you from Cincinnati, inclined me to write to you; but your "Narrative of those Riotous Proceedings," which I have lately received and read, does not permit me to remain longer silent. The subject weighs much on my mind. I feel that I have a duty to perform in relation to it, and I cannot rest till I yield to this conviction, — till I obey what seems to me the voice of God. I think it best, however, not to confine myself to the outrage at Cincinnati, but to extend my remarks to the spirit of violence and persecution which has broken out against the abolitionists through the whole country. This, I know, will be more acceptable to you than any expression of sympathy with you as an individual. You look beyond yourself to the cause which you have adopted, and to the much-injured body of men with whom you are associated.

It is not my purpose to speak of the abolitionists as abolitionists. They now stand before the world in another character, and to this I shall give my present attention. Of their merits and demerits as abolitionists, I have formerly spoken. In my short work on Slavery, I have expressed my fervent attachment to the great end to which they are pledged, and at the same time my disapprobation, to a certain extent, of their spirit and measures. I have no disposition to travel over this ground again. Had the abolitionists been left to pursue their object with the freedom which is guarantied to them by our civil institutions; had they been resisted only by those weapons of reason, rebuke, reprobation, which the laws allow, I should have no inducement to speak of them again either in praise or censure. But the violence of their adversaries has driven them to a new position. Abolitionism forms an era in our history, if we consider the means by which it has been opposed. Deliberate, systematic efforts have been made, not here or there, but far and wide, to wrest from its adherents that liberty of speech and the press, which our fathers asserted

unto blood, and which our national and state goverments are pledged to protect as our most sacred right. Its most conspicuous advocates have been hunted and stoned, its meetings scattered, its presses broken up, and nothing but the patience, constancy, and intrepidity of its members has saved it from extinction. The abolitionists then not only appear in the character of champions of the colored race. In their persons the most sacred rights of the white man and the free man have been assailed. They are sufferers for the liberty of thought, speech, and the press; and, in maintaining this liberty amidst insult and violence, they deserve a place among its most honored defenders. In this character I shall now speak of them.

In regard to the methods adopted by the abolitionists of promoting emancipation, I might find much to censure; but when I regard their firm, fearless assertion of the rights of free discussion, of speech and the press, I look on them with unmixed respect. I see nothing to blame, and much to admire. To them has been committed the most important bulwark of liberty, and they have acquitted themselves of the trust like men and Christians. No violence has driven them from their post. Whilst, in obedience to conscience, they have refrained from opposing force to force, they have still persevered, amidst menace and insult, in bearing their testimony against wrong, in giving utterance to their deep convictions. Of such men I do not hesitate to say, that they have rendered to freedom a more essential service than any body of men among us. The defenders of freedom are not those who claim and exercise rights which no one assails, or who win shouts of applause by well-turned compliments to liberty in the days of her triumph. They are those who stand up for rights which mobs, conspiracies, or single tyrants put in jeopardy; who contend for liberty in that particular form which is threatened at the moment by the many or the few. To the abolitionists this honor belongs. The first systematic effort to strip the citizen of freedom of speech they have met with invincible resolution. From my heart I thank them. I am myself their debtor. I am not sure that I should this moment write in safety had they shrunk from the conflict, had they shut their lips, imposed silence on their presses, and hid themselves before their ferocious assailants. I know not where these outrages would have stopped, had they not met resistance from their first destined victims. The newspaper press, with a few exceptions, uttered no genuine indignant rebuke of the wrong-doers, but rather countenanced, by its gentle censures, the reign of force. The mass of the people looked supinely on this new tyranny, under which a portion of their fellow-citizens seemed to be sinking. A tone of denunciation was beginning to proscribe *all* discussion of slavery; and had the spirit of violence, which selected associations as its first objects, succeeded in this preparatory enterprise, it might have been easily turned against any and every individual who might presume to agitate the unwelcome subject. It is hard to say to what outrage the fettered press of the country might not have been reconciled. I thank the abolitionists that, in this evil day, they were true to the rights which the multitude were ready to betray. Their purpose to suffer, to die, rather than surrender their dearest liberties, taught the lawless that they had a foe to contend with whom it was not safe to press, whilst, like all manly appeals, it called forth reflection and sympathy in the better portion of the community. In the name of freedom and humanity, I thank them. Through their courage, the violence, which might have furnished a precedent fatal to freedom, is to become, I trust, a warning to the lawless of the folly as well as crime of attempting to crush opinion by force.

Of all powers, the last to be intrusted to the multitude of men is that of determining what questions shall be discussed. The greatest truths are often the most unpopular and exasperating; and were they to be denied discussion till the many should be ready to accept them, they would never establish themselves in the general mind. The progress of society depends on nothing more than on the exposure of time-sanctioned abuses, which cannot be touched without offending multitudes than on the promulgation of principles which are in advance of public sentiment and practice, and which are consequently at war with the habits, prejudices, and imme-

diate interests of large classes of the community. Of consequence, the multitude, if once allowed to dictate or proscribe subjects of discussion, would strike society with spiritual blindness and death. The world is to be carried forward by truth, which at first offends, which wins its way by degrees, which the many hate and would rejoice to crush. The right of free discussion is therefore to be guarded by the friends of mankind with peculiar jealousy. It is at once the most sacred and most endangered of all our rights. He who would rob his neighbor of it, should have a mark set on him as the worst enemy of freedom.

I do not know that our history contains a page more disgraceful to us as freemen than that which records the violences against the abolitionists. As a people, we are chargeable with other and worse misdeeds, but none so flagrantly opposed to the spirit of liberty, the very spirit of our institutions, and of which we make our chief boast. Who, let me ask, are the men whose offences are so aggravated, that they must be denied the protection of the laws, and be given up to the worst passions of the multitude? Are they profligate in principle and life, teachers of impious or servile doctrines, the enemies of God and their race? I speak not from vague rumor, but from better means of knowledge, when I say, that a body of men and women more blameless than the abolitionists in their various relations, or more disposed to adopt a rigid construction of the Christian precepts, cannot be found among us. Of their judiciousness and wisdom I do not speak; but I believe they yield to no party in moral worth. Their great crime, and one which in this land of liberty is to be punished above all crimes, is this, that they carry the doctrine of human equality to its full extent, that they plead vehemently for the oppressed, that they assail wrong-doing however sanctioned by opinion or intrenched behind wealth and power, that their zeal for human rights is without measure, that they associate themselves fervently with the Christians and philanthropists of other countries against the worst relic of barbarous times. Such is the offence against which mobs are arrayed, and which is counted so flagrant, that a summary justice, too indignant to wait for the tardy progress of tribunals, must take the punishment into its own hands.

How strange in a free country, that the men from whom the liberty of speech is to be torn are those who use it in pleading for freedom, who devote themselves to the vindication of human rights! What a spectacle is presented to the world by a republic, in which sentence of proscription is passed on citizens who labor, by addressing men's consciences, to enforce the truth that slavery is the greatest of wrongs! Through the civilized world, the best and greatest men are bearing joint witness against slavery. Christians of all denominations and conditions, rich and poor, learned and ignorant, are bound in a holy league against this most degrading form of oppression. But, in free America, the language which despots tolerate must not be heard. One would think that freemen might be pardoned, if the view of fellow-creatures stripped of all human rights should move them to vehemence of speech. But, whilst on all other subjects the deeply stirred feelings may overflow in earnest remonstrance, on slavery the freemen must speak in whispers, or pay the penalty of persecution for the natural utterance of strong emotion.

I am aware that the outrages on the abolitionists are justified or palliated by various considerations; nor is this surprising; for when did violence ever want excuse? It is said that abolitionism tends to stir up insurrection at the South, and to dissolve the Union. Of all pretences for resorting to lawless force, the most dangerous is the *tendency* of measures or opinions. Almost all men see ruinous tendencies in whatever opposes their particular interests or views. All the political parties which have convulsed our country have seen tendencies to national destruction in the principles of their opponents. So infinite are the connections and consequences of human affairs, that nothing can be done in which some dangerous tendency may not be detected. There is a tendency in arguments against any old establishment to unsettle all institutions, because all hang together. There is a tendency in the laying bare of deep-rooted abuses to throw a community into a storm. Liberty tends to licen-

tiousness, government to despotism. Exclude all enterprises which *may* have evil results, and human life will stagnate. Wise men are not easily deterred by difficulties and perils from a course of action which promises great good. Especially when justice and humanity cry aloud for the removal of an enormous social evil, it is unworthy of men and Christians to let the imagination run riot among possible dangers, instead of rousing every energy of mind to study how the evil may be taken away, and the perils which accompany beneficial changes may be escaped.

As to the charge brought against the abolitionists, of stirring up insurrection at the South, I have never met the shadow of a proof that this nefarious project was meditated by a single member of their body. The accusation is repelled by their characters and principles as well as by facts; nor can I easily conceive of a sane man giving it belief. As to the "tendency" of their measures to this result, it is such only as we have seen to belong to all human affairs, and such as may easily be guarded against. The truth is, that any exposition of slavery, no matter from whom it may come, may chance to favor revolt. It may chance to fall into the hands of a fanatic, who may think himself summoned by heaven to remove violently this great wrong; or it may happen to reach the hut of some intelligent, daring slave, who may think himself called to be the avenger of his race. All things are possible. A casual, innocent remark in conversation, may put wild projects into the unbalanced or disordered mind of some hearer. Must we, then, live in perpetual silence? Do such chances make it our duty to shut our lips on the subject of an enormous wrong, and never to send from the press a reprobation of the evil? The truth is, that the great danger to the slave-holder comes from slavery itself, from the silent innovations of time, from political conflicts and convulsions, and not from the writings of strangers. I readily grant that the abolitionists, in consequence of their number and their systematic and public efforts, are more likely to be heard of by the slave than a solitary individual who espouses his cause. But when I consider how steadily they have condemned the resort to force on the part of the oppressed; when I consider what power the master possesses of excluding incendiary influences, if such are threatened from abroad; when I remember that, during the late unparalleled excitement at the South, not a symptom of revolt appeared; and when to all this I add the strongly manifested purpose of the free States to put forth their power, if required, for the suppression of insurrection, it seems to me that none but the most delicate nerves can be disturbed by the movements of the abolitionists. Can any man, who has a sense of character, affect to believe that the tendency of abolitionism to stir up a servile war is so palpable and resistless as to require the immediate application of force for its suppression, as to demand the substitution of mobs for the action of law, as to justify the violation of the most sacred right of the citizen?

As to the other charge, that the measures of the abolitionists endanger our National Union, and must therefore be put down by any and every means, it is weaker than the former. Against whom has not this charge been hurled? What party among us has not been loaded with this reproach? Do not we at the North almost unanimously believe that the spirit and measures of nullification have a direct and immediate tendency to dissolve the Union? But are we therefore authorized to silence the nullifier by violence? Should a leader of that party travel among us, is he to be mobbed? Let me further ask, how is it that the abolitionists endanger the Union? The only reply which I have heard is, that they exasperate the South. And is it a crime to exasperate men? Who then so criminal as the Founder and primitive teachers of our faith? Have we yet to learn that, in cases of exasperation, the blame is as apt to lie with those who take, as with those who occasion, offence? How strange the doctrine, that men are to be proscribed for uttering language which gives offence, are to be outlawed for putting their neighbors into a passion! Let it also be considered that the abolitionists are not the only people who exasperate the South. Can the calmest book be written on slavery without producing the same effect? Can the Chief Justice of Massachusetts expound the constitution and laws of that Commonwealth according to their free spirit, and

of course in opposition to slavery, without awakening indignation? Is not the doctrine, that Congress has the right of putting an end to slavery in the District of Columbia, denounced as fiercely as the writings and harangues of abolitionists? Where, then, shall mobs stop, if the crime of exasperating the South is so heinous as to deserve their vengeance? If the philanthropist and Christian must be silenced on the subject of slavery, lest they wound the sensitive ears of the South, ought the judge and legislator to be spared? Who does not see that these apologies for lawless force, if they have any validity, will bring every good man under its iron sway?

In these remarks you learn my abhorrence of the violence offered to the abolitionists, and my admiration of the spirit they have opposed to it. May they vindicate to the end the rights which in their persons have been outraged! Allow me now to express my earnest desire and hope that the abolitionists will maintain the liberty of speech and the press, not only by asserting it firmly, but by using it wisely, deliberately, generously, and under the control of the severest moral principle. It is my earnest desire that they will exercise it in the spirit of Christians and philanthropists, with a supreme love of truth, without passion or bitterness, and without that fanaticism which cannot discern the true proportions of things, which exaggerates or distorts whatever favors or conflicts with its end, which sees no goodness except in its own ranks, which shuts itself up in one object, and is blind to all besides. Liberty suffers from nothing more than from licentiousness, and I fear that abolitionists are not to be absolved from this abuse of it. It seems to me that they are particularly open to one reproach. Their writings have been blemished by a spirit of intolerance, sweeping censure, and rash, injurious judgment. I do not mean to bring this charge against all their publications. Yours, as far as I have seen them, are an honorable exception; and others, I know, deserve the same praise. But abolitionism, in the main, has spoken in an intolerant tone, and in this way has repelled many good minds, given great advantage to its opponents, and diminished the energy and effect of its appeals. I should rejoice to see it purified from this stain.

Abolitionism seems to me to have been intolerant towards the slave-holders, and towards those in the free States who oppose them, or who refuse to take part in their measures. I say, first, towards the slave-holder. The abolitionist has not spoken, and cannot speak, against slavery too strongly. No language can exceed the enormity of the wrong. But the whole class of slave-holders often meets a treatment in anti-slavery publications which is felt to be unjust, and is certainly unwise. We always injure ourselves in placing our adversary on the footing of an injured man. One groundless charge helps him to repel many which are true. There is, indeed, a portion of slave-holders who deserve the severest reprobation. In every such community there are many who hold their fellow-creatures in bondage for gain, — for mere gain. They perpetuate this odious system not reluctantly, but from choice; not because the public safety compels them, as they think, to act the part of despots, but because they love despotism, and count money their supreme good. Provided they can be supported in ease and indulgence, can be pampered and enriched, they care not for the means. They care not what wrongs or stripes are inflicted, what sweat is extorted, what powers of the immortal soul are crushed. For such men no rebuke can be too severe. If any vehemence of language can pierce their consciences, let it be used. The man who holds slaves for gain is, in effect, though unconsciously, the worst of robbers; for he selfishly robs his fellow-creatures not only of their property, but of themselves. He is the worst of tyrants, for, whilst absolute governments spoil men of civil, he strips them of personal rights. But I do not, cannot believe that the majority of slave-holders are of the character now described. I believe that the majority, could they be persuaded of the consistency of emancipation with the well-being of the colored race and with social order, would relinquish their hold on the slave, and sacrifice their imagined property in him to the claims of justice and humanity. They shrink from emancipation, because it seems to them a precipice. Having seen the colored

man continually dependent on foreign guidance and control, they think him incapable of providing for himself. Having seen the laboring class kept down by force, they feel as if the removal of this restraint would be a signal to universal lawlessness and crime. That such opinions absolve from all blame those who perpetuate slavery, I do not say. That they are often strengthened by the self-interest of the master, I cannot doubt; for we see men everywhere grasping and defending doctrines which confirm their property and power. I acknowledge, too, that the ready, unhesitating acquiescence of the slave-holder in such loose notions, especially at the present moment, is a bad symptom. In the present age, when a flood of light has been thrown on the evils of slavery, and when the whole civilized world cries out against it as the greatest of wrongs, and in this country, where the doctrine of human rights has been expounded by the profoundest minds, and sealed with the best blood, a fearful responsibility is assumed by masters, who, pronouncing emancipation hopeless, make no serious, anxious inquiry after the means of accomplishing it, and no serious effort to remove the supposed unfitness of the slave for freedom. Still, while there is much to be condemned in the prevalent opinions and feelings at the South, we have no warrant for denying to all slaveholders moral and religious excellence. The whole history of the world shows us that a culpable blindness in regard to one class of obligations may consist with a sincere reverence for religious and moral principles, as far as they are understood. In estimating men's characters, we must never forget the disadvantages under which they labor. Slavery, upheld, as it is at the South, by the deepest prejudices of education, by the sanction of laws, by the prescription of ages, and by real difficulties attending emancipation, cannot easily be viewed in that region as it appears to more distant and impartial observers. The hatefulness of the system ought to be strongly exposed, and it cannot be exposed too strongly; but this hatefulness must not be attached to all who sustain slavery. There are pure and generous spirits at the South, and they are to be honored the more for the sore trials amidst which their virtues have gained strength. The abolitionists, in their zeal, seem to have overlooked these truths in a great degree, and by their intolerance towards the slave-holder have awakened towards him sympathy rather than indignation, and weakened the effect of their just invectives against the system which he upholds.

I think, too, that they are chargeable with a like intolerance towards those in the free States who oppose them, or who refuse to participate in their operations. They have been apt to set down opposition to themselves as equivalent to attachment to slavery. Regarding their own dogmas as the only true faith, and making their own zeal the standard of a true interest in the oppressed, they have been apt to cast scornful looks and reproaches on those who have spoken in doubt or displeasure of their movements. This has made them many foes. They have been too belligerent to make friends. I do not mean, in these remarks, that the abolitionists have had nothing to blame in their opponents. Among these are not a few deserving severe reprehension, and I have no desire to shield them from it. But the great mass who have refused to take part in the antislavery movement have been governed by pure motives. If they have erred, they have not erred willingly, or from the influence of low and servile passions. They have consequently been wronged by the treatment they have received at the hands of the abolitionists, and men are not brought over by wrongs to a good cause.

I have said that I have no desire to shield the unworthy among ourselves. We have those whose opposition to abolitionism has been wicked, and merits reprobation. Such are to be found in all classes; forming, indeed, a minority in each, yet numerous enough to deserve attention and to do much harm. Such are to be found in what is called the highest class of society, that is, among the rich and fashionable; and the cause is obvious. The rich and fashionable belong to the same caste with the slaveholder; and men are apt to sympathize with their own caste more readily than with those beneath them. The slave is too low, too vulgar, to awaken interest in those who abhor vulgarity more than oppression and crime, and who found all their self-admiration on the

rank they occupy in the social scale. Far be it from me to charge on the rich or fashionable, as a class, this moral degradation; but among them are the worshippers of high degree, who would think their dignity soiled by touching the cause of a menial, degraded race, and who load its advocates with ridicule and scorn.

Then, in the commercial class, there are unworthy opposers of abolitionism. There are those whose interests rouse them to withstand every movement which may offend the South. They have profitable connections with the slave-holder, which must not be endangered by expressions of sympathy with the slave. Gain is their god, and they sacrifice on this altar without compunction the rights and happiness of their fellow-creatures. To such, the philanthropy which would break every chain is fanaticism, or a pretence. Nothing in their own souls helps them to comprehend the fervor of men who feel for the wronged, and who hazard property and life in exposing the wrong. Your "Narrative of the Riotous Proceedings at Cincinnati" shows to what a fearful extent the spirit of humanity, justice, and freedom may be supplanted by the accursed lust of gain. This, however, cannot surprise us. Our present civilization is characterized and tainted by a devouring greediness of wealth; and a cause which asserts right against wealth must stir up bitter opposition, especially in cities where this divinity is most adored. Every large city will furnish those who would sooner rivet the chain on the slave than lose a commission or retrench an expenditure. I would on no account intimate that such men constitute the majority of the commercial class. I rejoice to know that a more honorable spirit prevails in the community which falls more immediately under my notice. Still, the passion for gain is everywhere sapping pure and generous feeling, and everywhere raises up bitter foes against any reform which may threaten to turn aside a stream of wealth. I sometimes feel as if a great social revolution were necessary to break up our present mercenary civilization, in order that Christianity, now repelled by the almost universal worldliness, may come into new contact with the soul, and may reconstruct society after its own pure and disinterested principles.

In another class, which contains many excellent people, may also be found unworthy opposers of all antislavery movements. I refer to the conservative class, to those who are tremblingly alive to the spirit of innovation now abroad in the world, who have little or no faith in human progress, who are anxious to secure what is now gained rather than to gain more, to whom that watchword of the times, Reform, sounds like a knell. Among these are to be found individuals who, from no benevolent interest in society, but simply because they have drawn high prizes in the lottery of life, are unwilling that the most enormous abuses should be touched, lest the established order of things, so propitious to themselves, should be disturbed. A palsying, petrifying order, keeping things as they are, seems to them the ideal of a perfect community, and they have no patience with the rude cry of reformers for the restoration of human beings to their long-lost rights.

I will only add the politicians, as another class, which has furnished selfish assailants of abolitionism. Among our politicians are men who regard public life as a charmed circle into which moral principle must not enter, who know no law but expediency, who are prepared to kiss the feet of the South for Southern votes, and who stand ready to echo all the vituperations of the slave-holder against the active enemies of slavery in the free States.

For these various descriptions of selfish opponents of abolitionism, I make no apology. Let them be visited with just rebuke. But they, after all, form but a small part of that great body in the free States who look on the present antislavery movement with distrust and disapprobation. The vast majority in the free States, who refuse communion with you, are not actuated by base considerations. The fear of a servile war, the fear of political convulsions, a perception of the difficulties of great social changes, self-distrust, a dread of rashness, these and the like motives have great influence in deterring multitudes from giving their countenance to what seem to them violent movements for the abolition of slavery. That a culpable insensibility to the evils and wrongs of

this nefarious institution is too common in the class of which I now speak, I do not mean to deny. Still, how vast a proportion of the intelligence, virtue, and piety of the country is to be found in their ranks! To speak of them slightly, contemptuously, bitterly, is to do great wrong, and such speaking, I fear, has brought much reproach on abolitionism.

The motives which have induced me to make this long communication to you will not, I trust, be misunderstood. I earnestly desire, my dear Sir, that you and your associates will hold fast the right of free discussion by speech and the press, and, at the same time, that you will exercise it as Christians, and as friends of your race. That you, Sir, will not fail in these duties, I rejoice to believe. Accept my humble tribute of respect and admiration for your disinterestedness, for your faithfulness to your convictions, under the peculiar sacrifices to which you have been called. It is my prayer that, by calm, fearless perseverance in well-doing, you may guide and incite many to a like virtue.

It may be said that it is easy for one living, as I do, at a distance from danger, living in prosperity and ease, to preach exposure and suffering to you and your friends. I can only say in reply, that I lay down no rule for others which I do not feel to be binding on myself. What I should do in the hour of peril may be uncertain; but what I ought to do is plain. What I desire to do is known to the Searcher of all hearts. It is my earnest desire that prosperity may not unnerve me, that no suffering may shake my constancy in a cause which my heart approves. I sometimes indeed fear for myself, when I think of untried persecutions. I know not what weaknesses the presence of great danger may call forth. But, in my most deliberate moments, I see nothing worth living for but the divine virtue which endures and surrenders all things for truth, duty, and mankind. I look on reproach, poverty, persecution, and death, as light evils compared with unfaithfulness to pure and generous principles, to the spirit of Christ, and to the will of God. With these impressions, I ought not to be deterred by self-distrust, or by my distance from danger, from summoning and cheering others to conflict with evil. Christianity, as I regard it, is designed throughout to fortify us for this warfare. Its great lesson is self-sacrifice. Its distinguishing spirit is divine philanthropy suffering on the cross. The cross, the cross, this is the badge and standard of our religion. I honor all who bear it. I look with scorn on the selfish greatness of this world, and with pity on the most gifted and prosperous in the struggle for office and power; but I look with reverence on the obscurest man who suffers for the right, who is true to a good but persecuted cause.

With these sentiments, I subscribe myself your sincere friend,

WILLIAM E. CHANNING.

BOSTON, *Nov.* 1, 1836.

NOTE. — As the preceding letter was prepared for a newspaper, I was obliged, by the narrowness of my limits, to pass over some topics on which I should have been glad to offer a few remarks. In expressing my conviction of the moral worth of the abolitionists, I wished to say that they are in danger, as a body, of forfeiting this praise. Let them gather numbers and strength, and they may be expected to degenerate. The danger is greater now that they have begun to add the ballot-box, or political action, to their other modes of operation. It is one of the evils attending associations, and an argument against them, that, by growing popular, they attract to themselves unworthy members, lose their original simplicity of purpose, become aspiring, and fall more and more under the control of popular leaders. Intriguers will never be wanting to press them, if possible, into the service of one or another of the great parties which divide the country, and by becoming political machines they only increase the confusion of public affairs.

I have spoken in the letter of "the fettered press" of the country, — a subject of much moral interest. The newspaper press is fettered among us by its dependence on subscribers, among whom there are not a few intolerant enough to withdraw their patronage if an editor give publicity to articles which contradict their cherished opinions, or shock their party prejudices, or seem to clash with their interests. In such a state of

things, few newspapers can be expected to afford to an unpopular individual or party, however philanthropic or irreproachable, an opportunity of being heard by the public. Editors engage in their vocation like other men, for a support; and communications which will thin their subscription-lists will, of course, find little favor at their hands. Much reproach is sometimes thrown on them for their want of moral independence; but the root of the evil lies in the intolerance of the community. One result of this state of things is, that the newspaper press fails of one of its chief duties, which is to stem corrupt opinion, to stay the excesses of popular passions. It generally swells, seldom arrests, the violence of the multitude. The very subjects on which the public mind may most need to be reformed are most likely to be excluded from its columns. Another evil result is, the increase of the number and violence of parties. Conscientious men, who cannot obtain a hearing through the common newspapers, are compelled to league for the support of papers of their own, and, in speaking through these organs, they are tempted to an extravagance and bitterness which they would have shunned had they used other vehicles. It may be doubted whether abolitionism would have taken the form of organized and affiliated societies if the subject of slavery could have been discussed in the common papers with the same freedom as other topics. That abolitionism has owed not a little of its asperity to its having been proscribed from the beginning, and to its having been denied the common modes of addressing the public mind, I cannot doubt. Toleration seems to be the last virtue which individuals or communities learn. One would think that experience had sufficiently taught men that persecution is not the way to put down opinions. The selfish may, indeed, be disheartened by opposition; but conscientious men are strengthened by it in their convictions. Persecution drives and knits them together; and when formed into a party by this bond, their zeal becomes more intense, their prejudices more inveterate, their opinions more extravagant, their means more violent, than if they had continued to be scattered through the community. If abolitionism should convulse the country, as some seem to fear, a large share of the blame will belong to that intolerance which has heaped on the most respectable men every epithet of scorn and vituperation, and has driven them to assume a separate and belligerent attitude in the community.

I cannot easily conceive of a greater good to a city than the establishment of a newspaper by men of superior ability and moral independence, who should judge all parties and public measures by the standard of the Christian law, who should uncompromisingly speak the truth, and adhere to the right, who should make it their steady aim to form a just and lofty public sentiment, and who should at the same time give to upright and honorable men an opportunity of making known their opinions on matters of general interest, however opposed to the opinions and passions of the day. In the present stage of society, when newspapers form the reading of all classes, and the chief reading of multitudes, the importance of the daily press cannot be overrated. It is one of the mightiest instruments at work among us. It may and should take rank among the most effectual means of social order and improvement. It is a power which should be wielded by the best minds in the community. The office of editor is one of solemn responsibility, and the community should encourage the most gifted and virtuous men to assume it, by liberally recompensing their labor, and by according to them that freedom of thought and speech without which no mind puts forth all its vigor, and which the highest minds rank among their dearest rights and blessings.

In speaking of the unworthy opponents of abolitionism in the preceding letter, I proposed to say something of those unhappy men who, in one part of our country, have proclaimed slavery to be a good, a domestic blessing, and an essential support or condition of free institutions. But I felt that I could not easily speak on this point in measured terms; and in such cases I prefer silence, unless a clear conviction of duty forbids it. Happily, this detestable doctrine needs no effort to expose it; for it carries its refutation in its own absurdity, and in its repugnance to all moral and religious feeling. The Southern States would be grievously wronged by being

made responsible for this insane estimate of slavery. It is confined, I trust, to a small number, who have been hardy enough to set at defiance the judgment of the Christian and civilized world, and whom nothing but oblivion can screen from that condemning sentence which future times will pass more and more sternly on the advocates of oppression, on the foes of freedom and human rights.

A LETTER TO THE HON. HENRY CLAY,

On the Annexation of Texas to the United States.

MY DEAR SIR, — I trust that you will excuse the liberty which I take in thus publicly addressing you. If you could look into my heart, I am sure you would not condemn me. You would discover the motives of this act in my respect for your eminent powers, and in my confidence that you are disposed to use them for the honor and happiness of your country. Were you less distinguished or less worthy of distinction, I should not trouble you with this letter. I write you because I am persuaded that your great influence, if exerted in promoting just views on the subject of this communication, would accomplish a good, to which, perhaps, no other man in the country is equal. I am bound, in frankness, to add another reason for addressing you. I hope that your name, prefixed to this letter, may secure to it an access to some, perhaps to many, who would turn away were its thoughts presented in a more general form. Perhaps by this aid it may scale the barrier which now excludes from the South a certain class of the writings of the North. I am sure your hospitality would welcome me to Kentucky: and your well-known generosity, I believe, will consent that I should use your name to gain a hearing in that and the neighboring States.

It is with great reluctance that I enter on the topic of this letter. My tastes and habits incline me to very different objects of thought and exertion. I had hoped that I should never again feel myself called to take part in the agitations and exciting discussions of the day, especially in those of a political character. I desire nothing so much as to devote what remains of life to the study and exposition of great principles and universal truths. But the subject of Texas weighs heavily on my mind, and I cannot shake it off. To me, it is more than a political question. It belongs eminently to morals and religion. I have hoped that the attention of the public would be called to it by some more powerful voice. I have postponed writing until the national legislature is about to commence the important session in which, it is thought, this subject may be decided. But no one speaks, and therefore I cannot be silent. Should Texas be annexed to our country, I feel that I could not forgive myself if, with my deep, solemn impressions, I should do nothing to avert the evil. I cannot easily believe that this disastrous measure is to be adopted, especially at the present moment. The annexation of Texas, under existing circumstances, would be more than rashness; it would be madness. That opposition to it must exist at the South, as well as at the North, I cannot doubt. Still there is a general impression that great efforts will be made to accomplish this object at the approaching session of Congress, and that nothing but strenuous resistance can prevent their success. I must write, therefore, as if the danger were real and imminent; and if any should think that I am betrayed into undue earnestness by a false alarm, they will remember that there are circumstances in which excess of vigilance is a virtue.

In the course of this discussion, I shall be forced to speak on one topic which can hardly be treated so as to give no offence. I am satisfied that in this, as in all cases, it is best, safest, as well as most right and honorable, to speak freely and plainly. Nothing is to be gained by caution, circumlocution, plausible softenings of language, and other arts.

which, in destroying confidence, defeat their own end. In discussions of an irritating nature, the true way of doing good is, to purify ourselves from all unworthy motives, to cherish disinterested sentiments and unaffected good-will towards those from whom we differ, and then to leave the mind to utter itself naturally and spontaneously. How far I have prepared myself for my work by this self-purification, it becomes not me to say: but this I may say, that I am not conscious of the slightest asperity of feeling towards any party or any individual. I have no private interests to serve, no private passions to gratify. The strength of my conviction may be expressed in strong, perhaps unguarded language; but this want of caution is the result of the consciousness that I have no purpose or feeling which I need conceal.

I shall in one respect depart from the freedom of a letter. I shall arrange my thoughts under distinct heads; and I shall do this because I wish to put my reader in full possession of my views. I wish to use no vague declamation, to spread no vague alarm, but to bring out as clearly as possible the precise points of objection to the measure I oppose.*

I. We have a strong argument against annexing Texas to the United States in the criminality of the revolt which threatens to sever that country from Mexico. On this point our citizens need light. The Texan insurrection is seriously regarded by many among us as a struggle of the oppressed for freedom. The Texan revolution is thought to resemble our own. Our own is contaminated by being brought into such relationship, and we owe to our fathers and ourselves a disclaimer of affinity with this new republic. The Texan revolt, if regarded in its causes and its means of success, is criminal; and we ought in no way to become partakers in its guilt. You, I doubt not, are familiar with its history; but for the benefit of some, into whose hands this letter may fall, I will give the leading facts.

The first grant of land in Texas to our citizens was made under the Royal Government; and, in accepting it, the obligation was expressly incurred of submission to the civil and religious despotism which then crushed the country. It was understood that the settlers were to adopt the Catholic faith, and to conform in all other respects to the institutions of Mexico. Under the revolutionary governments, which succeeded the fall of the Spanish power, the original grant was confirmed, and new ones made, on condition of subjection to the laws of the land. The terms were very liberal, except that adherence to the Catholic religion was required as the condition of settlement. These facts will help us to understand the reasonableness of some of the complaints under which the colonists seek to shelter their revolt.

Mexico, on declaring her independence on the mother country, established a republican government, and was unfortunately betrayed by her admiration of this country into the adoption of a federal system, for which no foundation had been laid in her previous history. From this cause, added to her inexperience in self-government, and to the want of intelligence among the mass of her population, her institutions have yielded very imperfectly the fruits of freedom. The country has been rent by factions, the capital convulsed by revolutions, and the chief office of the state been secured by the military to popular chieftains. The emigrants from this country to Texas went with open eyes, with full knowledge of the unsettled state of affairs, into this region

* It may be well to state the principal authorities on which I rely for the statements in this letter. I am most indebted, perhaps, to an article on Mexico and Texas, in the July number of the "North American Review" for the year 1836. This article, as I understood at the time, was written by an enlightened and respected citizen of the South. The quotations in the first head of this letter, without a marginal reference, are taken from this tract, with a few unimportant exceptions. I have also made use of a pamphlet, bearing the title of the "War in Texas," written by Mr. Benjamin Lundy, a man of unimpeachable character, and who professes to have given particular attention to the subject. With his reasonings and opinions I have nothing to do; but his statement of facts has been represented to me as worthy of full credit. I have also consulted a "History of Texas, by David B. Edwards." I know not that this has furnished me any thing of importance. But, by its undesigned coincidence, it corroborates the preceding articles. My chief reliance, however, is not on books, but on the notoriety of the facts here given, which may be considered as a testimony borne to them by the whole people. This is a singularly unexceptionable testimony in the present case: because it is well known that the advocates of the Texan revolt have had possession, to a great degree, of the press of the country, and unfavorable accounts could not have obtained general currency without a foundation in truth. Let me add that, by "the North," I understand in this letter all the free States, and by "the South," all the slave-holding States except where the terms are plainly restricted by the connection.

of misrule and agitation. Happily, their distance from the seat of government prevented their being drawn into the whirlpool of civil contests, which threatened at times the destruction of the metropolis. Whilst the city of Mexico was pillaged or laid under martial law, Texas found security in her remoteness; and, had her colonists proved loyal citizens, this security might have been undisturbed.

Complaints of one another soon sprung up between the general government and Texas. Mexico complained of the gross infraction of her laws, and Texas of the violence of the means by which it was attempted to enforce them. That both parties had ground of reproach, we cannot doubt; nor is it easy to strike the balance between them, or to say where the chief blame lies. The presumption is strong, that the fault began with the colonists. We of this country, receiving our accounts of the controversy from Texans, are in danger of being warped in our judgments. But we have for our guidance our knowledge of human nature, which helps us to construe the testimony of interested witnesses, and which, in the present case, cannot easily deceive us. If we consider the distance of Texas from the seat of government, her scattered population, her vicinity to a slave country, the general character of the first settlers in a wilderness, and the difficulty of subjecting them to regular tribunals; can we doubt, for a moment, that Mexico had cause for the complaints, which she urged, of the gross infractions and evasions of her laws in Texas, especially of the laws relating to revenue, and to the exclusion of slaves? On the other hand, if we consider the circumstances of Mexico, can we doubt that the military force sent by her to Texas, and needed there to enforce the laws, abused its power more or less? That lawless men should be put down by lawless means, especially in a country swept by the spirit of revolution, is an effect too common and natural to excite wonder. The wonder is, that Texas escaped with so little injury. Whether she would have suffered at all, had she submitted in good faith to the laws which she had pledged herself to obey, may be fairly questioned. I ask you, Sir, whether it is not your deliberate conviction, that Mexico, from the beginning of her connection with the colonists, has been more sinned against than sinning. But allowing that the violent means used by Mexico for enforcing her authority were less provoked than we believe them to have been, did not the Texans enter the country with a full knowledge of its condition? Did they not become citizens of a state just escaped from a grinding despotism, just entered into the school of freedom, which had been inured for ages to abuses of military power, and whose short republican history had been made up of civil agitation? In swearing allegiance to such a state, did they not consent to take their chance of the evils through which it must have been expected to pass in its way to firm and free institutions? Was there, or could there be in so unsettled a society, that deliberate, settled, inflexible purpose of spoiling the colonists of their rights, which alone absolves a violation of allegiance from the guilt of treason?

Some of the grounds on which the Texans justify their conflict for independence are so glaringly deficient in truth and reason, that it is hard to avoid suspicion of every defence set up for their revolt. They complain of being denied the right of worshipping God according to the dictates of their consciences; and this they do, though they entered the country and swore allegiance to its government, with full knowledge that the Catholic religion was the religion of the state, and alone tolerated by the constitution. What increases the hollowness and criminality of the pretence is, that notwithstanding the provision of the constitution, Protestant sects had held their meetings undisturbed in Texas, and no persecution had ever taken place on account of difference of creed.

Another grievance by which they justify their revolt is, that the trial by jury had been withheld; and this complaint they have the courage to make, although they were fully aware, before becoming the adopted citizens of the country, that this mode of trial was utterly unknown to its jurisprudence, and though, in the constitution of the State of Coahuila and Texas, the following article had been introduced: "One of the principal sub-

jects for the attention of Congress [State Legislature] shall be to establish in criminal cases the trial by jury, extending it gradually, and even adopting it in civil cases, in proportion as the advantages of this precious institution may be practically developed."

One of the greatest grievances in the eyes of Texas was the change of the Mexican government from a federal to a central or consolidated form. But this change, however violently brought about, was ratified by the national Congress according to the rules prescribed by the constitution, and was sanctioned by the Mexican people. The decree of Congress, introducing this "reform" of the national institutions, declares the system of government "republican, popular, and representative," and provides all the organs by which such a government is characterized. What also deserves our consideration, in estimating this measure, is, that the whole history of Mexico has proved the necessity of substituting a central for a federal government. Liberty and order can be reconciled and preserved to that country by no process but by the introduction of more simple and efficient institutions. And yet the Texans, a handful of strangers, raised the standard of revolt, because the government was changed by a nation of nine millions without their consent.

I have spoken of the Texans as a handful of people. At the breaking out of the insurrection they were about twenty thousand, including women and children. They were, of course, wholly unable to achieve or maintain national independence; so that one condition which is required to authorize revolution, namely, the ability to sustain a government, to perform the duties of sovereignty, they could not pretend to fulfil. Twenty thousand men, women, and children, raising the standard of war, and proposing to dismember a mighty empire! It is very possible that there are suburbs of London containing an equal number of discontented people, who suffer under and have reason to complain of municipal or national injustice. And may these fly to arms, set up for a nation, and strive to break the unity of the British dominions? It should also be remembered, that the Texans were not only a drop of the bucket compared with the Mexican population, but that they were a decided minority in the particular State to which they belonged; so that their revolt may be compared to the rising of a county in Massachusetts or Virginia for the purpose of establishing a separate sovereignty, on the ground of some real or imagined violation of right on the part of the Federal or the State Government. Still more, this little knot of Texans were far from being unanimous as to the revolt. The older and wealthier inhabitants favored peace. "There were great differences of opinion among the colonists, and even violent party dissensions. Many, who were in the quiet enjoyment of their property, were opposed to all these hostile movements. The first public declaration of independence was adopted, not by persons assuming to act in a representative capacity, but by about *ninety individuals*, all, except two, Americans, if we may judge by their names, acting for themselves, and recommending a similar course to their fellow-citizens. That declaration furnishes proofs of the dissensions and jealousies of which we have spoken. It proves another fact, that the ancient population of the province was favorable to the new views of the government of Mexico." In some letters written by Colonel S. T. Austin, the founder of the colony, in the year 1834, whilst imprisoned in Mexico on the charge of encouraging revolutionary movements in Texas, we have some remarkable passages, showing the aversion of the sounder part of the population to violent measures. "I wish my friends and all Texas to adopt and firmly adhere to the motto and rule I have stated in this letter. The rule is, to discountenance, in the most unequivocal and efficient manner, all persons who are in the habit of speaking or writing in violent or disrespectful terms of the Mexican people or authorities. I have been led into so much difficulty, and Texas has been so much jeopardized in its true and permanent interests, by inflammatory men, political fanatics, political adventurers, would-be-great men, vain talkers, and visionary fools, that I begin to lose all confidence except for those who seek their living between the plough-handles; and, alas for them! they are too often sacrificed before they know it. Toler-

ate no more violent measures, and you will prosper, and obtain from the government all that reasonable men ought to ask for."* It is very plain that, of this diminutive colony, the more reasonable men, had they not been overborne by the more violent, would have averted the civil war. Such was the number which set up for a nation!

I have no disposition to deny that Texas had grievances to justify complaint. In proof of this I need no documents. That she was not always wisely governed, that her rights were not always respected, who can doubt? What else could be expected? Mexico is not wise. Mexico is not skilled in the science of human rights. Her civilization is very imperfect, as we and the Texans have always known; and a good government is one of the slowest fruits of civilization. In truth, a good government exists nowhere. The errors and vices of rulers entail evils on every state. Especially in an extensive community, some districts will always suffer from unwise, partial, unjust legislation. If every town or county may start up into a sovereign state, whenever it is wronged, society will be given up to perpetual convulsion, and history be one bloody record of revolt. The right of insurrection is to be exercised most rarely, fearfully, reluctantly, and only in cases of fixed, pronounced, persevering oppression, from which no relief can be found but in force. Nothing is easier than for any and every people to draw up a list of wrongs; nothing more ruinous than to rebel because every claim is not treated with respect. The United States did not throw off the British yoke because every human right which could be demonstrated by moral science was not granted them, but because they were denied the rights which their fathers had enjoyed, and which had been secured to the rest of the empire. They began with pleading precedent. They took their first stand on the British constitution. They claimed the rights of Englishmen. They set up the case of peculiar oppression; and did not appeal to arms until they had sought redress for years, by patient and respectful remonstrance; until they had exhausted every means of conciliation which wisdom could devise or a just self-respect would allow. Such was the code of national morality to which our fathers bowed; and in so doing they acknowledged the sacredness of allegiance, and manifested their deep conviction of the fearful responsibility of subverting a government and of rupturing national ties. A province, in estimating its grievances, should have respect to the general condition of the country to which it belongs. A colony, emigrating from a highly civilized country, has no right to expect in a less favored state the privileges it has left behind. The Texans must have been insane if, on entering Mexico, they looked for an administration as faultless as that under which they had lived. They might with equal reason have planted themselves in Russia, and then have unfurled the banner of independence near the throne of the Czar, because denied the immunities of their native land.

Having thus considered the grievances of the Texans, I now proceed to consider the real and great causes of the revolt. These are matters of notoriety, so as to need no minute exposition. The first great cause was the unbounded, unprincipled spirit of land speculation, which so tempting a prize as Texas easily kindled in multitudes in the United States, where this mode of gambling is too common a vice. Large grants of land in Texas were originally made to individuals, chiefly citizens of our country, who, in many cases, transferred their claims to joint-stock companies in some of our cities. A quotation will illustrate the nature of these grants, and the frauds and speculations to which they gave birth. "The nominal grantee is called the *empresario*. He is considered, by the terms of the contract, merely as a trustee of the government, having no title himself to the land within the limits of his future colony, except upon condition of settling a number of families [within a given time]. The settlers themselves receive a title for each family for a league square, upon the express condition of settlement and cultivation, and the payment of certain very moderate charges within a limited period. It is believed that these conditions were by the colonization laws of Mexico the basis of all the land-titles in Texas, together with the further con-

* "History of Texas," p. 210, Austin's Correspondence.

dition, that all right and title should be forfeited if the grantee [or new settler] should abandon the country, or sell his land before having cultivated it. An inspection of the various maps of Texas will show how numerous have been these privileges conceded to various *empresarios*. The face of the province, from Nueces to Red River, and from the Gulf to the mountains, is nearly covered by them. It became at last a matter of greedy speculation; and it is a notorious fact that many of the *empresarios*, forgetting the contingent character of their own rights to the soil, and the conditions upon which their future colonists were to receive allotments of land, proceeded at once to make out scrip, which has been sold in the United States to an incalculable amount. In addition to this, we are informed, on the best authority, that the manufacture of land-titles, having no foundation whatever, has been carried on as a regular business. That frauds of these different kinds have been practised on the cupidity and credulity of the people of the United States, is beyond doubt. Had the close of the present campaign been what its opening seemed to portend, and the colonies been broken up, it would be impossible to calculate the losses which would be sustained by those who have never seen the land which they have bought. It is not hazarding too much to say, that millions have been expended in the Southern and South-western States."

Texas, indeed, has been regarded as a prey for land speculators within its own borders and in the United States. To show the scale on which this kind of plunder has been carried on, it may be stated that the legislature of Coahuila and Texas, in open violation of the laws of Mexico, were induced "by a company of land speculators, never distinctly known, to grant them, in consideration of twenty thousand dollars, the extent of four hundred square leagues of the public land.* This transaction was disavowed, and the grant annulled, by the Mexican government, and led to the dispersion of the legislature, and the imprisonment of the governor, Viesca. And yet this unauthorized and, perhaps, corrupt grant of public lands formed the basis of new speculation and frauds. A new scrip was formed; and, according to the best information we have been able to obtain, four hundred leagues became, in the hands of speculators, as many thousands. The extent of these frauds is yet to be ascertained; for such is the blindness of cupidity, that any thing which looks fair on paper passes without scrutiny for a land-title in Texas." The indignation excited in the Mexican government by this enormous grant, and the attempt to seize the legislators who perpetrated it, were among the immediate excitements to the revolt. In consequence of these lawless proceedings, great numbers in this country and Texas have nominal titles to land, which can only be substantiated by setting aside the authority of the General Congress of Mexico, and are, of consequence, directly and strongly interested in severing this province from the Mexican confederacy. Texan independence can alone legalize the mighty frauds of the land speculator. Texas must be wrested from the country to which she owes allegiance, that her soil may pass into the hands of cheating and cheated foreigners. We have here one explanation of the zeal with which the Texan cause was embraced in the United States. From this country the great impulse has been given to the Texan revolution; and a principal motive has been, the unappeasable hunger for Texan land. An interest in that soil, whether real or fictitious, has been spread over our country. Thus "the generous zeal for freedom," which has stirred and armed so many of our citizens to fight for Texas, turns out to be a passion for unrighteous spoil.

I proceed to another cause of the revolt; and this was, the resolution to throw Texas open to slave-holders and slaves. Mexico, at the moment of throwing off the Spanish yoke, gave a noble testimony of her loyalty to free principles, by decreeing, "that no person thereafter should be born a slave or introduced as such into the Mexican States; that all slaves then held should receive stipulated wages, and be subject to no punishment but on trial and judgment by the magistrate." The subsequent acts of the government carried out fully these constitutional provisions. It is matter of deep grief and humiliation, that the emigrants from this coun-

* Another account says, 411 leagues for 30,000 dollars.

try, whilst boasting of superior civilization, refused to second this honorable policy, intended to set limits to one of the greatest social evils. Slaves were brought into Texas with their masters from the neighboring States of this country. One mode of evading the laws was, to introduce slaves under formal indentures for long periods, in some cases it is said for ninety-nine years. By a decree of the State Legislature of Coahuila and Texas, all indentures for a longer period than ten years were annulled, and provision was made for the freedom of children born during this apprenticeship. This settled, invincible purpose of Mexico to exclude slavery from her limits, created as strong a purpose to annihilate her authority in Texas. By this prohibition, Texas was virtually shut against emigration from the Southern and Western portions of this country; and it is well known that the eyes of the South and West had for some time been turned to this province, as a new market for slaves, as a new field for slave labor, and as a vast accession of political power to the slave-holding States. That such views were prevalent, we know; for, nefarious as they are, they found their way into the public prints. The project of dismembering a neighboring republic, that slave-holders and slaves might overspread a region which had been consecrated to a free population, was discussed in newspapers as coolly as if it were a matter of obvious right and unquestionable humanity. A powerful interest was thus created for severing from Mexico her distant province. We have here a powerful incitement to the Texan revolt, and another explanation of the eagerness with which men and money were thrown from the United States into that region to carry on the war of revolution.

I proceed to another circumstance which helped to determine, or at least to hasten the insurrection; and that was the disappointment of the Texans in their efforts to obtain for themselves an organization as a separate state. Texas and Coahuila had hitherto formed a single state. But the colonists, being a minority in the joint legislature, found themselves thwarted in their plans. Impatient of this restraint, and probably suffering at times from a union which gave the superiority to others, they prepared for themselves a constitution, by which they were to be erected into a separate state, neglecting in their haste the forms prescribed by the Mexican law. This instrument they forwarded to the capital for the sanction of the General Congress, by whom it was immediately rejected. Its informality was a sufficient reason for its finding no better reception; but the omission of all provision to secure the country against slavery was a more serious obstacle to its ratification. The irritation of the Texans was great. Once invested with the powers of a state, they would not have found it difficult, in their remoteness from the capital, and in the unsettled state of the nation, to manage their affairs in their own way. A virtual independence might have been secured, and the laws of Mexico evaded with impunity. Their exasperation was increased by the imprisonment of the agent who had carried the instrument to Mexico, and who had advised them, in an intercepted letter, to take matters into their own hands, or to organize a state government without authority from the national Congress. Thus denied the privilege of a separate state, and threatened with new attempts on the part of the general government to enforce the laws, they felt that the critical moment had arrived; and, looking abroad for help, resolved to take the chances of a conflict with the crippled power of Mexico.

Such were the chief excitements to the revolt. Undoubtedly, the Texans were instigated by the idea of wrongs, as well as by mercenary hopes. But had they yielded true obedience to the country of which they had, with their own free will, become a part; had they submitted to the laws relating to the revenue, to the sale of lands, and to slavery; the wrongs of which they complained might never have been experienced, or might never have been construed into a plea for insurrection. The great motives to revolt on which I have insisted are so notorious, that it is wonderful that any among us could be cheated into sympathy with the Texan cause, as the cause of freedom. Slavery and fraud lay at its very foundation. It is notorious that land speculators, slave-holders, and selfish ad-

venturers were among the foremost to proclaim and engage in the crusade for "Texan liberties." From the hands of these we are invited to receive a province, torn from a country to which we have given pledges of amity and peace. In these remarks, I do not, of course, intend to say that every invader of Texas was carried thither by selfish motives. Some, I doubt not, were impelled by a generous interest in what bore the name of liberty; and more by that natural sympathy which incites a man to take part with his countrymen against a stranger, without stopping to ask whether they are right or wrong. But the motives which rallied the great efficient majority round the standard of Texas were such as have been exposed, and should awaken any sentiment but respect.

Having considered the motives of the revolution, I proceed to inquire, How was it accomplished? The answer to this question will show more fully the criminality of the enterprise. The Texans, we have seen, were a few thousands, as unfit for sovereignty as one of our towns; and, if left to themselves, must have utterly despaired of achieving independence. They looked abroad; and to whom did they look? To any foreign state? To the government under which they had formerly lived? No; their whole reliance was placed on selfish individuals in a neighboring republic at peace with Mexico. They looked wholly to private individuals, to citizens of this country, to such among us as, defying the laws of the land, and hungry for sudden gain, should be lured by the scent of this mighty prey, and should be ready to stain their hands with blood for spoil. They held out a country as a prize to the reckless, lawless, daring, avaricious, and trusted to the excitements of intoxicated imagination and insatiable cupidity to supply them with partners in their scheme of violence.

By whom has Texas been conquered? By the colonists? By the hands which raised the standard of revolt? By foreign governments espousing their cause? No; it has been conquered by your and my countrymen, by citizens of the United States, in violation of our laws and of the laws of nations. We, we have filled the ranks which have wrested Texas from Mexico. In the army of eight hundred men who won the victory which scattered the Mexican force and made its chief a prisoner, "not more than fifty were citizens of Texas having grievances of their own to seek relief from on that field." The Texans in this warfare are little more than a name, a cover, under which selfish adventurers from another country have prosecuted their work of plunder.

Some crimes, by their magnitude, have a touch of the sublime; and to this dignity the seizure of Texas by our citizens is entitled. Modern times furnish no example of individual rapine on so grand a scale. It is nothing less than the robbery of a realm. The pirate seizes a ship. The colonists and their coadjutors can satisfy themselves with nothing short of an empire. They have left their Anglo-Saxon ancestors behind them. Those barbarians conformed to the maxims of their age, to the rude code of nations in time of thickest heathen darkness. They invaded England under their sovereigns, and with the sanction of the gloomy religion of the North. But it is in a civilized age, and amidst refinements of manners: it is amidst the lights of science and the teachings of Christianity, amidst expositions of the law of nations and enforcements of the law of universal love, amidst institutions of religion, learning, and humanity, that the robbery of Texas has found its instruments. It is from a free, well-ordered, enlightened Christian country, that hordes have gone forth, in open day, to perpetrate this mighty wrong.

Let me now ask, are the United States prepared to receive from these hands the gift of Texas? In annexing it to this country, shall we not appropriate to ourselves the fruits of a rapine which we ought to have suppressed? We certainly should shrink from a proposition to receive a piratical state into our confederacy. And of whom does Texas consist? Very much of our own citizens, who have won a country by waging war against a foreign nation, to which we owed protection against such assaults. Does it consist with national honor, with national virtue, to receive to our embrace men who have prospered by crimes which we were bound to reprobate and repress?

Had this country resisted with its whole power the lawlessness of its citizens; had these, notwithstanding such

opposition, succeeded in extorting from Mexico a recognition of independence; and were their sovereignty acknowledged by other nations; we should stand acquitted, in the sight of the civilized world, of participating in their crime, were considerations of policy to determine us to admit them into our Union. Unhappily, the United States have not discharged the obligations of a neutral state. They have suffered, by a culpable negligence, the violation of the Mexican territory by their citizens; and if now, in the midst of the conflict, whilst Mexico yet threatens to enforce her claims, they should proceed to incorporate Texas with themselves, they would involve themselves, before all nations, in the whole infamy of the revolt. The United States have not been just to Mexico. Our citizens did not steal singly, silently, in disguise, into that land. Their purpose of dismembering Mexico, and attaching her distant province to this country, was not wrapped in mystery. It was proclaimed in our public prints. Expeditions were openly fitted out within our borders for the Texan war. Troops were organized, equipped, and marched for the scene of action. Advertisements for volunteers, to be enrolled and conducted to Texas at the expense of that territory, were inserted in our newspapers. The government, indeed, issued its proclamation, forbidding these hostile preparations; but this was a dead letter. Military companies, with officers and standards, in defiance of proclamations, and in the face of day, directed their steps to the revolted province. We had, indeed, an army near the frontiers of Mexico. Did it turn back these invaders of a land with which we were at peace? On the contrary, did not its presence give confidence to the revolters? After this, what construction of our conduct shall we force on the world, if we proceed, especially at this moment, to receive into our Union the territory which, through our neglect, has fallen a prey to lawless invasion? Are we willing to take our place among robber-states? As a people, have we no self-respect? Have we no reverence for national morality? Have we no feeling of responsibility to other nations, and to Him by whom the fates of nations are disposed?

II. Having unfolded the argument against the annexation of Texas from the criminality of the revolt, I proceed to a second very solemn consideration: namely, that by this act our country will enter on a career of encroachment, war, and crime, and will merit and incur the punishment and woe of aggravated wrong-doing. The seizure of Texas will not stand alone. It will darken our future history. It will be linked by an iron necessity to long-continued deeds of rapine and blood. Ages may not see the catastrophe of the tragedy, the first scene of which we are so ready to enact. It is strange that nations should be so much more rash than individuals; and this, in the face of experience, which has been teaching, from the beginning of society, that of all precipitate and criminal deeds, those perpetrated by nations are the most fruitful of misery.

Did this country know itself, or were it disposed to profit by self-knowledge, it would feel the necessity of laying an immediate curb on its passion for extended territory. It would not trust itself to new acquisitions. It would shrink from the temptation to conquest. We are a restless people, prone to encroachment, impatient of the ordinary laws of progress, less anxious to consolidate and perfect than to extend our institutions, more ambitious of spreading ourselves over a wide space than of diffusing beauty and fruitfulness over a narrower field. We boast of our rapid growth, forgetting that throughout nature noble growths are slow. Our people throw themselves beyond the bounds of civilization, and expose themselves to relapses into a semi-barbarous state, under the impulse of wild imagination, and for the name of great possessions. Perhaps there is no people on earth on whom the ties of local attachment sit so loosely. Even the wandering tribes of Scythia are bound to one spot, the graves of their fathers; but the homes and graves of our fathers detain us feebly. The known and familiar is often abandoned for the distant and untrodden; and sometimes the untrodden is not the less eagerly desired because belonging to others. We owe this spirit, in a measure, to our descent from men who left the Old World for the New, the seats of ancient cultivation for a wilderness, and who advanced by driving before them the old occupants of the

soil. To this spirit we have sacrificed justice and humanity; and, through its ascendency, the records of this young nation are stained with atrocities at which communities grown gray in corruption might blush.

It is full time that we should lay on ourselves serious, resolute restraint. Possessed of a domain vast enough for the growth of ages, it is time for us to stop in the career of acquisition and conquest. Already endangered by our greatness, we cannot advance without imminent peril to our institutions, union, prosperity, virtue, and peace. Our former additions of territory have been justified by the necessity of obtaining outlets for the population of the South and the West. No such pretext exists for the occupation of Texas. We cannot seize upon or join to ourselves that territory, without manifesting and strengthening the purpose of setting no limits to our empire. We give ourselves an impulse, which will and must precipitate us into new invasions of our neighbors' soil. Is it by pressing forward in this course that we are to learn self-restraint? Is cupidity to be appeased by gratification? Is it by unrighteous grasping that an impatient people will be instructed how to hem themselves within the rigid bounds of justice?

Texas is a country conquered by our citizens; and the annexation of it to our Union will be the beginning of conquests which, unless arrested and beaten back by a just and kind Providence, will stop only at the Isthmus of Darien. Henceforth, we must cease to cry, Peace, peace. Our Eagle will whet, not gorge, its appetite on its first victim; and will snuff a more tempting quarry, more alluring blood, in every new region which opens southward. To annex Texas is to declare perpetual war with Mexico. That word, *Mexico*, associated in men's minds with boundless wealth, has already awakened rapacity. Already it has been proclaimed that the Anglo-Saxon race is destined to the sway of this magnificent realm, that the rude form of society which Spain established there is to yield and vanish before a higher civilization. Without this exposure of plans of rapine and subjugation, the result, as far as our will can determine it, is plain. Texas is the first step to Mexico. The moment we plant our authority on Texas, the boundaries of those two countries will become nominal, will be little more than lines on the sand of the sea-shore. In the fact that portions of the Southern and Western States are already threatened with devastation, through the impatience of multitudes to precipitate themselves into the Texan land of promise, we have a pledge and earnest of the flood which will pour itself still farther south when Texas shall be but partially overrun.

Can Mexico look without alarm on the approaches of this ever-growing tide? Is she prepared to be a passive prey? to shrink and surrender without a struggle? Is she not strong in her hatred, if not in her fortresses or skill? Strong enough to make war a dear and bloody game? Can she not bring to bear on us a force more formidable than fleets, — the force of privateers; that is, of legalized pirates, which, issuing from her ports, will scour the seas, prey on our commerce, and add to spoliation cruelty and murder?

Even were the dispositions of our government most pacific and opposed to encroachment, the annexation of Texas would almost certainly embroil us with Mexico. This territory would be overrun by adventurers; and the most unprincipled of these — the proscribed, the disgraced, the outcasts of society — would, of course, keep always in advance of the better population. These would represent our republic on the borders of the Mexican States. The history of the connection of such men with the Indians forewarns us of the outrages which would attend their contact with the border inhabitants of our southern neighbor. Texas, from its remoteness from the seat of government, would be feebly restrained by the authorities of the nation to which it would belong. Its whole early history would be a lesson of scorn for Mexico, an education for invasion of her soil. Its legislature would find in its position some color for stretching to the utmost the doctrine of state-sovereignty. It would not hear unmoved the cries for protection and vengeance which would break from the frontier, — from the very men whose lawlessness would provoke the cruelties so indignantly denounced; nor would it sift very anxiously the question

on which side the wrong began. To the wisdom, moderation, and tender mercies of the back-settlers and lawgivers of Texas the peace of this country would be committed.

Have we counted the cost of establishing and making perpetual these hostile relations with Mexico? Will wars, begun in rapacity, carried on so far from the centre of the confederation, and, of consequence, little checked or controlled by Congress, add strength to our institutions, or cement our union, or exert a healthy moral influence on rulers or people? What limits can be set to the atrocities of such conflicts? What limits to the treasures which must be lavished on such distant borders? What limits to the patronage and power which such distant expeditions must accumulate in the hands of the Executive? Are the blood and hard-earned wealth of the older States to be poured out like water to protect and revenge a new people, whose character and condition will plunge them into perpetual wrongs?

Is the time never to come when the neighborhood of a more powerful and civilized people will prove a blessing, instead of a curse, to an inferior community? It was my hope, when the Spanish colonies of this continent separated themselves from the mother country, and, in admiration of the United States, adopted republican institutions, that they were to find in us friends to their freedom, helpers to their civilization. If ever a people were placed by Providence in a condition to do good to a neighboring state, we of this country sustained such a relation to Mexico. That nation, inferior in science, arts, agriculture, and legislation, looked to us with a generous trust. She opened her ports and territories to our farmers, mechanics, and merchants. We might have conquered her by the only honorable arms, — by the force of superior intelligence, industry, and morality. We might silently have poured in upon her our improvements, and by the infusion of our population have assimilated her to ourselves. Justice, good-will, and profitable intercourse might have cemented a lasting friendship. And what is now the case? A deadly hatred burns in Mexico towards this country. No stronger national sentiment now binds her scattered provinces together than dread and detestation of republican America. She is ready to attach herself to Europe for defence from the United States. All the moral power which we might have gained over Mexico we have thrown away; and suspicion, dread, and abhorrence have supplanted respect and trust.

I am aware that these remarks are met by a vicious reasoning, which discredits a people among whom it finds favor. It is sometimes said that nations are swayed by laws as unfailing as those which govern matter; that they have their destinies; that their character and position carry them forward irresistibly to their goal; that the stationary Turk must sink under the progressive civilization of Russia, as inevitably as the crumbling edifice falls to the earth; that, by a like necessity, the Indians have melted before the white man, and the mixed, degraded race of Mexico must melt before the Anglo-Saxon. Away with this vile sophistry! There is no necessity for crime. There is no fate to justify rapacious nations, any more than to justify gamblers and robbers in plunder. We boast of the progress of society, and this progress consists in the substitution of reason and moral principle for the sway of brute force. It is true that more civilized must always exert a great power over less civilized communities in their neighborhood. But it may and should be a power to enlighten and improve, not to crush and destroy. We talk of accomplishing our destiny. So did the late conqueror of Europe; and destiny consigned him to a lonely rock in the ocean, the prey of an ambition which destroyed no peace but his own.

Hitherto I have spoken of the annexation of Texas as embroiling us with Mexico; but it will not stop here. It will bring us into collision with other states. It will, almost of necessity, involve us in hostility with European powers. Such are now the connections of nations, that Europe must look with jealousy on a country whose ambition, seconded by vast resources, will seem to place within her grasp the empire of the New World. And not only general considerations of this nature, but the particular relation of certain foreign states to this continent, must tend to

destroy the peace now happily subsisting between us and the kingdoms of Europe. England, in particular, must watch us with suspicion, and cannot but resist our appropriation of Texas to ourselves. She has at once a moral and political interest in this question which demands and will justify interference.

First, England has a moral interest in this question. The annexation of Texas is sought by us for the very purpose of extending slavery, and thus will necessarily give new life and extension to the slave-trade. A new and vast market for slaves cannot, of course, be opened without inviting and obtaining a supply from abroad, as well as from this country. The most solemn treaties, and ships of war lining the African coast, do not and cannot suppress this infernal traffic, as long as the slaver, freighted with stolen, chained, and wretched captives, can obtain a price proportioned to the peril of the undertaking. Now, England has long made it a part of her foreign policy to suppress the slave-trade; and, of late, a strong public feeling impels the government to resist, as far as may be, the extension of slavery. Can we expect her to be a passive spectator of a measure by which her struggles for years in the cause of humanity, and some of her strongest national feelings, are to be withstood?

England is a privileged nation. On one part of her history she can look with unmixed self-respect. With the exception of the promulgation of Christianity, I know not a moral effort so glorious as the long, painful, victorious struggle of her philanthropists against that concentration of all horrors, cruelties, and crimes, — the slave-trade. Next to this, her recent Emancipation Act is the most signal expression afforded by our times of the progress of civilization and a purer Christianity. Other nations have won imperishable honors by heroic struggles for their own rights. But there was wanting the example of a nation espousing, with disinterestedness, and amidst great obstacles, the rights of others, the rights of those who had no claim but that of a common humanity, the rights of the most fallen of the race. Great Britian, loaded with an unprecedented debt and with a grinding taxation, contracted a new debt of a hundred million dollars, to give freedom, not to Englishmen, but to the degraded African. This was hot an act of policy, not a work of statesmen. Parliament but registered the edict of the people. The English nation, with one heart and one voice, under a strong Christian impulse, and without distinction of rank, sex, party or religious names, decreed freedom to the slave. I know not that history records a national act so disinterested, so sublime. In the progress of ages, England's naval triumphs will shrink into a more and more narrow space in the records of our race. This moral triumph will fill a broader, brighter page. Is not England, representing, as she does in this case, the civilized world, authorized, and even bound, to remonstrate, in the name of humanity and religion, against a measure by which the great work for which she has so long toiled is to be indefinitely postponed?

But England has a political as well as a moral interest in this question. By the annexation of Texas we shall approach her liberated colonies; we shall build up a power in her neighborhood, to which no limits can be prescribed. By adding Texas to our acquisition of Florida, we shall do much towards girdling the Gulf of Mexico; and I doubt not that some of our politicians will feel as if our mastery in that sea were sure. The West Indian Archipelago, in which the European is regarded as an intruder, will, of course, be embraced in our ever-growing scheme of empire. In truth, collision with the West Indies will be the most certain effect of the extension of our power in that quarter. The example which they exhibit of African freedom, of the elevation of the colored race to the rights of men, is, of all influences, most menacing to slavery at the South. It must grow continually more perilous. These islands, unless interfered with from abroad, seem destined to be nurseries of civilization and freedom to the African race. The white race must melt more and more before the colored, if both are left to free competition. The Europeans, unnerved by the climate, and forming but a handful of the population, cannot stand before the African, who revels in the heat of the tropics, and is to develop under it all his energies. Will a slave-holding people, spreading along the shores of the Mexican Gulf, cultivate friendly

sentiments towards communities whose whole history will be a bitter reproach to their institutions, a witness against their wrongs, and whose ardent sympathies will be enlisted in the cause of the slave? Cruel, ferocious conflicts must grow from this neighborhood of hostile principles, of communities regarding one another with unextinguishable hatred. All the islands of the Archipelago will have cause to dread our power, but none so much as the emancipated. Is it not more than possible that wars, having for an object the subjugation of the colored race, the destruction of this tempting example of freedom, should spring from the proposed extension of our dominion along the Mexican Gulf? Can England view our encroachments without alarm? I know it is thought that, staggering, as she does, under her enormous debt, she will be slow to engage in war. But other nations of Europe have islands in the same neighborhood, to induce them to make common cause with her. Other nations look with jealousy on our peculiar institutions and our growing maritime power. Other nations are unwilling that we should engross or control the whole commerce of the Mexican Gulf. We ought to remember that this jealousy is sanctioned by our example. It is understood that, at one period of the internal disorders of Spain, which rendered all her foreign possessions insecure, we sought from France and Great Britain assurances that they would not possess themselves of Cuba. Still more, after the revolt of her colonies from Spain, and after our recognition of their independence, it was announced to the nations of Europe, in the message of the President, that we should regard as hostile any interference on their part with these new governments, "for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling their destiny in any other way." I, of course, have no communication with foreign cabinets; but I cannot doubt that Great Britain has remonstrated against the annexation of Texas to this country. An English minister would be unworthy of his office who should see another state greedily swallowing up territories in the neighborhood of British colonies, and not strive, by all just means, to avert the danger. I have just referred to the warning given by us to the powers of Europe, to abstain from appropriating to themselves the colonies torn from Spain. How will Europe interpret our act, if we now seize Texas, and take this stride towards Mexico? Will she not suspect that we purposed to drive away the older vultures in order to keep the victim to ourselves: that, conscious of growing power, we foresaw, in the exclusion of foreign states, the sure extension of our own dominion over the New World? Can we expect those powers, with such an example before them, to heed our warning? Will they look patiently on, and see the young vulture feasting on the nearest prey, and fleshing itself for the spoils which their own possessions will next present? Will it be strange if hunger for a share of the plunder, as well as the principle of self-defence, should make this continent the object of their policy to an extent we have never dreamed?

It is of great and manifest importance that we should use every just means to separate this continent from the politics of Europe, that we should prevent, as far as possible, all connection, except commercial, between the Old and the New World, that we should give to foreign states no occasion or pretext for insinuating themselves into our affairs. For this end, we should maintain towards our sister republics a more liberal policy than was ever adopted by nation towards nation. We should strive to appease their internal divisions, and to reconcile them to each other. We should even make sacrifices to build up their strength. Weak and divided, they cannot but lean upon foreign support. No pains should be spared to prevent or allay the jealousies which the great superiority of this country is suited to awaken. By an opposite policy we shall favor foreign interference. By encroaching on Mexico we shall throw her into the arms of Europoan states, shall compel her to seek defence in transatlantic alliance. How plain is it, that alliance with Mexico will be hostility to the United States, that her defenders will repay themselves by making her subservient to their views, that they will thus strike root in her soil, monopolize her trade, and control her resources. And with what face can we resist the aggressions of others on our neighbor, if we give an example of aggression? Still

more, if by our advances we put the colonies of England in new peril, with what face can we oppose her occupation of Cuba? Suppose her, with that magnificent island in her hands, to command the Mexican Gulf and the mouths of the Mississippi; will the Western States find compensation for this formidable neighborhood in the privilege of flooding Texas with slaves?

Thus, wars with Europe and Mexico are to be entailed on us by the annexation of Texas. And is war the policy by which this country is to flourish? Was it for interminable conflicts that we formed our Union? Is it blood, shed for plunder, which is to consolidate our institutions? Is it by collision with the greatest maritime power that our commerce is to gain strength? Is it by arming against ourselves the moral sentiments of the world that we are to build up national honor? Must we of the North buckle on our armor to fight the battles of slavery; to fight for a possession which our moral principles and just jealousy forbid us to incorporate with our confederacy? In attaching Texas to ourselves, we provoke hostilities, and at the same time expose new points of attack to our foes. Vulnerable at so many points, we shall need a vast military force. Great armies will require great revenues, and raise up great chieftains. Are we tired of freedom, that we are prepared to place it under such guardians? Is the republic bent on dying by its own hands? Does not every man feel that, with war for our habit, our institutions cannot be preserved? If ever a country were bound to peace, it is this. Peace is our great interest. In peace our resources are to be developed, the true interpretation of the constitution to be established, and the interfering claims of liberty and order to be adjusted. In peace we are to discharge our great debt to the human race, and to diffuse freedom by manifesting its fruits. A country has no right to adopt a policy, however gainful, which, as it may foresee, will determine it to a career of war. A nation, like an individual, is bound to seek, even by sacrifices, a position which will favor peace, justice, and the exercise of a beneficent influence on the world. A nation provoking war by cupidity, by encroachment, and, above all, by efforts to propagate the curse of slavery, is alike false to itself, to God, and to the human race.

III. I proceed now to a consideration of what is to me the strongest argument against annexing Texas to the United States. This measure will extend and perpetuate slavery. I have necessarily glanced at this topic in the preceding pages; but it deserves to be brought out distinctly. I shall speak calmly, but I must speak earnestly; and I feel, and rejoice to feel, that however you may differ from some of my views, yet we do not differ as to the great principle on which all my remarks and remonstrances are founded. Slavery seems to you, as to me, an evil and a wrong. Your language on this subject has given me a satisfaction for which I owe you thanks; and if, in what I am now to say, I may use expressions which you may think too strong, I am sure your candor will recognize in them the signs of deep conviction, and will acquit me of all desire to irritate or give pain.

The annexation of Texas, I have said, will extend and perpetuate slavery. It is fitted, and, still more, intended to do so. On this point there can be no doubt. As far back as the year 1829, the annexation of Texas was agitated in the Southern and Western States; and it was urged on the ground of the strength and extension it would give the slaveholding interest. In a series of essays, ascribed to a gentleman now a senator in Congress, it was maintained that five or six slave-holding States would by this measure be added to the Union; and he even intimated that as many as nine States as large as Kentucky might be formed within the limits of Texas. In Virginia, about the same time, calculations were made as to the increased value which would thus be given to slaves, and it was even said that this acquisition would raise the price fifty per cent. Of late the language on this subject is most explicit. The great argument for annexing Texas is, that it will strengthen "the peculiar institutions" of the South, and open a new and vast field for slavery.

By this act, slavery will be spread over regions to which it is now impossible to set limits. Texas, I repeat it, is but the first step of aggressions. I trust, indeed, that Providence will beat back and humble our cupidity and ambition.

But one guilty success is often suffered to be crowned, as men call it, with greater, in order that a more awful retribution may at length vindicate the justice of God, and the rights of the oppressed. Texas, smitten with slavery, will spread the infection beyond herself. We know that the tropical regions have been found most propitious to this pestilence; nor can we promise ourselves that its expulsion from them for a season forbids its return. By annexing Texas, we may send this scourge to a distance, which, if now revealed, would appall us, and through these vast regions every cry of the injured will invoke wrath on our heads.

By this act, slavery will be perpetuated in the old States, as well as spread over new. It is well known that the soil of some of the old States has become exhausted by slave cultivation. Their neighborhood to communities which are flourishing under free labor forces on them perpetual arguments for adopting this better system. They now adhere to slavery, not on account of the wealth which it extracts from the soil, but because it furnishes men and women to be sold in newly settled and more southern districts. It is by slave-breeding and slave-selling that these States subsist. Take away from them a foreign market, and slavery would die. Of consequence, by opening a new market, it is prolonged and invigorated. By annexing Texas, we shall not only create it where it does not exist, but breathe new life into it, where its end seemed to be near. States, which might and ought to throw it off, will make the multiplication of slaves their great aim and chief resource.

Nor is the worst told. As I have before intimated, — and it cannot be too often repeated, — we shall not only quicken the domestic slave-trade, we shall give a new impulse to the foreign. This, indeed, we have pronounced in our laws to be felony; but we make our laws cobwebs, when we offer to rapacious men strong motives for their violation. Open a market for slaves in an unsettled country, with a sweep of sea-coast, and at such a distance from the seat of government that laws may be evaded with impunity, and how can you exclude slaves from Africa? It is well known that cargoes have been landed in Louisiana. What is to drive them from Texas? In incorporating this region with the Union to make it a slave country, we send the kidnapper to prowl through the jungles, and to dart, like a beast of prey, on the defenceless villages of Africa; we chain the helpless, despairing victims; crowd them into the fetid, pestilential slave-ship; expose them to the unutterable cruelties of the middle passage, and, if they survive it, crush them with perpetual bondage.

I now ask whether, as a people, we are prepared to seize on a neighboring territory for the end of extending slavery? I ask whether, as a people, we can stand forth in the sight of God, in the sight of the nations, and adopt this atrocious policy? Sooner perish! Sooner be our name blotted out from the record of nations!

This is no place for entering into the argument against slavery. I have elsewhere given my views of it. In truth, no argument is needed. The evil of slavery speaks for itself. It is one of those primary, intuitive truths which need only a fair exhibition to be immediately received. To state is to condemn this institution. The choice which every freeman makes of death for his child and for every thing he loves, in preference to slavery, shows what it is. The single consideration that, by slavery, one human being is placed powerless and defenceless in the hands of another, to be driven to whatever labor that other may impose, to suffer whatever punishment he may inflict, to live as his tool, the instrument of his pleasure, — this is all that is needed to satisfy such as know the human heart and its unfitness for irresponsible power, that, of all conditions, slavery is the most hostile to the dignity, self-respect, improvement, rights, and happiness of human beings. Is it within the bounds of credibility, that a people, boasting of freedom, of civilization, of Christianity, should systematically strive to spread this calamity over the earth?

To perpetuate and extend slavery is not now, in a moral point of view, what it once was. We cannot shelter ourselves under the errors and usages of our times. We do not belong to the dark ages, or to heathenism. We have not grown up under the prejudices of a

blinding, crushing tyranny. We live under free institutions and under the broad light of Christianity. Every principle of our government and religion condemns slavery. The spirit of our age condemns it. The decree of the civilized world has gone out against it. England has abolished it. France and Denmark meditate its abolition. The chain is falling from the serf in Russia. In the whole circuit of civilized nations, with the single exception of the United States, not a voice is lifted up in defence of slavery. All the great names in legislation and religion are against it. The most enduring reputations of our times have been won by resisting it. Recall the great men of this and the last generation, and, be they philosophers, philanthropists, poets, economists, statesmen, jurists, all swell the reprobation of slavery. The leaders of opposing religious sects, Wesley, the patriarch of Methodism, Edwards and Hopkins, pillars of Calvinism, join as brothers in one solemn testimony against slavery. And is this an age in which a free and Christian people shall deliberately resolve to extend and perpetuate the evil? In so doing, we cut ourselves off from the communion of the nations; we sink below the civilization of our age; we invite the scorn, indignation, and abhorrence of the world.

Let it not be said that this opposition of our times to slavery is an accident, a temporary gust of opinion, an eddy in the current of human thought, a fashion to pass away with the present actors on the stage. He who so says must have read history with a superficial eye, and is strangely blind to the deepest and most powerful influences which are moulding society. Christianity has done more than all things to determine the character and direction of our present civilization; and who can question or overlook the tendency and design of this religion? Christianity has no plainer purpose than to unite all men as brethren, to make man unutterably dear to man, to pour contempt on outward distinctions, to raise the fallen, to league all in efforts for the elevation of all. Under its influence, the differences of nations and rank are softening. To the establishment of a fraternal relation among men, the science, literature, commerce, education of the Christian world are tending. Who cannot see this mighty movement of Providence? Who is so blind as to call it a temporary impulse? Who so daring, so impious, as to strive to arrest it?

What is the tendency of all governments in the Christian world? To secure more and more to every man his rights, be his condition what it may. Even in despotisms, where political rights are denied, private rights are held more and more sacred. The absolute monarch is more and more anxious to improve the laws of the state, and to extend their protection and restraints over all classes and individuals without distinction. Equality before the law is the maxim of the civilized world. To place the rights of a large part of the community beyond the protection of law, to place half a people under private, irresponsible power, is to oppose one of the most characteristic and glorious tendencies of modern times. Who has the courage to set down this reverence for private rights among the fashions and caprices of the day? Is it not founded in everlasting truth? And dare we, in the face of it, extend and perpetuate an institution, the grand feature of which is, that it tramples private rights in the dust?

Whoever studies modern history with any care, must discern in it a steady, growing movement towards one most interesting result, — I mean towards the elevation of the laboring class of society. This is not a recent, accidental turn of human affairs. We can trace its beginning in the feudal times, and its slow advances in subsequent periods, until it has become the master movement of our age. Is it not plain that those who toil with their hands, and whose productive industry is the spring of all wealth, are rising from the condition of beasts of burden to which they were once reduced, to the consciousness, intelligence, self-respect, and proper happiness of men? Is it not the strong tendency of our times to diffuse among the many the improvements once confined to the few? He who overlooks this has no comprehension of the great work of Providence, or of the most signal feature of his times; and is this an age for efforts to extend and perpetuate an institution, the very object of which is to keep down the laborer, and to make him a machine for another's gratification?

I know it has been said, in reply to such views, that, do what we will with the laborer, call him what we will, he is and must be in reality a slave. The doctrine has been published at the South, that nature has made two classes, the rich and the poor, the employer and the employed, the capitalist and the operative, and that the class who work are, to all intents, slaves to those in whose service they are engaged. In a report on the mail, recently offered to the Senate of the United States, an effort was made to establish resemblances between slavery and the condition of free laborers, for the obvious purpose of showing that the shades of difference between them are not very strong. Is it possible that such reasonings escaped from a man who has trod the soil of New England, and was educated at one of her colleges? Whom did he meet at that college? The sons of her laborers, — young men whose hands had been hardened at the plough. Does he not know that the families of laborers have furnished every department in life among us with illustrious men, have furnished our heroes in war, our statesmen in council, our orators in the pulpit and at the bar, our merchants whose enterprises embrace the whole earth? What! the laborer of the free State a slave, and to be ranked with the despised negro, whom the lash drives to toil, and whose dearest rights are at the mercy of irresponsible power? If there be a firm, independent spirit on earth, it is to be found in the man who tills the fields of the free States, and moistens them with the sweat of his brow. I recently heard of a visitor from the South compassionating the operatives of our manufactories, as in a worse condition than the slave. What carries the young woman to the manufactory? Not, generally, the want of a comfortable home; but sometimes the desire of supplying herself with a wardrobe which ought to satisfy the affluent, and oftener the desire of furnishing in more than decent style the home where she is to sustain the nearest relations, and perform the most sacred duties of life. Generally speaking, each of these young women has her plan of life, her hopes, her bright dreams, her spring of action in her own free will, and amidst toil she contrives to find seasons for intellectual and religious culture. It is common in New England for the sons of farmers to repair to the large towns, and there to establish themselves as domestics in families, a condition which the South will be peculiarly disposed to identify with slavery. But what brings these young men to the city? The hope of earning in a shorter time a sum with which to purchase a farm at home or in the West, perhaps to become traders; and in these vocations they not unfrequently rise to consideration, and to what, in their places of residence, is called wealth. I have in my thoughts an individual distinguished alike by vigor and elevation of mind, who began life by hiring himself as a laborer to a farmer, and then entered a family as a domestic; and now he is the honored associate of the most enlightened men, and devotes himself to the highest subjects of human thought. It is true that much remains to be done for the laboring class in the most favored regions; but the intelligence already spread through this class is an earnest of a brighter day, of the most glorious revolution in history, of the elevation of the mass of men to the dignity of human beings.

It is the great mission of this country to forward this revolution, and never was a sublimer work committed to a nation. Our mission is to elevate society through all its conditions, to secure to every human being the means of progress, to substitute the government of equal laws for that of irresponsible individuals, to prove that, under popular institutions, the people may be carried forward, that the multitude who toil are capable of enjoying the noblest blessings of the social state. The prejudice, that labor is a degradation, one of the worst prejudices handed down from barbarous ages, is to receive here a practical refutation. The power of liberty to raise up the whole people, this is the great idea on which our institutions rest, and which is to be wrought out in our history. Shall a nation having such a mission abjure it, and even fight against the progress which it is specially called to promote?

The annexation of Texas, if it should be accomplished, would do much to determine the future history and character of this country. It is one of those measures which call a nation to pause,

reflect, look forward, because their force is not soon exhausted. Many acts of government, intensely exciting at the moment, are yet of little importance, because their influence is too transient to leave a trace on history. A bad administration may impoverish a people at home, or cripple its energies abroad, for a year or more. But such wounds heal soon. A young people soon recruits its powers, and starts forward with increased impulse, after the momentary suspension of its activity. The chief interest of a people lies in measures which, making, perhaps, little noise, go far to fix its character, to determine its policy and fate for ages, to decide its rank among nations. A fearful responsibility rests on those who originate or control these pregnant acts. The destiny of millions is in their hands. The execration of millions may fall on their heads. Long after present excitements shall have passed away, long after they and their generation shall have vanished from the earth, the fruits of their agency will be reaped. Such a measure is that of which I now write. It will commit us to a degrading policy, the issues of which lie beyond human foresight. In opening to ourselves vast regions, through which we may spread slavery, and in spreading it for this, among other ends, that the slave-holding States may bear rule in the national councils, we make slavery the predominant interest of the state. We make it the basis of power, the spring or guide of public measures, the object for which the revenues, strength, and wealth of the country are to be exhausted. Slavery will be branded on our front, as the great idea, the prominent feature of the country. We shall renounce our high calling as a people, and accomplish the lowest destiny to which a nation can be bound.

And are we prepared for this degradation? Are we prepared to couple with the name of our country the infamy of deliberately spreading slavery? and especially of spreading it through regions from which the wise and humane legislation of a neighboring republic had excluded it? We call Mexico a semi-barbarous people; and yet we talk of planting slavery where Mexico would not suffer it to live. What American will not blush to lift his head in Europe, if this disgrace shall be fastened on his country? Let other calamities, if God so will, come on us. Let us be steeped in poverty. Let pestilence stalk through our land. Let famine thin our population. Let the world join hands against our free institutions, and deluge our shores with blood. All this can be endured. A few years of industry and peace will recruit our wasted numbers, and spread fruitfulness over our desolated fields. But a nation, devoting itself to the work of spreading and perpetuating slavery, stamps itself with a guilt and shame which generations may not be able to efface. The plea on which we have rested, that slavery was not our choice, but a sad necessity bequeathed us by our fathers, will avail us no longer. The whole guilt will be assumed by ourselves.

It is very lamentable that, among the distinguished men of the South, any should be found so wanting to their own fame as to become advocates of slavery. That vulgar politicians, who look only at the interests of the day and the chances of the next election, should swell the madness of the passions by which they hope to rise, is a thing of course. But that men, who might leave honorable and enduring record of themselves in their country's history, who might associate their names with their country's progress and who are solemnly bound by their high gifts to direct and purify public sentiment, that such men should lend their great powers to the extension of slavery, is among the dark symptoms of the times. Can such men be satisfied with the sympathies and shouts of the little circle around them, and of the passing moment? Have they nothing of that prophetic instinct by which truly great men read the future? Can they learn nothing from the sentence now passed on men who, fifty years ago, defended the slave-trade? We have to rejoice, Sir, that you, amidst the excitements of the time, have always given your testimony against slavery. You have adhered to the doctrine which the great men of the South of the last generation asserted, that it is a great evil. We shall not forget this among the good services which you have rendered to your country.

I have expressed my fears that, by the annexation of Texas, slavery is to be continued and extended. But I wish

not to be understood as having the slightest doubt as to the approaching fall of the institution. It may be prolonged, to our reproach and greater ultimate suffering. But fall it will and must. This, Sir, you know, and, I doubt not, rejoice to know. The advocates of slavery must not imagine that to carry a vote is to sustain their cause. With all their power, they cannot withstand the providence of God, the principles of human nature, the destinies of the race. To succeed, they must roll back time to the dark ages, must send back Luther to the cell of his monastery, must extinguish the growing light of Christianity and moral science, must blot out the declaration of American independence. The fall of slavery is as sure as the descent of your own Ohio. Moral laws are as irresistible as physical. In the most enlightened countries of Europe, a man would forfeit his place in society by vindicating slavery. The slave-holder must not imagine that he has nothing to do but fight with a few societies. These of themselves are nothing. He should not waste on them one fear. They are strong, only as representing the spirit of the Christian and civilized world. His battle is with the laws of human nature and the irresistible tendencies of human affairs. These are not to be withstood by artful strokes of policy, or by daring crimes. The world is against him, and the world's Maker. Every day the sympathies of the world are forsaking him. Can he hope to sustain slavery against the moral feeling, the solemn sentence of the human race?

The South, cut off by its "peculiar institutions" from close connection with other communities, comprehends little the progress of the civilized world. The spirit which is spreading through other communities finds no organ within its borders, and the strength of this is therefore little understood. Hence, it looks on antislavery movements in any part of the country as an accident, which a little force can put down. It might as well think of imprisoning the winds. The South is ignorant of what it most needs to know. A very intelligent gentleman from that quarter told me, not long ago, that he could not learn at home the working of emancipation in the West Indies; so that an experiment of infinite interest to the slave-holder is going on at his door, and he knows little more of it than if it were occurring in another planet. Of course, there are exceptions. There are at the South philosophical observers of the progress of human affairs. But in such a state of society it is hard to realize the truth on this subject. Were it known, the project of building a power on the diffusion of slavery would seem to be an act of madness, as truly as of crime.

I suppose that I shall be charged with unfriendly feelings towards the South. All such I disclaim. Strange as it may seem, if I have partialities, they are rather for the South. I spent a part of my early life in that region, when manners probably retained more of their primitive character than they now do; and to a young man, unaccustomed to life and its perils, there was something singularly captivating in the unbounded hospitality, the impulsive generosity, the carelessness of the future, the frank, open manners, the buoyant spirit and courage, which marked the people; and though I have since learned to interpret more wisely what I then saw, still the impressions which I then received, and the friendships formed at a yet earlier age with the youth of the South, have always given me a leaning towards that part of the country. I am unconscious of local prejudices. My interest in the South strengthens my desire to avert the annexation of Texas to the Union. That act, I feel, will fix an indelible stain on the South. It will conflict with the generous elements of character which I take pleasure in recollecting there. The South will cease to be what it was. In the period to which I have referred, slavery was acknowledged there to be a great evil. I heard it spoken of freely with abhorrence. The moral sentiment of the community on this point was not corrupt. The principles of Mr. Jefferson in relation to it found a wide response. The doctrine that slavery is a good, if spread by the seizure of Texas, will work a moral revolution, the most disastrous which can befall the South. It will paralyze every effort for escape from this enormous evil. A deadly sophistry will weigh on men's consciences and hearts, until terrible convulsions — God's just judgments — will hasten the deliverance

which human justice and benevolence were bound to accomplish.

IV. I now proceed to another important argument against the annexation of Texas to our country — the argument drawn from the bearings of the measure on our National Union. Next to liberty, union is our great political interest, and this cannot but be loosened — it may be dissolved — by the proposed extension of our territory. I will not say that every extension must be pernicious, that our government cannot hold together even our present confederacy, that the central heart cannot send its influences to the remote States which are to spring up within our present borders. Old theories must be cautiously applied to the institutions of this country. If the federal government will abstain from minute legislation, and rigidly confine itself within constitutional bounds, it may be a bond of union to more extensive communities than were ever comprehended under one sway. Undoubtedly, there is peril in extending ourselves, and yet the chief benefit of the Union, which is the preservation of peaceful relations among neighboring States, is so vast, that some risk should be taken to secure it in the greatest possible degree. The objection to the annexation of Texas, drawn from the unwieldiness it would give to the country, though very serious, is not decisive. A far more serious objection is, that it is to be annexed to us for the avowed purpose of multiplying slave-holding States, and thus giving political power. This cannot, ought not to be borne. It will justify, it will at length demand, the separation of the States.

We maintain that this policy is altogether without reason on the part of the South. The South has exerted, and cannot help exerting, a disproportionate share of influence on the confederacy. The slave-holding States have already advantages for co-operation, and for swaying the country, which the others do not possess. The free States have no great common interest, like slavery, to hold them together. They differ in character, feelings, and pursuits. They agree but on one point, and that a negative one, — the absence of slavery; and this distinction, as is well known, makes no lively impression on the consciousness, and in no degree counteracts the influences which divide them . . . another. To this may be add[illegible] well-known fact, that in the free State[illegible] the subject of politics is of secondary importance, whilst at the South it is paramount. At the North every man must toil for subsistence, and, amidst the feverish competitions and anxieties of the eager and universal pursuit of gain, political power is sought with little comparative avidity. In some districts it is hard to find fit representatives for Congress, so backward are superior men to forego the emoluments of their vocation, the prospects of independence, for the uncertainties of public life. At the North, too, a vast amount of energy is absorbed in associations of a religious, philanthropic, literary character. The apathy of the free States in regard to Texas — an apathy from which they are just beginning to be roused — is a striking proof of their almost incredible indifference to political power. Perhaps no parallel to it can be found in the history of confederations. What a contrast does the South form with the divided and slumbering North! There, one strong, broad distinction exists, of which all the members of the community have a perpetual consciousness; there, a peculiar element is found, which spreads its influence through the mass, and impresses itself on the whole constitution of society. Slavery is not a superficial distinction. Nothing decides the character of a people more than the form and determination of labor. Hence we find a unity at the South unknown at the North. At the South, too, the proprietors, released from the necessity of labor, and having little of the machinery of associations to engage their attention, devote themselves to politics with a concentration of zeal which a Northern man can only comprehend by residing on the spot. Hence the South has professional politicians, — a character hardly known in the free States. The result is plain. The South has generally ruled the country. It must always have an undue power. United, as the North cannot be, it can always link with itself some discontented portion at the North, which it can liberally reward by the patronage which the possession of the government confers. That the constitutional rights of the South should be prejudiced by the North is one of those

moral impossibilities against which it is folly to ask security.

We cannot consent that the South should extend its already disproportionate power by an indefinite extension of territory, because we maintain that its dispositions towards us gives us no pledge that its power will be well used. It is, unhappily, too well known that it wants friendly feelings towards the North. Divided from us by an institution which gives it a peculiar character, which lays it open to reproach, and which will never suffer it to rival our prosperity, it cannot look on us with favor. It magnifies our faults. It is blind to our virtues. At the North, no unfriendly disposition prevails towards the South. We are too busy and too prosperous for hatred. We complain that our good-will is not reciprocated. We complain that our commerce and manufactures have sometimes found little mercy at the hands of the South. Still more, we feel — though we are slow to complain of it — that in Congress, the common ground of the confederacy, we have had to encounter a tone and bearing which it has required the colder temperament of the North to endure. We cannot consent to take a lower place than we now hold. We cannot consent that our confederacy should spread over the wilds of Mexico to give us more powerful masters. The old balance of the country is unfavorable enough. We cannot consent that a new weight should be thrown in, which may fix the political inferiority of ourselves and our posterity. I give you, Sir, the feelings of the North. In part they may be prejudices. Jealousies, often groundless, are the necessary fruits of confederations. On that account, measures must not be adopted disturbing violently, unnaturally, unexpectedly, the old distributions of power, and directly aimed at that result.

In other ways the annexation of Texas is to endanger the Union. It will give new violence and passion to the agitation of the question of slavery. It is well known that a majority at the North have discouraged the discussion of this topic, on the ground that slavery was imposed on the South by necessity, that its continuance was not of choice, and that the States in which it subsists, if left to themselves, would find a remedy in their own way. Let slavery be systematically proposed as the policy of these States, let it bind them together in efforts to establish political power, and a new feeling will burst forth through the whole North. It will be a concentration of moral, religious, political, and patriotic feelings. The fire, now smothered, will blaze out, and, of consequence, new jealousies and exasperations will be kindled at the South. Strange, that the South should think of securing its "peculiar institutions" by violent means! Its violence necessarily increases the evils it would suppress. For example, by denying the right of petition to those who sought the abolition of slavery within the immediate jurisdiction of the United States, it has awakened a spirit which will overwhelm Congress with petitions till this right be restored. The annexation of Texas would be a measure of the same injurious character, and would stir up an open, uncompromising hostility to slavery, of which we have seen no example, and which would produce a reaction very dangerous to union.

The annexation of Texas will give rise to constitutional questions and conflicts which cannot be adjusted. It is well known that the additions to our territory of Louisiana and Florida were acceded to by the North, though very reluctantly, on account of their obvious utility. But it has been seriously doubted whether the powers given by the Constitution were not in both cases transcended. "At the time Louisiana was acquired, Mr. Jefferson himself was deliberately of opinion that the treaty-making authority, under the Constitution of the United States, was incompetent to make such an acquisition from a foreign power, and annex it to the Union, and that an amendment of the Constitution would be necessary to sanction it. In a letter to Governor Lincoln, he even furnishes the formula of a proposed amendment for the purpose of admitting Louisiana into the Union; but adds, that the less that is said about the constitutional difficulty the better. Very little *was* said about it, and there was a general and tacit acquiescence, in consequence of the great and incalculable advantages expected from the acquisition in a national point of view. The purchase of Texas,

under existing circumstances, might present a very different question."*

It is true that, as a general rule, the right to purchase territory is incident to sovereignty. But the sovereignty of our national government is a limited one. The Constitution was a compromise among independent States, and it is well known that geographical relations and local interests were among the essential conditions on which the compromise was made. We are willing, for the sake of universally acknowledged public interests, that additions of territory should be made to our country. But can it be admitted that the Constitution gives power to the President and Senate to add a vast realm to the United States, for the very purpose of disturbing the balance between different sections, or of securing ascendency to certain parts of the confederacy? Was not the Constitution founded on conditions or considerations which are even more authoritative than its particular provisions, and the violation of which must be death to our Union? Besides, a new question is to be opened by the admission of Texas. We shall not purchase a territory, as in the case of Louisiana, but shall admit an independent community, invested with sovereignty, into the confederation; and can the treaty-making power do this? Can it receive foreign nations, however vast, to the Union? Does not the question carry its own answer? By the assumption of such a right, would not the old compact be at once considered as dissolved?

To me it seems not only the right but the duty of the free States, in case of the annexation of Texas, to say to the slave-holding States, "We regard this act as the dissolution of the Union. The essential conditions of the national compact are violated. To you we will faithfully adhere, but will not join ourselves to this new and iniquitous acquisition. We will not become partners in your wars with Mexico and Europe, in your schemes of spreading and perpetuating slavery, in your hopes of conquest, in your unrighteous spoils." No one prizes the Union more than myself, as the means of peace. But, with Texas, we shall have no peace. Texas, brought into the confederacy, will bring with it domestic and foreign strife. It will change our relations to other countries, and to one another. A pacific division in the first instance seems to me to threaten less contention than a lingering, feverish dissolution of the Union, such as must be expected under this fatal innovation.

I am but one of a nation of fifteen millions, and, as such, may seem too insignificant to protest against a public measure. But in this country every man, even the obscurest, participates in the sovereignty, and is responsible for public acts, unless by some mode of opposition, proportioned to his sense of the evil, he absolves himself from the guilt. For one, then, I say, that earnestly as I deprecate the separation of these States, and though this event would disappoint most cherished hopes for my country, still I can submit to it more readily than to the reception of Texas into the confederacy. I shrink from that contamination. I shrink from an act which is to pledge us as a people to robbery and war, to the work of upholding and extending slavery without limitation or end. I do not desire to share the responsibility, or to live under the laws of a government adopting such a policy, and swayed by such a spirit, as would be expressed by the incorporation of Texas with our country.

In truth, if the South is bent on incorporating Texas with itself, as a new prop to slavery, it would do well to insist on the division of the States. It would, in so doing, consult best its own safety. It should studiously keep itself from communion with the free part of the country. It should suffer no railroad from that section to cross its borders. It should block up intercourse with us by sea and land. Still more, it should abjure connection with the whole civilized world: for from every country it would be invaded by an influence hostile to slavery. It should borrow the code of the Dictator of Paraguay, and seal itself hermetically against the infectious books, opinions, and visits of foreigners. Its pride, as well as safety, should teach it this insulation; for, having once taken the ground that slavery is a good, to be spread and made perpetual, it does by that act forfeit the rank which it covets among civilized and improving com-

* "North American Review," July, 1836.

munities. It cannot be recognized as an equal by other states. On this point the decree of the world has gone forth, and no protests or clamors can drown the deep, solemn voice of humanity, gathering strength with every new generation. A community, acknowledging the evils of slavery, and continuing it only because the first law of nature, self-preservation, seems to require gradual processes of change, may retain the respect of those who deem their fears unfounded. But a community, wedding itself to slavery inseparably, with choice and affection, and with the purpose of spreading the plague far and wide, must become a by-word among the nations; and the friend of humanity will shake off the dust of his feet against it in testimony of his reprobation.

V. I proceed now to the last head of this communication. I observe, that the cause of liberty, of free institutions, — a cause more sacred than union, — forbids the annexation of Texas. It is plain, from the whole preceding discussion, that this measure will exert a disastrous influence on the moral sentiments and principles of this country, by sanctioning plunder, by inflaming cupidity, by encouraging lawless speculation, by bringing into the confederacy a community whose whole history and circumstances are adverse to moral order and wholesome restraint, by violating national faith, by proposing immoral and inhuman ends, by placing us as a people in opposition to the efforts of philanthropy, and the advancing movements of the civilized world. It will spread a moral corruption, already too rife among us, and, in so doing, it will shake the foundations of freedom at home, and bring reproach on it abroad. It will be treachery to the great cause which has been confided to this above all nations.

The dependence of freedom on morals is an old subject, and I have no thought of enlarging on the general truth. I wish only to say, that it is one which needs to be brought home to us at the present moment, and that it cannot be trifled with but to our great peril. There are symptoms of corruption amongst us, which show us that we cannot enter on a new career of crime without peculiar hazard. I cannot do justice to this topic without speaking freely of our country, as freely as I should of any other; and, unhappily, we are so accustomed as a people to receive incense, to be soothed by flattery, and to account reputation as a more important interest than morality, that my freedom may be construed into a kind of disloyalty. But it would be wrong to make concessions to this dangerous weakness. I believe that morality is the first interest of a people, and that this requires self-knowledge in nations as truly as in individuals. He who helps a community to comprehend itself, and to apply to itself a higher rule of action, is the truest patriot, and contributes most to its enduring fame.

I have said that we shall expose our freedom to great peril by entering on a new career of crime. We are corrupt enough already. In one respect our institutions have disappointed us all. They have not wrought out for us that elevation of character which is the most precious, and, in truth, the only substantial blessing of liberty. Our progress in prosperity has indeed been the wonder of the world; but this prosperity has done much to counteract the ennobling influence of free institutions. The peculiar circumstances of the country and of our times have poured in upon us a torrent of wealth; and human nature has not been strong enough for the assault of such severe temptation. Prosperity has become dearer than freedom. Government is regarded more as a means of enriching the country than of securing private rights. We have become wedded to gain as our chief good. That, under the predominance of this degrading passion, the higher virtues, the moral independence, the simplicity of manners, the stern uprightness, the self-reverence, the respect for man as man, which are the ornaments and safeguards of a republic, should wither, and give place to selfish calculation and indulgence, to show and extravagance, to anxious, envious, discontented strivings, to wild adventure, and to the gambling spirit of speculation, will surprise no one who has studied human nature. The invasion of Texas by our citizens is a mournful comment on our national morality. Whether, without some fiery trial, some signal prostration of our prosperity, we can rise to the force and

self-denial of freemen, is a question not easily solved.

There are other alarming views. A spirit of lawlessness pervades the community, which, if not repressed, threatens the dissolution of our present forms of society. Even in the old States, mobs are taking the government into their hands, and a profligate newspaper finds little difficulty in stirring up multitudes to violence. When we look at the parts of the country nearest Texas, we see the arm of the law paralyzed by the passions of the individual. Men take under their own protection the rights which it is the very office of government to secure. The citizen, wearing arms as means of defence, carries with him perpetual proofs of the weakness of the authorities under which he lives. The substitution of self-constituted tribunals for the regular course of justice, and the infliction of immediate punishment in the moment of popular frenzy, are symptoms of a people half reclaimed from barbarism. I know not that any civilized country on earth has exhibited during the last year a spectacle so atrocious as the burning of a colored man by a slow fire, in the neighborhood of St. Louis; and this infernal sacrifice was offered not by a few fiends selected from the whole country, but by a crowd gathered from a single spot. Add to all this, the invasions of the rights of speech and of the press by lawless force, the extent and toleration of which oblige us to believe that a considerable portion of our citizens have no comprehension of the first principles of liberty.

It is an undeniable fact that, in consequence of these and other symptoms, the confidence of many reflecting men in our free institutions is very much impaired. Some despair. That main pillar of public liberty, mutual trust among citizens, is shaken. That we must seek security for property and life in a stronger government is a spreading conviction. Men, who in public talk of the stability of our institutions, whisper their doubts (perhaps their scorn) in private. So common are these apprehensions, that the knowledge of them has reached Europe. Not long ago, I received a letter from an enlightened and ferver t friend of liberty in Great Britain, beseeching me to inform him how far he was to rely on the representations of one of his countrymen just returned from the United States, who had reported to him that, in the most respectable society, he had again and again been told that the experiment of freedom here was a failure, and that faith in our institutions was gone. That the traveller misinterpreted in a measure what he heard, we shall all acknowledge. But is the old enthusiasm of liberty unchilled among us? Is the old jealousy of power as keen and uncompromising? Do not parties more unscrupulously encroach on the Constitution and on the rights of minorities? In one respect we must all admit a change. When you and I grew up, what a deep interest pervaded this country in the success of free institutions abroad! With what throbbing hearts did we follow the struggles of the oppressed! How many among us were ready to lay down their lives for the cause of liberty on the earth!, And now who cares for free institutions abroad? How seldom does the topic pass men's lips! Multitudes, discouraged by the licentiousness at home, doubt the value of popular institutions, especially in less enlightened countries; whilst greater numbers, locked up in gain, can spare no thought on the struggles of liberty, and, provided they can drive a prosperous trade with foreign nations, care little whether they are bond or free.

I may be thought inclined to draw a dark picture of our moral condition. But at home I am set down among those who hope against hope; and I have never ceased to condemn as a crime the despondence of those who, lamenting the corruptions of the times, do not lift a finger to withstand it. I am far, very far, from despair. I have no fears but such as belong to a friend of freedom. Among dark omens, I see favorable influences, remedial processes, counteracting agencies. I well know that the vicious part of our system makes more noise and show than the sound. I know that the prophets of ruin to our institutions are to be found most frequently in the party out of power, and that many dark auguries must be set down to the account of disappointment and irritation. I am sure, too, that imminent peril would wake up the spirit of our fathers in many who slumber in these days of ease and security. It is also true that, with all

our defects, there is a wider diffusion of intelligence, moral restraint, and self-respect among us than through any other community. Still, I am compelled to acknowledge an extent of corruption among us which menaces freedom and our dearest interests; and a policy which will give new and enduring impulse to corruption, which will multiply indefinitely public and private crime, ought to be reprobated as the sorest calamity we can incur. Freedom is fighting her battles in the world with sufficient odds against her. Let us not give new chances to her foes.

That the cause of republicanism is suffering abroad, through the defects and crimes of our countrymen, is as true as that it is regarded with increased scepticism among ourselves. Abroad, republicanism is identified with the United States, and it is certain that the American name has not risen of late in the world. It so happens that, whilst writing, I have received a newspaper from England, in which Lynch law is as familiarly associated with our country as if it were one of our establishments. We are quoted as monuments of the degrading tendencies of popular institutions. When I visited England fifteen years ago, republican sentiments were freely expressed to me. I should probably hear none now. Men's minds seem to be returning to severer principles of government; and this country is responsible for a part of this change. It is believed abroad that property is less secure among us, order less stable, law less revered, social ties more easily broken, religion less enforced, life held less sacred, than in other countries. Undoubtedly, the prejudices of foreign nations, the interests of foreign governments, have led to gross exaggeration of evils here. The least civilized parts of the country are made to represent the whole, and occasional atrocities are construed into habits. But who does not feel that we have given cause of reproach? and shall we fix this reproach, and exasperate it into indignation and hatred, by adopting a policy against which the moral sentiments of the Christian world revolt? Shall we make the name of republic "a stench in the nostrils" of all nations, by employing our power to build up and spread slavery, by resisting the efforts of other countries for its abolition, by falling behind monarchies in reverence for the rights of men?

When we look forward to the probable growth of this country; when we think of the millions of human beings who are to spread over our present territory; of the career of improvement and glory opened to this new people; of the impulse which free institutions, if prosperous, may be expected to give to philosophy, religion, science, literature, and arts; of the vast field in which the experiment is to be made, of what the unfettered powers of man may achieve; of the bright page of history which our fathers have filled, and of the advantages under which their toils and virtues have placed us for carrying on their work; — when we think of all this, can we help, for a moment, surrendering ourselves to bright visions of our country's glory, before which all the glories of the past are to fade away? Is it presumption to say that, if just to ourselves and all nations, we shall be felt through this whole continent, that we shall spread our language, institutions, and civilization through a wider space than any nation has yet filled with a like beneficent influence? And are we prepared to barter these hopes, this sublime moral empire, for conquests by force? Are we prepared to sink to the level of unprincipled nations, to content ourselves with a vulgar, guilty greatness, to adopt in our youth maxims and ends which must brand our future with sordidness, oppression, and shame? This country cannot without peculiar infamy run the common race of national rapacity. Our origin, institutions, and position are peculiar, and all favor an upright, honorable course. We have not the apologies of nations hemmed in by narrow bounds, or threatened by the overshadowing power of ambitious neighbors. If we surrender ourselves to a selfish policy, we shall sin almost without temptation, and forfeit opportunities of greatness vouchsafed to no other people, for a prize below contempt.

I have alluded to the want of wisdom with which we are accustomed to speak of our destiny as a people. We are *destined* (that is the word) to overspread North America; and, intoxicated with the idea, it matters little to us how we

accomplish our fate. To spread, to supplant others, to cover a boundless space, this seems our ambition, no matter what influence we spread with us. Why cannot we rise to noble conceptions of our destiny? Why do we not feel that our work as a nation is to carry freedom, religion, science, and a nobler form of human nature over this continent? and why do we not remember, that to diffuse these blessings we must first cherish them in our own borders; and that whatever deeply and permanently corrupts us will make our spreading influence a curse, not a blessing to this New World? It is a common idea in Europe that we are destined to spread an inferior civilization over North America; that our slavery and our absorption in gain and outward interests mark us out as fated to fall behind the Old World in the higher improvements of human nature, in the philosophy, the refinements, the enthusiasm of literature and the arts, which throw a lustre round other countries. I am not prophet enough to read our fate. I believe, indeed, that we are to make our futurity for ourselves. I believe that a nation's destiny lies in its character, in the principles which govern its policy and bear rule in the hearts of its citizens. I take my stand on God's moral and eternal law. A nation, renouncing and defying this, cannot be free, cannot be great.

Religious men in this community — and they are many — are peculiarly bound to read the future history of their country, not in the flattering promises of politicians, but in the warnings of conscience, and in the declaration of God's word. They know, and should make it known, that nations cannot consolidate free institutions and secure a lasting prosperity by crime. They know that retribution awaits communities as well as individuals; and they should tremble amidst their hopes, when, with this solemn truth on their minds, they look round on their country. Let them consider the clearness with which God's will is now made known, and the signal blessings of his providence poured out on this people, with a profusion accorded to no other under heaven; and then let them consider our ingratitude for his boundless gifts, our abuse of his beneficence to sensual and selfish gratification, our unmeasured, unrighteous love of gain, our unprincipled party-spirit, and our faithless and cruel wrongs toward the Indian race; and can they help fearing that the cup of wrath is filling for this people? Men, buried in themselves and in outward interests, atheists in heart and life, may scoff at the doctrine of national retribution, because they do not see God's hand stretched out to destroy guilty communities. But does not all history teach that the unlicensed passions of a guilty people are more terrible ministers of punishment than miraculous inflictions? To chastise and destroy, God need not interfere by supernatural judgments. In every community there are elements of discord, revolution, and ruin, pent up in the human soul, which need only to be quickened and set free by a new order of events, to shake and convulse the whole social fabric. Never were the causes of disastrous change in human affairs more active than at the present moment. Society heaves and trembles from the struggle of opposing principles, as the earth quakes through the force of central fires. This is not the time for presumption, for defying Heaven by new crimes, for giving a new range to cupidity and ambition. Men who fear God must fear for their country in this "day of provocation," and they will be false to their country if they look on passively, and see without remonstrance the consummation of a great national crime, which cannot fail to bring down awful retribution.

I am aware that there are those who, on reading these pages, will smile at my simplicity in urging moral and religious motives, disinterested considerations, lofty aims, on a politician. The common notion is, that the course of a man embarked in public life will be shaped by the bearing of passing events on his immediate popularity; that virtue and freedom, however they may round his periods in the senate, have little influence on his vote. But I do not believe that public life is necessarily degrading, or that a statesman is incapable of looking above himself. Public life appeals to the noblest as well as basest principles of human nature. It holds up for pursuit enduring fame, as well as the notoriety of the passing hour. By giving opportunities of act-

ing on the vast and permanent interests of a nation, it often creates a deep sense of responsibility, and a generous self-oblivion. I have too much faith in human nature to distrust the influence of great truths and high motives on any class of men, especially on men of commanding intelligence. There is a congeniality between vast powers of thought and dignity of purpose. None are so capable of sacrificing themselves as those who have most to sacrifice, who, in offering themselves, make the greatest offerings to humanity. With this conviction, I am not discouraged by the anticipated smiles and scoffs of those who will think that, in insisting on national purity as the essential condition of freedom and greatness, I have "preached" to the winds. To you, Sir, rectitude is not an empty name, nor will a measure fraught with lasting corruption and shame to your country seem to you any thing but a fearful calamity.

I have now finished the task which I have felt myself bound to undertake. That I have escaped all error, I cannot hope. That I may have fallen into occasional exaggeration, I ought perhaps to fear, from the earnestness with which I have written. But of the essential truth of the views here communicated, I cannot doubt. It is exceedingly to be regretted that the subject of this letter has as yet drawn little attention at the North. The unprecedented pecuniary difficulties pressing now on the country have absorbed the public mind. And yet these difficulties, should they be aggravated and continued far beyond what is most dreaded, would be a light national evil compared with the annexation of Texas to the Union. I trust the people will not slumber on the edge of this precipice till it shall be too late to reflect and provide for safety. Too much time has been given for the ripening of this unrighteous project. I doubt not, as I have said, that opposition exists to it in the slave-holding States. This, if manifested in any strength, would immediately defeat it. The other States should raise a voice against it, like the voice of many waters. Party dissensions should be swallowed up in this vast common interest. The will of the people, too strong and fixed to be resisted, should be expressed to Congress in remonstrances from towns, cities, counties, and legislatures. Let no man, who feels the greatness of the evil which threatens us, satisfy himself with unprofitable regrets; but let each embody his opposition in a form which will give incitement to his neighbors, and act on men in power.

I take it for granted that those who differ from me will ascribe what I have written to unworthy motives. This is the common mode of parrying unwelcome truths; and it is not without influence where the author is unknown. May I, then, be allowed to say, that I have strong reasons for believing that, among the many defects of this letter, those of unworthy intention are not to be numbered. The reluctance with which I have written satisfies me that I have not been impelled by any headlong passion. Nor can I have been impelled by party-spirit. I am pledged to no party. In truth, I do not feel myself able to form a decisive opinion on the subjects which now inflame and divide the country, and which can be very little understood except by men who have made a study of commerce and finance. As to having written from that most common motive, the desire of distinction, I may be permitted to say, that to win the public ear I need not engage in a controversy which will expose me to unmeasured reproach. May I add, that I have lived long enough to learn the worth of applause. Could I, indeed, admit the slightest hope of securing to myself that enduring fame which future ages award to the lights and benefactors of their race, I could not but be stirred by the prospect. But notoriety among contemporaries, obtained by taking part in the irritating discussions of the day, I would not stretch out a hand to secure.

I cannot but fear that the earnestness with which I have written may seem to indicate an undue excitement of mind. But I have all along felt distinctly the importance of calmness, and have seemed to myself to maintain it. I have prepared this letter, not amidst the goadings, irritations, and feverish tumults of a crowded city, but in the stillness of retirement, amid scenes of peace and beauty. Hardly an hour has passed in which I have not sought relief from the exhaustion of writing by walking abroad

amidst God's works, which seldom fail to breathe tranquillity, and which, by their harmony and beneficence, continually cheer me, as emblems and prophecies of a more harmonious and blessed state of human affairs than has yet been known. Perhaps some will object it to me that a man, living in such retirement, unfits himself to judge of passing events, that he is prone to substitute his visions for realities, and to legislate for a world which does not exist. I acknowledge the danger of such a position. On the other hand, it is equally true that the man who lives in a crowd and receives perpetual impulse from its prejudices and passions, who connects himself with a party and looks to it for reward, cannot easily keep his mind open to truth, or sacrifice the interests of the moment to everlasting principles and the enduring welfare of his country. Everywhere our frail nature is severely tried. All circumstances have their perils. In every condition there are biases to wrong judgment and incitements to wrong action. Through such discipline we are to make our way to truth and perfection. The dread of these dangers must not keep us inactive. Having sought to understand the difficulties in our respective paths, and having done what we can to learn the truth, we must commit ourselves to our convictions without fear, expressing them in word and action, and leaving results to Him who will accept our pure purpose, and whose providence is the pledge of the ultimate triumphs of humanity and uprightness.

You and I, my dear Sir, are approaching that period of life when the passions lose much of their force, when disappointment, bereavement, the fall of our contemporaries on the right hand and the left, and long experience of the emptiness of human favor and of the instability of all earthly goods, are teaching us the lofty lessons of superiority to the fleeting opinion of our day, of reliance on the everlasting law of right, of reference to a higher Judge than man, of solemn anticipation of our final account. Permit me to close this letter, with desiring for you, in your commanding station, what I ask for myself in private life, that we may be faithful to ourselves, to our country, to mankind, to the benevolent principles of the Christian faith, and to the common Father of the whole human race.

Very respectfully,
Your friend and servant,
WILLIAM E. CHANNING.

NEWPORT, R.I., *August* 1, 1837.

NOTE. — A few remarks, which have been suggested since the completion of the preceding letter, I shall throw into a note.

The recognition of the independence of Texas by our government is to be lamented, as unbecomingly hasty, and as a violation of the principle adopted by Mr. Monroe in regard to the Spanish colonies. "These new states," he says, "had completely established their independence before we acknowledged them." We have recognized Texas as a nation, having all the attributes of sovereignty, and competent to the discharge of all the obligations of an independent state. And what is Texas? A collection of a few settlements, which would vanish at once were a Mexican army of any force to enter the country. One decisive victory would scatter all Texas like a horde of Tartars, and not a trace of its institutions and population would remain. We have been accustomed to think of a nation as something permanent, as having some fixtures, some lasting bond of union. There would be nothing to hold Texas together, were her single, small army to be routed in one battle. To send a minister plenipotentiary to such a handful of people, made up chiefly of our own citizens, is to degrade the forms of national intercourse. This new republic, with its president and diplomatic corps, has been called a farce. But the tragic element prevails so much over the farcical in this whole business, that we cannot laugh at it. The movements of our government in regard to Texas are chiefly interesting as they are thought to indicate a disposition favorable to its annexation to our country. But we will not believe that the government is resolved on this great wrong, unless we are compelled so to do. We hope that the present administration will secure the confidence of good men by well-considered and upright measures, looking beyond momentary interests to the lasting peace, order, and strength of the country

There is another objection to the annexation of Texas, which, after our late experience, is entitled to attention. This possession will involve us in new Indian wars. Texas, besides being open to the irruption of the tribes within our territories, has a tribe of its own, the Camanches, which is described as more formidable than any in North America. Such foes are not to be coveted. The Indians! that ominous word, which ought to pierce the conscience of this nation more than the savage war-cry pierces the ear. The Indians! Have we not inflicted and endured evil enough in our intercourse with this wretched people, to abstain from new wars with them? Is the tragedy of Florida to be acted again and again in our own day, and in our children's?

In addition to what I have said of the constitutional objections to the annexation of Texas to our country, I would observe, that we may infer, from the history and language of the Constitution, that our national Union was so far from being intended to spread slavery over new countries, that, had the possibility of such a result been anticipated, decided provisions would have been introduced for its prevention. It is worthy of remark, how anxious the framers of that instrument were to exclude from it the word slavery. They were not willing that this feature of our social system should be betrayed in the construction of our free government. A stranger might read it without suspecting the existence of this institution among us. Were slavery to be wholly abolished here, no change would be needed in the Constitution, nor would any part become obsolete except an obscure clause, which, in apportioning the representatives, provides that there shall be added to the whole number of free persons "three-fifths of other persons." Slavery is studiously thrown into the background. How little did our forefathers suppose that it was to become a leading interest of the government, to which our peace at home and abroad was to be made a sacrifice!

I have said, that I desire no political union with communities bent on spreading and perpetuating slavery. It is hardly necessary to observe, that this was not intended to express a desire to decline friendly intercourse with the members of those communities. Individuals, who have received from their ancestors some pernicious prejudice or institution, may still, in their general spirit, be disinterested and just. Our testimony against the wrong which such men practise is not to be stifled or impaired by the feelings of interest or attachment which they inspire; nor, on the other hand, must this wrong be spread by our imaginations over their whole characters, so as to seem their sole attribute, and so as to hide all their claims to regard. In an age of reform, one of the hardest duties is to be inflexibly hostile to the long-rooted corruptions of society, and at the same time to be candid and just to those who uphold them. It is true that, with the most friendly feelings, we shall probably give offence to those who are interested in abuses which we condemn. But we are not on this account absolved from the duty of cultivating and expressing kindness and justice, of laying strong restraint on our passions, and of avoiding all needless provocation.

The speech of Mr. Adams on the subject of the preceding letter, delivered in Congress, in December, 1835, should be republished and circulated. It deserves to be read as a specimen of parliamentary eloquence; and its moral and political views are worthy of its eminent author.

There seems to be an apprehension at the South that the free States, should they obtain the ascendency, might be disposed to use the powers of the government for the abolition of slavery. On this point there is but one feeling at the North. The free States feel that they have no more right to abolish slavery in the slave-holding States than in a foreign country. They regard the matter as wholly out of their reach. They, indeed, claim the right of setting forth the evils of slavery, as of any other pernicious and morally wrong institution. But the thought of touching the laws which established it in any State, they reject without a discordant voice. In regard to the District of Columbia, many of us feel that slavery continues there by the action of *all* the States; that the free States, therefore, are responsible for it; and we maintain that it is most unreasonable that an institution should be sustained by those

who hold it to be immoral and pernicious. But we feel no such responsibility for slavery in the slave-holding States. These States must determine for themselves how long it shall continue, and by what means it shall be abolished. We solemnly urge them to use their power for its removal; but nothing would tempt us to wrest the power from them, if we could. The South has fears that the free States may be hurried away by "enthusiasm" into usurpation of unconstitutional powers on the subject. One is tempted to smile at the want of acquaintance with the North which such an apprehension betrays. This enthusiasm, to endanger the South, must spread through all the free States; for, as the slave-holders are unanimous, nothing but a like unanimity in their opponents can expose them to harm. And is it possible that a large number of communities, spread over a vast surface, having a diversity of interests, and all absorbed in the pursuit of gain to a degree, perhaps, without a parallel, should be driven by a moral, philanthropic enthusiasm into violations of a national compact, by which their peace and prosperity would be put in peril, and into combined and lawless efforts against other communities with whom they sustain exceedingly profitable connections, and from whom they could not be sundered without serious loss? Whoever is acquainted with the free States knows that the excesses to which they are exposed are not so much those of enthusiasm as of caution and worldly prudence. The patience with which they have endured recent violent measures directed against their citizens shows little propensity to rashness. The danger is not so much that they will invade the rights of other members of the confederacy, as that they will be indifferent to their own.

I have spoken in this letter of the estimation in which this country is held abroad. I hope I shall not be numbered among those, too common here, who are irritably alive to the opinions of other nations, to the censures and misrepresentations of travellers. To a great and growing people, how insignificant is the praise or blame of a traveller or a nation! "None of these things move me." But one thing does move me. It is a sore evil that freedom should be blasphemed, that republican institutions should forfeit the confidence of mankind through the unfaithfulness of this people to their trust.

In reviewing this letter, I perceive that I have used the strong language in which the apprehension of great evils naturally expresses itself. I hope this will not be construed as betokening any anxieties or misgivings in regard to the issues of passing events. I place a cheerful trust in Providence. The triumphs in evil, which men call great, are but clouds passing over the serene and everlasting heavens. Public men may, in craft or passion, decree violence and oppression. But silently, irresistibly, they and their works are swept away. A voice of encouragement comes to us from the ruins of the past, from the humiliations of the proud, from the prostrate thrones of conquerors, from the baffled schemes of statesmen, from the reprobation with which the present age looks back on the unrighteous policy of former times. Such sentence the future will pass on present wrongs. Men, measures, and all earthly interests pass away; but principles are eternal. Truth, justice, and goodness partake of the omnipotence and immutableness of God, whose essence they are. In these it becomes us to place a calm, joyful trust, in the darkest hour.

REMARKS ON THE SLAVERY QUESTION,

In a Letter to Jonathan Phillips, Esq.

MY DEAR SIR, — On reading Mr. Clay's speech on Slavery, many thoughts were suggested to me which I wished to communicate; and our conversation of last evening confirmed me in the purpose of laying them before the public. I have resolved to give my views in the form of a letter, because I can do my work more easily and rapidly in this way than in any other. A general methodical discussion of the subject would be more agreeable to me; but we must do what we can. I must write in haste, or not at all. If others would take the subject in hand, I should gladly be silent. Something ought to be spoken on the occasion; but who will speak? My range of topics will be somewhat large; nor, if good can be done, shall I hesitate to stray beyond the document which first suggested this communication.

I shall often be obliged to introduce the name of Mr. Clay; but, as you will see, I regard him in this discussion simply as the representative of a body of men, — simply as having given wide circulation to a set of opinions. I have nothing to do with his motives. It is common to ascribe the efforts of politicians to selfish aims. But why mix up the man with the cause? In general, we do well to let an opponent's motives alone. We are seldom just to them. Our own motives on such occasions are often worse than those we assail. Besides, our business is with the arguments, not the character, of an adversary. A speech is not refuted by imputations, true or false, on the speaker. There is, indeed, a general presumption against a politician's purity of purpose; but public men differ in character as much as private; and when a statesman holds an honorable place in his class, and brings high gifts to a discussion, he ought to be listened to with impartiality and respect. For one, I desire that slavery should be defended by the ablest men among its upholders. In the long run, truth is aided by nothing so much as by opposition, and by the opposition of those who can give the full strength of the argument on the side of error. In an age of authority and spiritual bondage, the opinions of an individual are often important, — sometimes decisive. One voice may determine the judgment of a country. But, in an age of free discussion, little is to be feared from great names, on whatever side arrayed. When I hear a man complaining that some cause which he has at heart will be put back for years by a speech or a book, I suspect that his attachment to it is a prejudice; that he has no consciousness of standing on a rock. The more discussion the better, if passion and personality be eschewed; and discussion, even if stormy, often winnows truth from error, — a good never to be expected in an uninquiring age.

I have said that my concern is wholly with Mr. Clay's speech, not with the author; and I would add, that in the greater part of the discussion which is to follow, my concern will be with slavery, and not with the slave-holder. Principles, not men, are what I wish to examine and judge. For the sake of truth and good temper, personalities are to be shunned as far as they may. I shall speak strongly of slavery, for we serve neither truth nor virtue by pruning discourse into tameness; but a criminal institution does not necessarily imply any singular criminality in those who uphold it. An institution, the growth of barbarous times, transmitted from distant ages, and "sanctified" by the laws, is a very different thing, as far as the character of its friends is concerned, from what it would be were it deliberately adopted at the present day. I must, indeed, ascribe much culpableness to the body of slave-holders, just as I see much to blame in political parties; but do I therefore set down all the members of these classes

as unprincipled men? The injustice, criminality, inhumanity of a practice we can judge. The guilt of our neighbor we can never weigh with exactness; and in most cases must refer him to a higher tribunal. This I say that I may separate the subject from personalities. To me, the slave-holder is very much an abstraction. The word, as here used, expresses a general relation. The individual seldom or never enters my thoughts.

The principal part of Mr. Clay's speech is an attack on the abolitionists. These I have no thought of defending. They must fight their own battle. I am not of them, and nothing would induce me to become responsible for their movements. And this I say from no desire to shift from myself an unpopular name. It will be seen, in the course of these remarks, that I am not studying to soothe prejudice or to make a compromise with error. I separate myself from the abolitionists from no sensitiveness to reproach. A man who has studied Christianity and history as long as you and myself will not be very anxious to shelter himself from what has been the common lot of the friends of truth. However the abolitionists may have erred, I honor them as advocates of the principles of freedom, justice, and humanity, and for having clung to these amidst threats, perils, and violence. In declining all connection with them, I am influenced by no desire to make over to others all the censures and invectives of the community; but I simply wish to take my true position, — to appear what I am.

Mr. Clay's speech, however intended for the abolitionists, contains passages at which every man interested in the removal of slavery must take offence; and to these my remarks will be confined. The most important part of it, indeed, has no special bearing on the abolitionists, but concerns equally all the free States. I refer to that in which we are told that slavery is to be perpetual, that we have nothing to hope in this respect from the South. Every other part of the speech sinks into insignificance in comparison with this. Coming from any other man, this document would be less important. But Mr. Clay is no rash talker. His legislative course has been distinguished by nothing so much as by his skill in compromising discordant opinions. His speech was meant to be a compromise, to exert a healing power. He does not, in a fit of transient, blinding anger, dash to the ground our hopes of relief from the intolerable evils of slavery. He states deliberately the grand obstacle to emancipation, and it is one which can only be removed by the dying out of the slaves. He takes the ground that if the two races are to live together, one must be hopelessly subjugated to the other, so as to prevent collision. Emancipation, he gives us to understand, would be a signal for civil war, to end only in extermination. And as this peril, if real, increases with the increase of the servile class, of consequence every year's continuance of the evil makes freedom, if possible, more and more to be despaired of. We lament and abhor this doctrine, but are truly glad that it is brought out distinctly, that the free States may know what they are to expect. A vague hope has floated before many minds, that this immense evil was in some way or other to cease. On this ground, such of us in the free States as have written against slavery have been rebuked. Our friends, as well as foes, have said, "Be quiet; let the South alone; it will find for itself the way of emancipation. You throw back the good work a century." We have all along known better. We have known that long use, the love of property, and the love of power, had bound this evil on the South with a triple adamantine chain. We have known that the increasing culture of cotton was spreading slavery with immense rapidity through new regions, and, by rendering it more gainful, was strengthening the obstinacy with which it is grasped by the owner. We have known that, in consequence of this culture, the Northern slave States, whose soil the system had exhausted, have acquired a new interest in it, by humbling themselves to the condition of slave-breeding and slave-trading communities. We have seen that the institution, if to be shaken or subverted, was to be stormed from abroad, not by "carnal weapons," not by physical force, but by those moral influences which, if steadily poured in upon a civilized people, must gradually prevail. It is now seen that we were right. It is now plain

that the South has deliberately wedded itself to slavery. We are glad to have it known. The speech publishing this doctrine was meant to be a herald of peace, but it is in truth a summons to new conflict. It calls those who regard slavery as a grievous outrage on human nature to spread their convictions with unremitting energy. I take the ground that no communities, unless cutting themselves off from the civilized world, can withstand just, enlightened, earnest opinion; and this power must be brought to bear on slavery more zealously than ever.

I observe, in passing, that Mr. Clay, in giving us no hope for the extinction of slavery but in the extinction of the colored race, puts an end to all expectation of aid in this respect from the Colonization Society, an institution of which he is an ardent friend, and, for aught I know, is now the president; and I trust his frankness will open the eyes of those who dream of removing slavery by the process of draining it off to another country, — a process about as reasonable as that of draining the Atlantic. Colonization may do good in Africa. It does only harm among ourselves. It has confirmed the prejudice, to which slavery owes much of its strength, that the colored man cannot live and prosper as a freeman on these shores. It indeed sends out to the public now and then accounts of planters who have freed a greater or less number of slaves to be shipped to Africa. But these very operations strengthen slavery at home, Could the master send his plantation to Africa with his slaves, he would serve the cause of freedom. But the land remains here, and remains to be tilled; and by whom must the cultivation go on? By slaves. Of course new slaves must be bought. Of course the demand for slaves is increased; and the price of a man rises; and a new motive is given to the slave-breeding States to stock the market with human cattle. Thus the barbarous trade in men strikes deeper root. No! Colonization darkens the prospects of humanity at home, however it may brighten them abroad. It has done much to harden the slave-holder in his purpose of holding fast his victim, and thus increases the necessity of more earnest remonstrance against slavery.

Mr. Clay, of course, will not allow that the resolution of making slavery perpetual at the South is a reason for new assaults on the system. He insists, on the contrary, with the whole South, that we in this region have nothing to do with the matter; that it is no concern of ours; and that to labor here for the subversion of an institution in other States is a criminal interference. Interference is the word which has been applied to all agitation of this subject at the North; and the censure implied in the term has misled the unthinking into a vague notion that to touch the subject here is doing wrong to the South. But I maintain that there is a moral interference with our fellow-creatures at home and abroad, not only to be asserted as a right, but binding as a duty. This is the first topic of discussion, and its importance will induce me to treat it at large.

We are told that the slave-holding States, in relation to this point, stand on the same ground with foreign countries, and are consequently to be treated with equal delicacy and reserve. This position I deny; but grant it; I maintain the right of acting on foreign countries by moral means for moral ends. Suppose that there were in contact with us a foreign state, which should ordain by law that every child born with black hair or a darkly-shaded face should be put to death; and suppose that every sixth child should be slaughtered by this barbarous decree. Or take the case of a community at our door, which should restore the old gladiatorial shows, and suppose that a large part of the population should perish in these execrable games. Who of us would feel himself bound to hold his peace because these atrocities were committed beyond our boundaries? Who would say that the tortures of the slain were no concern of ours, because not of our own parish or country? Is humanity a local feeling? Does sympathy stop at a frontier? Does the heart shrink and harden as it approximates an imaginary line on the earth's surface? Is moral indignation moved only by crimes perpetrated under our own eyes? Has duty no work to do beyond our native land? Does a man cease to be a brother by living in another state? Is liberty nothing to us if cloven down at a little distance?

Christianity teaches different lessons. Its spirit is unconfined love. One of its grandest truths is human brotherhood. Under its impulses Christians send the preacher of the cross to distant countries, to war with deep-rooted institutions. The spiritual ties which bind all men together were not woven by human policy, nor can statesmen sunder them.

Suppose that one of the States of the Union should become pledged by its institutions to intemperance, that its laws should be framed to encourage the production and consumption of ardent spirits. Would not every other State be bound to give utterance to its detestation of this horrible system? Suppose that temperance societies, in their anxiety to purify this sink of corruption, should make its excesses and crimes their standing themes. Who of us would recognize the right of the intemperate State to repel this interference as an assault on its sovereignty? What should we think were this community to insist that it would not suffer its character to be traduced, or the product on which its wealth and revenues depended to be diminished, and that it would recede from the Union unless permitted to manufacture and drink alcohol unreproved? These questions answer themselves. But I shall undoubtedly be asked whether intemperance and slavery be parallel cases? They are parallel as viewed in relation to my object, which is, not to weigh the guilt of different crimes, but to establish a general principle, to establish the right and duty of men to oppose the force of moral reprobation to prevalent moral evils, whether in our own or other countries. In regard to the comparative guilt of intemperance and slavery, I will only say that the last involves the worst evil of the first; that is, it does much to degrade men into brutes. There is, however, this difference, — the intemperate man degrades himself, the slave-holder degrades his fellow-creatures. Which of the two is most culpable in the sight of God, let every man judge.

The position is false, that nation has no right to interfere morally with nation. Every community is responsible to other communities for its laws, habits, character; not responsible in the sense of being liable to physical punishment and force, but in the sense of just exposure to reprobation and scorn; and this moral control communities are bound to exercise over each other, and must exercise over each other, and exercise it more and more in proportion to the spread of intelligence and civilization. The world is governed much more by opinion than by laws. It is not the judgment of courts, but the moral judgment of individuals and masses of men, which is the chief wall of defence round property and life. With the progress of society, this power of opinion is taking the place of arms. Rulers are more and more anxious to stand acquitted before their peers and the human race. National honor, once in the keeping of the soldier, is understood more and more to rest on the character of nations. In this state of the world, all attempts of the slave-holder to put to silence the condemning voice of men, whether far or near, are vain.

I claim the right of pleading the cause of the oppressed, whether he suffer in this country or another. I utterly deny that a people can screen themselves behind their nationality from the moral judgment of the world. Because they form themselves into a state, and forbid within their bounds a single voice to rise in behalf of the injured; because they crush the weak under the forms of law, do they hereby put a seal on the lips of foreigners? Do they disarm the moral sentiment of other states? Is this among the rights of sovereignty, that a people, however criminal, shall stand unreproved?

In consequence of the increasing intercourse and intelligence of modern times, there is now erected in the civilized world a grand moral tribunal, before which all communities stand and must be judged. As yet, its authority is feeble compared with what it is to be, but still strong enough to lay restraint, to inspire fear. Before this slave-holding communities are arraigned, and must answer. The friends of justice, liberty, and humanity accuse them of grievous wrongs. It is vain to talk of the prescription of two hundred years. Within this space of time great changes have taken place in the code by which the commonwealth of nations passes sentence. The doctrine of human rights has been expounded. The right of the laborer to wages, the right of every in-

nocent man to his own person, the right of all to equity before the laws, — these are no longer abstractions of speculative visionaries, no longer innovations, but the established rights of humanity. Before the tribunal of the civilized world, and the higher tribunal of Christianity and of God, the slave-holder has to answer for stripping his brother of these recognized privileges and immunities of a man. Multitudes, on both sides of the ocean, looking above the distinction of nations, standing on the broad ground of a common nature, protest in the face of heaven and earth against the wrong inflicted on their enslaved brother. Let the South understand that it is not your voice or mine, or that of a small knot of enthusiasts, which they have to silence. You and I are nothing, but as we represent those great principles of justice and charity with which the human heart is everywhere beginning to beat. Everywhere the slave-holder is accused; everywhere he is judged.

It is strange that the South should tell us that the increasing protest at the North against slavery is the greater wrong because slavery is one of their *institutions*. As if an evil lost its deformity by becoming an institution, — that is, an established thing, held up by laws and public force. One would think that the circumstance of its being so rooted, of its having gained this fearful strength, were the very reason for vigorous opposition. A few straggling individuals, given to a bad course, might be overlooked for their insignificance. But when a community openly, by statutes, by arms, adopts and upholds an enormous wrong, then good men, through the earth, are bound to unite against it in stern, solemn remonstrance. The greater the force combined to support an evil, the greater the force needed for its subversion. Crime is comparatively weak until it embodies and "sanctifies" itself in institutions. Individuals, seizing on and enslaving their brethren, would be put down by the spontaneous, immediate reprobation of society. It is the perpetration of this wrong by communities which makes it formidable; and I confess that here, if anywhere, a justification may be found for organized associations against slavery. This evil rests on associated strength, on the prostitution of the powers of the state. Regarded as an institution which combined millions uphold, it seems to have a strength, a permanence, against which individual power can avail nothing; and hence, it may be said, strength is to be sought in associations. The argument does not satisfy me; for I believe that, to produce moral changes of judgment and feeling, the individual, in the long run, is stronger than combinations; but I do feel that slavery, entrenched behind institutions, is, on that very account, to be assailed with all the weapons of reason, of moral suasion, of moral reprobation, which good men can yield. Less mercy should be shown it because it is an institution.

The notion which I have combated, that slavery is to be treated with respect because it is a public ordinance, is one of many proofs that, even yet, there is but a faint consciousness of the existence of an everlasting and immutable rule of right. Multitudes, even now, know no higher authority than human government. They think that a number of men, perhaps little honored as individuals for intelligence and virtue, are yet competent, when collected into a legislature, to create right and wrong. The most immoral institutions thus gain a sanctity from law. To the laws we are indeed bound to submit, in the sense of abstaining from physical resistance; but we are under no obligation to bow to them our moral judgment, our free thoughts, our free speech. What! Is conscience to stoop from its supremacy, and to become an echo of the human magistrate? Is the law, written by God's finger on the heart, placed at the mercy of interested statesmen? Is it not one of the chief marks of social progress that men are coming to recognize immutable principles, to understand the independence of truth and duty on human will, on the sovereignty of the state, whether lodged in one or many hands?

You and I, Sir, observe the golden rule concerning Southern slavery. We do to our neighbor what we wish our neighbor to do to us. We expose, as we can, the crimes and cruelties of other States, and we ask of other States the same freedom towards our own. If, in the opinion of the civilized world, or of any portion of it, we of this Commonwealth are robbing men of their dearest

rights, and treading them in the dust, let the wrong be proclaimed far and wide. If good men anywhere believe that here the weak are at the mercy of the strong, and the poor are denied the protection of the laws, then let them make every State of the Union ring with indignant rebuke. Especially if a giant evil is here incorporated with our civil institutions, upheld by the public force, so that the sufferers are made dumb, so that they endure the last wrong in being forbidden to speak of their wrongs, then, we say, let humanity beyond our borders take hold of their cause. If the oppressed are muzzled here, let the lips of the free elsewhere give voice to their wrongs.

In the preceding remarks, I have gone on the supposition that the slave-holding States, as far as slavery is concerned, stand to the other States on the footing of foreign countries, and have shown, that if we make them this concession, our right of remonstrance against this institution is untouched. But this concession is ungrounded, unjust. The free and slave States are one nation, and have a very different connection with one another from their connection with foreign communities. Slavery is not the affair of a part only, but of the whole. The free States are concerned in it, and of necessity act on it and are acted on by it. We of the North sustain intimate relations to slavery, which make us partakers of its guilt, and which, of course, bind us to use every lawful means for its subversion. This I shall attempt to establish.

If we look first at the District of Columbia, we have a proof how deeply the free States are implicated by their contact with the slave-holding. I do not refer now to the reproach fixed on the whole people by the open, allowed existence of bondage at the seat of government. This is evil enough, especially if we add that the District of Columbia, besides this contamination, is one of the chief slave-markets in the country; so that strangers, foreign ministers, men whose reports of us determine our rank in the civilized world, associate with us the enormities of the slave-trade and of slave auctions as among our chief distinctions. This is bad enough for a community which has any respect for character. But there is a greater evil. The District of Columbia fastens on the whole nation the guilt of slave-holding. We at the North uphold it as truly as the South. That district belongs to no State, but to the nation. It is governed by the nation, and with as ample powers as are possessed by any State government. Its laws and institutions exist through the national will. Every legal act owes its authority to Congress. Of consequence, the slavery of the District is upheld by the nation. Not a slave is sold or whipped there but by the sanction of the whole people. The slave code of the District admits of mitigations; and this code remains unmodified through the national will. The guilt of the institution thus lies at the door of every man in the United States, unless he purge himself of it by solemn petition and remonstrance against the evil. What! have the free States nothing to do with slavery? This moment they are giving it active support.

And here it is interesting and instructive to observe, how soon and naturally retribution follows crime. We uphold slavery in the District of Columbia; and this is beginning to trench on our own freedom. It is making of no effect the right of petition, — a right founded not on convention and charters, but on nature, and granted even by despots to their subjects. The pretext on which the petitions for the abolition of slavery in Columbia have been denied the common attention by Congress is not even specious. The right of Congress to perform the act for which the petitioners pray is undoubted. It may be said to have been demonstrated.* Why, then, are the memorials of a free people on this subject treated with a scorn to which no others are subjected? It is pretended that the petitioners are aiming at an object which the Constitution places beyond the power of Congress, — that they are seeking, through this action in the District, to abolish slavery in the States. To this, two replies at once occur. The first is, that among the petitioners, who hope by acting on the District to reach slavery everywhere, there is not one who has not also an-

* See a pamphlet on the "Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia," by *Wythe*. This is one of the ablest pamphlets from the American press. It is ascribed to Theodore Weld.

other object, which is the well-being of the District, or the abolition of slavery in it for its own sake. Allowing one of their ends to be unwarrantable, they distinctly propose another end, which the Constitution sanctions. A second reply is, that it is not true of all who have petitioned for the abolition of slavery in the District that they have aimed, in this way, at the abolition of it in the States. I have signed these petitions, I know not how often, and, in so doing, was in no degree moved by this consideration. I was governed by other motives. I wished the District to be purified from a great evil. I wished the nation to be freed from the responsibility of ordaining and upholding slavery. I wished also by some public act to wash my own hands of this guilt. I felt myself bound to declare that if this nation uphold slavery I am clear of it. And I hold it the duty of every man in the free States, who regards this institution as I do, to bear the same testimony against it, and, by solemn remonstrance to Congress, to purge his conscience of the nation's crime. As for myself, I could not petition against slavery in the District, as a means of abolishing it in the States; for, as I have again and again declared, I can see but little connection between these measures. Be this as it may, by sanctioning an acknowledged wrong at the seat of government, we have provoked a blow at our own privileges. In the original draught of the Constitution, the right of petition was not referred to, for no one dreamed of its ever being questioned. Massachusetts, however, not satisfied with its foundation in nature and reason, chose to place it under the protection of the Constitution. What this right is, we must judge from usage, and from its own nature and end. Thus interpreted, has it not been infringed by the power of slavery?*

I have now considered one important relation of the free States to slavery, — that which grows out of the District of Columbia. I now proceed to another. The Constitution requires the free States to send back to bondage the fugitive slave. Does this show that we have no concern with the domestic institutions of the South? that the guilt of them, if such there be, is wholly theirs, and in no degree ours? This clause makes us direct partakers of the guilt: and, of consequence, we have a vital interest in the matter of slavery. I know no provision of the Constitution at which my moral feelings revolt but this. Has not the slave a right to fly from bondage? Who among us doubts it? Let any man ask himself how he should construe his rights were he made a slave; and does he not receive an answer from his own moral nature as bright, immediate, and resistless as lightning? And yet we of the free States stop the flying slave, and give him back to bondage! It does not satisfy me to be told that this is a part of that sacred instrument, the Constitution, which all are solemnly bound to uphold. No charter of man's writing can sanctify injustice, or repeal God's eternal law. I cannot escape the conviction that every man who aids the restoration of the flying slave is a wrong-doer, though this is done by our best and wisest men with no self-reproach. To send him from a free State into bondage seems to me much the same thing as to transport him from Africa to the West Indies or this country. I shall undoubtedly be told that the fugitive is a slave by the laws of territory from which he escapes. But when laws are acknowledged violations of the most sacred rights, we cannot innocently be active in replacing men under their cruel power. The slave goes back not merely to toil and sweat for his master as before. He goes to be lacerated for the offence of flying from oppression. For hardly any crime is the slave so scored and scarred as for running away; and for every lash that enters his flesh we of the free States, who have given him back, must answer.

I know perfectly how these views will be received at the North and South. Some will call me a visionary, while more will fix on me a harder name. But I look above scoffers and denouncers to that pure, serene, almighty justice, which is enthroned in heaven, and inquire of God, the Father of us all, whether he approves the surrender of the flying slave. I shall be charged with irreverence towards the fathers of the Revolution, — the framers of our glorious national charter. But I reply, that, great as they were, they were fallible, and that the progress of opinion

* See Note A at end of this letter.

since their day seems to me to have convicted them of error in the matter now in hand. I am aware, too, that good and wise men, friends who are dear to me, will disapprove my free, strong language. But I must be faithful to the strong moral conviction which I cannot escape on this subject. If I am right, the truth which I speak, however questioned now, will not have been spoken in vain. To-day is not for ever. The men who now scorn or condemn are not to live for ever. Let a few years pass, and we shall all have vanished, and other actors will fill the stage, and the despised and neglected truths of this generation will become the honored ones of the next.

Before quitting this topic, it may be well just to glance at the reasoning by which my views will be assailed. To the exposition of duty now given it will be objected, that the morality of the closet is not the morality of real life; that there is danger of pushing principles to extremes; that difficulties are to be grappled with in the conduct of public affairs which retired men cannot understand; that there must be a compromise between the ideal and the actual; and that our rigid rules must be softened or bend, when consequences, unusually serious, will attend their observance. These commonplaces are not wholly without truth. Morality is sometimes turned, by inexperienced men, into rant and romance. Solitary dreamers, exalting imagination above reason and conscience, make life a stage for playing showy, dazzling parts, which pass with them for beautiful or heroic. I have little more sympathy with these over-refined, sublimated moralists than with the common run of coarse, low-minded politicians. Duty is something practicable, something within reach, and which approves itself to us not in moments of feverish excitement, but of deliberate thought. Good sense, which is another name for that calm, comprehensive reason which sees things as they are, and looks at all the circumstances and consequences of actions, is as essential to the moral direction of life as in merely prudential concerns. Still more, there is a large class of actions, the relations of which are so complicated, and the consequences so obscure, that individual judgment is at fault, and we are bound to acquiesce in usage, especially if long established, because this represents to us the collective experience of the race. All this is true. But it is also true that there are grand, fundamental, moral principles, which shine with their own light, which approve themselves to the reason, conscience, and heart, and which have gathered strength and sanctity from the experience of nations and individuals through all ages. These are never to be surrendered to the urgency of the moment, however pressing, or to imagined interests of individuals or states. Let these be sacrificed to hope or fear, and our foundation is gone, our anchor slipped. We have no fixtures in our own souls, nothing to rely on. No ground of faith in man is left us. Selfish, staggering policy becomes the standard of duty, the guide of life, the law of nations. Now, the question as to surrendering fugitive slaves seems to me to fall plainly, immediately, under these great primitive truths of morality. It has no complexity about it, no mysterious elements, no obscure consequences. To send back the slave is to treat the innocent as guilty. It is to violate a plain, natural right. It is to enforce a criminal claim. It is to take the side of the strong and oppressive against the weak and poor. It is to give up an unoffending fellow-creature to a degrading bondage, and to horrible laceration. The fixed universal consequence of this act is the severe punishment, not of the injurious, but of the injured man. On this point my moral nature speaks strongly, and I ought to give it utterance. If I err, there are enough to refute me. My authority is nothing where a people are against me. I ask no authority; but simply that what I say may be calmly, impartially weighed.

It will be said that the South will insist on this stipulation, because it is necessary to the support of her institutions. This necessity may be questioned, because, if I may judge from a rough estimate, comparatively few fugitives are recovered from other States: and yet slavery lives and thrives. But if the necessity be real, then it follows that the free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailers and constables of the institution; and yet we are told that we

sustain no relation to slavery, — that it is in no degree our concern!

I know it will be asked, what ought to be done if the Constitution bind us to an unlawful act? I reply, the individual convinced of the unlawfulness can have no difficulty. He must abstain from what he deems wrong. As to the community, should it ever come to the same conviction, it must take counsel from circumstances and from its wisest minds, as to the course by which its peace and prosperity and the interest of the whole land may be reconciled with duty. Happily, the Constitution may be amended, and this power is never so needed as when the conscience of the citizen comes in collision with the government. I trust that an amendment, reaching the present case, and demanded, not by the passion, but by the deliberate moral judgment of a large portion of the community, will not fail. I appeal to the generosity and honor of the South, and would ask whether we, with our views of slavery, ought to be required to give it active support? I would ask whether, in the present state of opinion in the civilized world, a slave country ought not to protect its own institutions, without looking for aid to others? I would ask, too, whether a citizen, who views the government which he sustains as pledged to wrong, deserves reproach for laboring to bring it into harmony with truth and rectitude? Does not the Constitution, in making provision for its own amendment, imply the possibility of defect, and warrant free discussion of its various clauses? What avails our liberty of speech, if, on a grave question of duty, we must hold our peace? If the citizen believes that our very constitutional charter sanctions wrong, is he not bound by his participation of the national sovereignty, by the fact of his forming a portion of the body politic, to utter his honest thought?

I proceed to consider another important relation which the North bears to slavery. We are bound, in case of an insurrection of the slaves against their masters, to put it down by force. This we ought to do, for such an insurrection would involve all the woes and crimes of civil war in the most aggravated forms, with no possibility of a beneficial result. It would be cruelty, massacre, without compensation or hope. The slaves are incapable of substituting free institutions for their bondage; and extermination or a heavier yoke would end their struggles. We ought to disarm them; but ought we to replace their chains? Ought we to put them without protection under exasperated oppressors? Ought we not to feel that both parties in this fearful conflict have rights? And ought we not to act as friends of both? Is there nothing at which our minds revolt, in the thought of restoring unmitigated slavery: of giving back the victim to the unrestrained power which, under a spasmodic sense of wrong, he has struggled to throw off? Should not every effort, short of physical force, be employed to obtain for him a better, a more righteous lot? But the South, as we well know, would reject such mediation with scorn. Have we not, then, painful relations to slavery? Have we not a deep interest in its abolition?

In another view the North sustains relations to slavery. Slavery is our near neighbor; and not a few among us grow hardened to it by familiarity. It perverts our moral sense. We cannot hold intimate connection, national union, with a region where so great an abuse is legalized, and yet escape contamination. To say nothing of friendly, domestic intercourse, our commercial relations with the slave States give to not a few a pecuniary interest in the institution. The slave is mortgaged to the Northern merchant. The slaves' toil is the Northern merchant's wealth, for it produces the great staple on which all the commercial dealings of the country turn. As our merchants and manufacturers cast their eyes southward, what do they see? Cotton, cotton, nothing but cotton. This fills the whole horizon of the South. What care they for the poor human tools by whom it is reared? Their sympathies are with the man with whom they deal, who trusts them and is trusted by them, and not with the bondmen, by whose sweat they thrive. What change do they desire in a system so gainful? Under these various influences, the moral feeling of the North in regard to slavery is more or less palsied. Men call it in vague language an evil, just as they call religion a good; in both cases giving assent to a lifeless form of words, which they forget whilst they

utter them, and which have no power over their lives.

There is another way in which Southern slavery bears seriously on the North. It blends itself intimately with the whole political action of the country, determines its parties, decides important measures of government, is a brand of discord, a fountain of bitter strifes, and, whilst it lasts, will never suffer us to become truly one people. We call ourselves one, but slavery makes us two. National unity implies a general unity of character; but slave States and free States are severed by deep, indelible differences of mind and feeling. In the former, where one half of the population are semi-barbarous or semi-brutal, and the other half trained to mastery, to lordship, there can be little comprehension of, and little sympathy with, the latter, where the recognition of the equal rights of all is the pervading principle of government and of common life. The South, counting labor degradation, must look with contempt on the most important and influential portions of the North, — that is, our great mechanic and agricultural classes. From these fundamental differences in the very constitution of society must grow up jealousies, real and imaginary collisions of interest, mutual dislike, mutual fear. Congress must be an arena in which Northern and Southern parties will be arrayed against each other; and that portion of the Union which has the strongest bond of union within itself will, on the whole, master the other. A Northern man thinks it no hard thing to show that slavery has chiefly ruled the country, has deeply influenced Northern commerce and manufactures, has played off Northern parties against each other, whilst a Southern man undoubtedly can produce a list of grievances in return. Thus slavery is the bane of our Union. Nothing else can separate us. Without this element of war and woe in our institutions, our nation would be more indissolubly bound together by mutual benefits than any other nation is by habit and tradition. Have we, then, nothing to do with slavery? Is it the concern of the South alone? Are we bound to keep silence on it, because it nowhere touches us, because it is as foreign to us as the slavery of Turkey and Russia? Oh no. It more than touches us. We feel its grasp. We owe it to ourselves, as well as to humanity, to do what we lawfully and peacefully may to procure its abolition.

I have thus considered at length the right and fitness of discussing freely the subject of slavery. Why is it that this right is questioned? What lies at the bottom of the charge against us, of unwarrantable interference with what is not our proper concern? The real cause of the complaint, though not suspected at the South, is the insensibility which prevails there in regard to this evil. Could the slave-holder look on it from our point of view, could he see it as we do, he would no longer blame our remonstrances against it. He would himself join the cry. But here lies his unhappiness. Long habit has hardened him to slavery. Perhaps he calls it an evil, but this word on his lips means something very different from what it means on ours. Habit is as powerful over the understanding and conscience as over the will. An institution handed down from our fathers, sanctioned by laws, and under which we have grown up, be it ever so criminal, cannot shock us as it does a stranger, and we naturally count the stranger's rebuke an insult and wrong. Here lies the vice of Mr. Clay's speech. He silently assumes the innocence of slavery. He does not dream of the need of apologizing for himself as a slave-holder. He cannot realize that, in the view of the civilized world, this is a brand, which shows through all the brightness of his talents and fame. He approaches the subject with a tone of confidence, and, though the advocate of flagrant injustice, takes the ground of an injured man. We, who speak and write against slavery, find our vindication and our duty in the enormity of the evil. How natural that those who have lived in fellowship with the evil from their birth should look on us as rash, unwarrantable meddlers with what is their business alone!

I have said that we rest the justice and obligation of our moral efforts against slavery on the greatness of the evil. It might then be expected that, to make out our case more fully, I should enlarge on this topic, and show that slavery is not an imaginary monster, but a combination of wrongs and crimes and woes not only justifying, but demand-

ing, the opposition of all good men. But I have, in a former publication, travelled this ground, and I cannot unnecessarily renew the pain which I then suffered. There is, however, one topic on which something should be said. I refer to the common apology for slavery by which the whole South, and not a few at the North, conceal from themselves the true character of this evil, and repel as unwarrantable our efforts for its destruction. Whenever the subject is discussed, we are told that, through the lenity of the master, the slave suffers less than the laborer in most other countries. He has more comforts, we hear. He is happier. To this refuge the slave-holder always flies. My next object, therefore, and one intimately connected with the preceding, will be to examine this position.

I begin with observing, that it is honorable to our times that such a defence as this is urged and required. It shows the progress of civilization and Christianity, that the master holds himself bound to maintain that his victim is happier for his bondage. An ancient Roman never thought of seeking a justification of slavery in its blessings, — never took the ground of his being a benefactor to those whom he oppressed. We have here a sign of the great moral revolution which is making its way through society; and we may be assured that, when slavery can only stand on the footing of its beneficence, it is not far from its fall.

I have never been disposed to deny that at the South slavery wore a milder aspect than in other countries, though by some this is strenuously denied. I concede the fact; and, still more, I cannot doubt that the condition of the slave continues to improve. The cry, that the slave is treated more severely on account of the abolition movement at the North, cannot be true on the whole, though particular restraints may be increased. He is and must be treated more kindly. We have here better evidence than rumor. A master was never made more severe by having the eyes of the world turned upon him, especially when the world, as at present, is more than ever penetrated with the spirit of humanity.* Slavery exists at this moment under the broad light of heaven. The sound of the lash resounds through the free States, and through all nations. The master is held responsible to his race for his power. Can this make him more severe? The defences which we hear from the South set us at ease on this point. The anxiety of the planter to show the Northern visitor the comforts of his slaves sets us at ease. Within a short time, more than one gentle voice of woman from the South has spoken to me of the happiness of the slave. The master feels that he can only keep himself within the pale of civilized society by practising kindness to a certain extent. All his defenders at the North plead his kindness. Who does not see that, under these influences, the severities of the system must be mitigated, and that the advocates of freedom are doing immediate good to the poor creatures whos . cause they espouse?

I believe, too, that not only is the general treatment of the slaves improved, but that their religious means are increased, in consequence of the agitation at the North. We are told that they are now denied instruction in reading. But ministers, churches, masters, are waked up, as never before, to the obligation of giving to the slaves the blessings of Christianity, and have a new anxiety to roll away the reproach of bringing up hordes of heathens within their borders. I must say, however, that whilst we must give credit to the South for increased religious attention to the slave. I expect little good from it. And I thus speak, not merely from the reports of intelligent witnesses, but from immutable moral principles. It is hard to graft good on what is essentially evil and corrupt; hard for the man who oppresses to exalt his victim. There is always a tendency to unity in the various influences which a man exerts. To enslave a human being, is to war against his religious as truly as his social and physical nature. The African is, indeed, very susceptible, and easily puts on the show of piety. Nothing is easier than to draw forth groans or shouts from a colored congregation. Nothing easier than to gather this people by crowds into churches. But the slave is incapable of a nobler reverence towards God than towards his master. He is equally, I fear, a slave before both. This is one of the evils of slavery, that it perverts

* See Note B at end of this letter.

turns into an instrument of degradation, that highest sentiment of our nature, — reverence. In truth, it is hard to comprehend how the slave-holder can preach the grand principles of Christianity; how he can set forth God as the Universal Father, who looks on all men with an equally tender love, and watches, with an equal severity of justice, over the rights of all. Indeed, how difficult must it be for either masters or slaves to get into the heart of this religion, to understand its deep purpose, when the chief element of such a community is in direct hostility to its spirit. I speak not from report, but from the general principles of human nature; and these would lead me to fear that, in such a community, the religion of the higher classes, as well as of the lowest, must be, to an unusual extent, one or another form of superstition, that is, a substitution of dogmas, ceremonies, or feelings, for the manly and enlightened piety which Jesus taught, and which makes the worship of God to consist chiefly in the imitation of his universal justice and universal love.

This is somewhat of a digression, though not exceeding the freedom of epistolary communication. I return to the subject. I acknowledge, and rejoice to acknowledge, that slavery is mitigated by kindness at the South, though, as we shall see, it necessarily includes much cruelty. I will allow to the full extent what is urged in favor of the comforts of a state of bondage, though the concession is not warranted by facts. I still say that the apology fails of its end; that it does not touch the essential, fundamental evil of slavery, which is, the injustice it does to a human being. It is no excuse for wronging a man that you make him as comfortable as is consistent with the wrong. A man, shutting me up in prison, would poorly atone for his violation of my rights by feeding and clothing me to my heart's content. I claim from my oppressor, not food and clothes, but freedom. I insist that he leave to me, unrestrained, the right of using my limbs and powers for my own and others' good. A deep instinct of my soul, founded at once in my spiritual and physical nature, calls out for personal liberty. No matter that our chains are woven of silk. They are as iron, because they are chains. Let a master draw round us a line, which may not be passed without our being driven back by a whip; and for this very reason we should burn to escape. Such is the thirst for freedom breathed by God into the human spirit. Slavery is a violence to our nature, to which nothing but abjectness can reconcile a man, and which we honor him for repelling.

It is vain to say that the slave suffers less than other laborers. We have no right to inflict a suffering, greater or less, on an innocent fellow-creature. Injustice is injustice, be the extent of its influence ever so confined. Were one of our governments, by an act of usurpation, to abridge the free motions and the rights of the laboring class, would it be a mitigation of the wrong that the laborer still exceeded in privileges and means of pleasure the serfs of Russia? It is no excuse for keeping a man in the dust, that you throw him better food than he can earn by his free industry. Be just before you are generous. The lenity which quiets you in wrong-doing becomes a crime. Do not boast of your humanity to those whom you own, when it is a cruel wrong to be their owner. Some highwaymen have taken pride in the gentlemanly, courteous style in which they have eased the traveller of his purse. They have given him back a part of the spoils, that he might travel comfortably home. But they were robbers still. A criminal relation cannot be made virtuous by the mode of sustaining it. Cæsar was a clement dictator, but usurpation did not therefore cease to be a vice.

It is no excuse for taking possession of a man, that we can make him happier. We are poor judges of another's happiness. He was made to work it out for himself. Our opinion of his best interests is particularly to be distrusted, when our own interest is to be advanced by making him our tool. Especially if, to make him happy, we must drive him as a brute, subject him to the lash, it is plainly time to give up our philanthropic efforts, and to let him seek his good in his own way.

Allow that the sufferings of the slave are less than those of the free laborer. But these sufferings are wrongs, and this changes their nature. Pain as pain, is nothing compared with pain when it is a wrong. A blow, given me by accident, may fell me to the earth; but, after all,

it is a trifle. A slight blow, inflicted in scorn or with injurious intent, is an evil which, without aid from my principles, I could not bear. Let God's providence confine me to my room by disease, and I more than submit, for in his dispensations I see parental goodness seeking my purity and peace. But let man imprison me, without inflicting disease, and how intolerable my narrow bounds! So, if the elements take away our property, we resign it without a murmur; but if man rob us of our fortune, poverty weighs on us as a mountain. Any thing can be borne but the will and the power of the selfish, unrighteous man. There is also this difference between sufferings from God or nature, and sufferings from human injustice. The former we are almost always able to soften or remove by industry and skill, by studying the laws of nature, or by seeking aid and sympathy from men. These sufferings are intended to awaken our powers and to strengthen social dependencies. Nature opposes us that we may resist her, and, by resistance, may grow strong. But the owner of his fellow-creatures resents the resistance as a wrong, and cuts them off from help from their kind.

It will be said that the slave has nothing of this consciousness of his wrongs, which adds such weight to sufferings. He has no self-respect, we hear, to be wounded when he is lashed. To him as to the ox, a blow is but a blow. And is this an apology for slavery, that it destroys all sense of wrongs, blunts the common sensibilities of human nature, makes man tamer than the nobler animals under inflicted pain? It is this prostration of self-respect and of just indignation for wrongs which sets an additional seal on slavery as an outrage on humanity. But it is not true that the spirit of a man is wholly killed in the slave. The moral nature never dies. He often feels a wrong in the violence which he cannot resist. He has often bitter hatred towards the cruel overseer. He ponders in secret over his oppressed lot. There are deep groans of conscious injury and revenge, which, though smothered by fear, do not less agonize the soul.

In these remarks we have seen how much the slave may suffer, though little of what is called cruelty enters into his lot. My hostility to the system does not rest primarily on the physical agonies it inflicts, but on a deeper foundation, — on its flagrant injustice and on the misery necessarily involved in a system of wrong. Slavery however, is not to be absolved from the guilt of cruelty. However tempered with kindness, it does and must bear this brand. Who that knows human nature can question whether irresponsible power will be abused? Such power breeds the very passions which make abuse sure. Besides, it is exposed to great temptation. Slaves are necessarily irritating. Their laziness thievishness, lying propensities, sulkiness, the natural fruits of their condition, are sore trials to those placed over them. Slavery necessarily generates in its victims the very vices which are most fitted to fret and exasperate the owner or overseer. Under such circumstances, more cruelty might be expected than exists. After all the instances of barbarity we hear from the South, the patience of the slave-holder is more to be wondered at than his severity. The relation he sustains is the last for a good man to covet. It is, of all others, most fitted to nourish the passions against which religion calls us to watch. He who would not be "led into temptation" should cast away with dread irresponsible power over his fellow-creatures. That, under such circumstances, selfishness, the passion for dominion, avarice, anger, impatience, lust, should break out into fearful excesses, is as necessary as that the stone should fall, or the fire destroy.

One instance of cruelty at the South has lately found its way into some of our papers, and that is, the employment of bloodhounds in parts of the new States for the recovery, or, if this be resisted, for the destruction, of the fugitive slaves. This statement has been questioned or denied by those who incline to favorable views of the whole subject, as an atrocity too monstrous for belief. I have not inquired into its authenticity. But that one breed of bloodhounds exist at the South, we know, — a breed not armed with fangs, but rifles, and who shoot down the fugitive when no other way is left for arresting his flight. And where lies the difference between tearing his flesh by teeth, or sending bullets through his heart, skull, or bowels?

My humanity can draw no lines between these infernal modes of despatching a fellow-creature, guilty of no offence but that of asserting one of the primary, inalienable rights of his nature. It is bad enough to oppress a man; but, when he escapes from oppression, to pursue him with mortal weapons, to shatter his bones, to mutilate him, and thus send him from a weary life with an agonizing, bloody death, is murder in an aggravated form. The laws which sanction the shooting of the flying slave are, to my mind, attempts to legalize murder. They who uphold them do, however unconsciously, uphold murder. It is vain to say that this is an accompaniment of slavery which cannot be avoided. The accompaniment proves the character of the system. It is a fearful law of our condition that crimes cannot stand alone. Slavery and murder go hand-in-hand. Having taken the first step in a system of cruelty and wrong, we can set no bounds to our career.

Still, I do not charge cruelty on slavery as its worst evil. The great evil is the contempt and violation of human rights, the injustice which treats a man as a brute, and which breaks his spirit to make him a human tool. It is the injustice which denies him the means of improvement, which denies him scope for his powers, which dooms him to an unchangeable lot, which robs him of the primitive right of human nature, that of bettering his outward and inward state. It is the injustice which converts his social connections into a curse. Here, perhaps the influence of slavery is most blighting. Our social connections are intended by God to be among our chief means of improvement and happiness; and a system which wars with these is the most cruel outrage on our nature. Other men's chief relations are to wife and children, to brother and sister, to beings endeared by nature, and who awaken the heart to tenderness and faithful love. The slave's chief relation is to his owner, — to the man who wrongs him. This it is which above all things determines his lot, and this infuses poison into all his other social connections. This destroys the foundation of domestic happiness, by sullying female purity, by extinguishing in woman the sense of honor. This violates the sanctity of the marriage bond. This tears the wife from the husband, or condemns her to insult, perhaps laceration, in his sight. This takes from the parent his children. His children belong to another, and are disposed of for another's gain. Thus God's great provisions for softening, refining, elevating human nature, are thwarted. Thus social ties are liable to be turned into bitterness and wrong.

An ecclesiastical document which appeared not long ago in some of our papers is a strong illustration of the influence of slavery on the relations of domestic life. It confirms what we have often heard, that the slaves are commanded to marry or live together, for the purpose of keeping up the stock of the estate. It shows us, too, that when slaves are sold at a distance from their original homes, they are commanded to give up the wives or husbands whom they have left, and to serve the estate by forming new connections. Against this tyranny, one would think that the slave would find some protection in his religious teachers. One would think that the Christian minister would interpose to save the colored member of the church from being forced to renounce the wife from whom he had been torn; that he would struggle to rescue him from an adulterous union, against which his affections as well as sense of duty may revolt. But, according to this document, an association of ministers decreed, that the slave, sold at a distance from his home, was to be regarded as dead to his former wife; that he was not to be treated in this concern as a free agent; that he was not to be countenanced by the church in resisting his master's will. The document is given below.* What

* The following extract is made from the "Anti-slavery Record" of February 9, 1836: —

"The following query was, not long since, presented to the Savannah River Baptist Association of Ministers: — 'Whether, in case of involuntary separation of such a character as to preclude all prospect of future intercourse, the parties ought to be allowed to marry again?' This query was put in regard to husband and wife separated by sale, — an every-day result of the great internal slave-trade. They answered, — 'That such separation, among persons situated as our slaves are, is civilly a separation by death; and they believe that in the sight of God it would be so viewed. To forbid second marriages in such case would be to expose the parties, not only to stronger hardships and strong temptations, but to church censure for acting in disobedience to their masters, who cannot be expected to acquiesce in a regulation at variance with justice to the slaves, and to the spirit of that command which

a comment on Southern institutions! It shows how religion is made their tool, how Christianity is used to do violence to the most sacred feelings and ties, that the breed of slaves may be kept up. It shows us that this iniquitous system pollutes by its touch the divinest, the holiest provision of God for human happiness and virtue.

There is a short method of palliating these and all the enormities of slavery, which is more and more resorted to at the South. The slave-holder looks abroad on the world, and, finding in other countries a great amount of hardship, crime, prostitution, penury, woe, he proceeds to say, that these are the lot of humanity, and that they are not borne more extensively or painfully in slave countries than in others, perhaps even less. Why, then, is slavery so great an evil? Without stopping to examine these alleged facts, I see an important difference in the cases brought into comparison. In other civilized countries, the evils charged on them are seen and deplored, and it is acknowledged that earnest efforts should be made for their removal. Religion and philanthropy, though still half-slumbering, are waking up to a sense of great responsibility, and to new struggles with the giant evils of society. It is acknowledged that, as far as institutions entail on the great laboring class poverty, vice, prostitution, domestic infidelity, and brutal debasement of intellect and heart, they ought to be changed. Nowhere but in slave countries are the civil power, the sword, the laws, the wealth, the religion of a community, deliberately pledged to the support of a system which is known and acknowledged to deprive one-half of the people of property and civil rights, — known to doom them to perpetual ignorance and licentiousness, — known to rob the individual of the means of progress, and to poison the sources of domestic well-being. To slave countries belongs the presumptuousness of *ordaining* the perpetual debasement of half the community, on no better ground than that from the laws of nature a large amount of evil must adhere to the social state. What! Does Providence intend no progress in human affairs? Does Christianity encourage and enjoin no efforts for a happier condition of humanity? Is man to take his rules of conduct towards his fellow-creatures from the corruptions which barbarous times have transmitted to the present? May man, sheltering himself under Divine Providence, perpetuate evils which God, through the conscience and by his Son, commands us, to the extent of our power, to diminish and to expel from the social state?

To return to the kindness which is said to be practised at the South towards the slaves. I wish not to disparage it. Let us open our eyes to whatever is beautiful or promising in human life. I could laud this kindness as heartily as any man, did I not find it used, both here and at the South, as a buttress to the tottering cause of slavery. I am bound, therefore, to inquire into its real value, to give it its due, but nothing more than its due. One obvious remark is, that kindness without justice is of little moral worth. It is a feeling rather than a principle. Principle enjoins justice, and will not offer favors as an atonement for wrongs. Again, the kindness at the South, of which we hear, finds its occasion in a dependence and helplessness which the kind agent has himself created. Is there much merit in taking care of those whom we have stripped of all property, of self-help, of all the means of taking care of themselves? There is another subtraction from kindness to the slave, inasmuch as it is a matter of interest. The human machine cannot work without food, raiment, and health; and, in times like the present, when slave-labor is more than usually profitable, there cannot be a better investment of money than in comforts which keep the slave in a working state. A more important consideration is, that the kindness to the slaves is not of the right stamp. It wants a moral character. The master is kind to them because they are his *own*, not because they are fellow-creatures. The true, grand foundation of love is wanting. How kind are men to dogs and horses which they have long owned! They feed them, caress them, admit them to their familiarity. But the sort of kindness which is shown to the brute becomes a wrong and insult when ex-

regulates marriage among Christians. The slaves are not free agents; and a dissolution by death is not more entirely without their consent and beyond their control than by such separation.'"

tended to the man. He must be loved and respected as a man. This is his due; and, had he the feelings of a man, nothing else would content him. The slave is treated kindly because he is a slave, and has the spirit of a slave. Once let the spirit of a man wake in him, once let him know his rights, and show his knowledge in words, looks, and bearing, and immediately he falls under suspicion and dislike; and a severity, designed to break him down, is substituted for kindness. He is less liked in proportion as he acts from a principle in his own breast, and not from his master's will. And what is the worth of such kindness? The slave, were he not so degraded, would regard it as a cruel mockery. Again, I cannot but think that a good deal of the kindness at the South has for its object to quiet the self-reproach which, at this age, can hardly but exist in a latent state in the slave-holder's breast. Men must, in some way or other, strike up a peace with their own consciences. He who holds his fellow-creatures in bondage must reconcile himself to himself; and nowhere is the task so difficult as in a free country, where the master claims liberty as an inalienable right, and clings to it more than to life. In such a country he can only escape the consciousness of wrong by flattering himself that he is the benefactor of the slave. But kindness, when thus made an opiate to conscience, is more a crime than a virtue. As a conclusion to this head, I am willing and happy to acknowledge that the kindness of the South to the slave is to be ascribed, in part, to the religious and moral improvements of the times. We live under brighter lights than former generations; and these influences penetrate into all the relations of life. But the lights which induce the master to use his power more mercifully do not finish their mission by this teaching. They command him to renounce his power altogether. They convict him of usurpation. The principles which persuade him to be a lenient owner, if carried out, forbid him to be an owner at all. That state of civilization which dictates mercy towards the slave, makes slavery a greater crime. Oppression is to be measured, not by its weight, but by the light under which it is practised. To rob men of liberty in an age which recognizes human rights, and God's equal love to all his human creatures, is a very different thing from enslaving men in ages of darkness and despotism. A slight cruelty now is a more heinous crime than an atrocity in barbarous times. Must we not feel, then, that slavery among us, however mild, has a guilt in the sight of God unknown before? Its very kindnesses, extorted from it by the clear lights of religion and freedom, become testimonies to its guilt. This may seem severe. But God knows that my desire is, not to give pain, but to set forth what seems to me great moral truth, for the benefit of my fellow-creatures.

I have thus attempted to show that there is nothing in the mitigating circumstances of slavery to diminish the reprobation with which it is regarded by the civilized world; and nothing to justify the charge brought against its opposers, of unwarrantable interference. Having finished this part of my task, I shall now pass to those portions of Mr. Clay's speech in which he meets the arguments against slavery by attempting to show that emancipation is impossible. The arguments on which he rests are chiefly these, — the amount of property which would be sacrificed by emancipation; next, the amalgamation of the races; and, lastly, the civil wars, ending in extermination of one or the other race, which would follow the measure. I shall consider these in their order.

Mr. Clay maintains that "the total value of the slave property in the United States is twelve hundred millions of dollars," and considers this "immense amount" as putting the freedom of the slave out of the question. Who can be expected to make such a sacrifice? The accuracy of this valuation of the slaves I have nothing to do with. I admit it without dispute. But the impression made on my mind by the vastness of the sum is directly the reverse of the effect on Mr. Clay. Regarding slavery as throughout a wrong, I see, in the immenseness of the value of the slaves, the enormous amount of the robbery committed on them. I see "twelve hundred millions of dollars" seized, extorted by unrighteous force. I know not on the face of the earth a system of such enormous spoliation. I know

nowhere injustice on such a giant scale. And yet the vast amount of this wrong is, in the view of many, a reason for its continuance! If I strip my neighbor of a few dollars, I ought to restore them; but if I have spoiled him of his all, and grown rich on the spoils, I must not be expected to make restitution! Justice, when it will cost much, loses its binding power. What makes the present case more startling is, that this vast amount of property consists not of the goods of injured men, but of the men themselves. Here are human nerves, living men, worth, at the market price, "twelve hundred millions of dollars." That this enormous wrong should be perpetuated in the bosom of a Christian and civilized community, is a sad comment on our times. Sad and strange, that a distinguished man, in the face of a great people and of the world, should talk with entire indifference of fellow-creatures, held and labelled as property, to this "immense amount."

But this property, we are told, is not to be questioned, on account of its long duration. "Two hundred years of legislation have sanctioned and *sanctified* negro slaves as property." Nothing but respect for the speaker could repress criticism on this unhappy phraseology. We will trust it escaped him without thought. But to confine ourselves to the argument from duration; how obvious the reply! Is injustice changed into justice by the practice of ages? Is my victim made a righteous prey because I have bowed him to the earth till he cannot rise? For more than two hundred years heretics were burned, and not by mobs, not by Lynch law, but by the decrees of councils, at the instigation of theologians, and with the sanction of the laws and religions of nations; and was this a reason for keeping up the fires, that they had burned two hundred years? In the Eastern world, successive despots, not for two hundred years, but for twice two thousand, have claimed the right of life and death over millions, and, with no law but their own will, have beheaded, bowstrung, starved, tortured unhappy men without number, who have incurred their wrath; and does the lapse of so many centuries sanctify murder and ferocious power?

But the great argument remains. It is said that this property must not be questioned, because it is established by law. "That *is* property which the law declares *to be* property." * Thus human law is made supreme, decisive, in a great question of morals. Thus the idea of an eternal, immutable justice is set at nought. Thus the great rule of human life is made to be the ordinance of interested men. But there *is* a higher tribunal, a throne of equal justice, immovable by the conspiracy of all human legislatures. "That is property which the law declares to be property." Then the laws have only to declare you, or me, or Mr. Clay, to be property, and we become chattels, and are bound to bear the yoke! Does not even man's moral nature repel this doctrine too intuitively to leave time or need for argument?

I always hear with pain the doctrine too common among lawyers, that property is the creature of the law; as if it had no natural foundation, as if it were not a natural right, as if it did not precede all laws, and were not their ground instead of being their effect. Government is ordained, not to create so much as to protect and regulate property; and the chief strength of government lies in the sanction which the moral sense, the natural idea of right, gives to honestly earned possessions. The notion which I am combating is essentially revolutionary and destructive. We hear much of radicalism, of agrarianism, at the present day. But of all radicals, the most dangerous, perhaps, is he who makes property the "creature of law;" because what law creates it can destroy. If we of this Commonwealth have no right in our persons, houses, ships, farms, but what a vote of the legislature or the majority confers, then a vote of the same masses may strip us of them all, and transfer them to others; and the right will go with the law. According to this doctrine, I see not why the majority, who are always comparatively poor, may not step into the mansions and estates of the rich. I see not why the law cannot make some idle neighbor the rightful owner of your fortune or mine. What better support can radicalism ask than this?

It may be objected that legislation does, in fact, touch and take a part of the citizens' property, and if a part, why

* The italics are by Mr. Clay.

not the whole? I reply, that the general end for which legislation touches property is to make it more secure. It levies taxes for the execution of laws, under which all property is safe. I reply again, that a righteous legislature, in touching property, still shows its respect by equalizing, as far as possible, the burdens it imposes, and by making compensation, when it can, for what it alienates or destroys. I am aware, indeed, that legislation may, in certain circumstances, make important changes in the tenure of property; and the reason is, that property is not the only human right, and consequently that it may sometimes come into collision with other rights, in which case all are to be reconciled according to the highest moral law. Thus a community threatened with destruction may appropriate to its use what it cannot restore; or it may set bounds to the individual accumulation of wealth, where this shall plainly menace ruin to its institutions. The right of gaining property, being universal, does itself require that the individual shall not be suffered so to accumulate as to take from multitudes the chance of earning means of support, or as to create a power dangerous to the rights of any class of citizens. According to these principles, entails may be forbidden, and laws relating to testaments may be so framed as to break up overgrown estates. But, in all these cases, legislation, in touching property, treats it with reverence, and acknowledges its foundation in immutable justice. There are, then, principles of property which no laws can move. Man cannot make and unmake it at will. As he is physically unable to turn the sun and air into private possessions, so he is morally incompetent to turn his fellow-creatures into chattels. Both cases are out of the province of law. Even Mr. Clay, in urging the wrong which would be done to slaveholders, should the law strip them of their slaves, acknowledges that law is not the supreme rule of right; for, if it were, with what face could they complain of being wrongfully dispossessed?

Mr. Clay, having thus summarily settled the validity of the slave-holder's claim, goes on to affirm that the opposite doctrine — the doctrine that man cannot be rightfully seized and held as property — is "a visionary dogma," "the wild speculation of theorists and innovators." Does not Mr. Clay know that the English nation, from its highest to its lowest ranks, with scarce an exception, pronounces the pretended right of property in men an aggravated wrong? Does he not know that this same doctrine pervades the continent? — that, indeed, it is the acknowledged sentiment of Europe, with the exception of Russia and Turkey? Does he not know that it is the faith of the vast majority in the free States? In truth, I know none who in their hearts believe that man may rightfully be made property, with the exception of some technical lawyers, — a body too much inclined to exalt precedents above principles, to make the statute-book the standard of truth and duty, and practically to recognize no higher law than that of a majority or a king.

I maintain, then, that the slave-holder has no defence in law, or in the opinion of the civilized world, for continuing to hold slaves. He is bound to free them, and to do it the sooner on account of their great value. He has held this vast amount of others' property long enough, and the rightful owners have ground for urgency in proportion to the extent and duration of their wrongs.

"But must the slave-holder make himself poor?" says many a man at the North, as well as at the South. I answer, by asking those who put the question, what they would deem to be their own duty, should they find themselves in possession of a large amount belonging to their neighbor? Would they go on to hold it, because honesty would make them poor? Then they are criminal, and deserve to join their partners in the State prison. He who is just only as long as justice will secure him a warm home and the comforts of life, should be called by his right name, an unprincipled man. I cannot doubt that multitudes at the South, if thoroughly convinced of holding what is not their own, would renounce it in obedience to God and justice.

But a more important objection remains. Men of honor and principle, who recognize immediately the obligation of individuals to restore what is not their own, will tell me that, in the present case, not merely individuals, but states,

bodies politic, with their order and essential interests, are concerned; that when a particular kind of property becomes inwoven with all the possessions, transactions, and habits of a community, sudden changes in it may induce universal bankruptcy, and threaten society with dissolution; and they may ask whether I am prepared, in such cases, to insist punctiliously on giving every man his due? I answer, that this reasoning applies only to what may be lawfully held as property, to material things, such as houses and lands. It is acknowledged that a man's right to these is controlled and superseded in extreme cases, when the assertion of it would bring great evils on the state. This is a fundamental restriction on the right of property. But, in allowing this, I do not allow that human beings, God's rational and moral creatures, who cannot be held as property without unutterable wrong, may still be retained as chattels, from apprehensions of evils which restoration of their rights may bring on the state. No fear of consequences can authorize us to violate an eternal, immutable law of justice. I deny, however, that the dreaded consequences of doing right in the case before us can occur. I deny that Providence has ordained, or can ever ordain, remediless injustice as an essential condition of social security. On what ground is this wide-spreading ruin to be feared, from destroying property in slaves? Is emancipation an untried thing? Has it not been carried through again and again, in countries where social order was less confirmed, and ideas of property were looser, than among ourselves? In the West Indies, has not the revolution been suddenly accomplished without the least shock to property? Have we not reason to believe that the price of real estate has risen under the change? The slave is a working machine; and is his power to work paralyzed by liberty? Does not the master, possessing as he does the soil and capital, possess unfailing means of obtaining from the colored man, whether bond or free, the labor required for the cultivation of the earth? And with this grand original source of all wealth untouched, is not society secured against universal insolvency? How apt are men to raise phantoms to terrify themselves from an unwelcome duty!

Mr. Clay insists that the slave-holder has a right to full compensation from those who call on him to surrender his slaves. I utterly deny such a right in a man who surrenders what is not his own. I cheerfully acknowledge, however, that whilst, in strict justice, the slave-holder has no claim to indemnity, he has a title to sympathy and equitable consideration. A man who, by conscientious and honorable relinquishment of what he discovers to be another's, makes himself comparatively poor, deserves respect and liberal aid. There are few at the North who would not joyfully acquiesce in the plan of that distinguished statesman, Rufus King, for large appropriations of the public land to the indemnifying of sufferers under an act of universal abolition.

It is believed, however, that compensation, even on the most liberal scale, would not be a great amount; for the planters, in general, would suffer little, if at all, from emancipation. This change would make them richer, rather than poorer. One would think, indeed, from the common language on the subject, that the negroes were to be annihilated by being set free; that the whole labor of the South was to be destroyed by a single blow. But the colored man, when freed, will not vanish from the soil. He will stand there with the same muscles as before, only strung anew by liberty; with the same limbs to toil, and with stronger motives to toil than before. He will receive wages, instead of a fixed allowance; and wages are found, in many parts of the West Indies, to get from him nearly twice the labor which he performed during bondage. He will work from hope, not fear; will work for himself, not for others; and unless all the principles of human nature are reversed under a black skin, he will work better than before. For what mighty loss, then, does the slave-holder need compensation? We believe that agriculture will revive, worn-out soils be renewed, and the whole country assume a brighter aspect under free labor. The slave-holder, in relinquishing what is another's, will add a new value to what is unquestionably his own.

The next objection to emancipation is, that it will produce an amalgamation of the white and colored races. This objection is a strange one from a resi-

dent at the South. Can any impartial man fear that amalgamation will, in any event, go on more rapidly than at the present moment? Slavery tends directly to intermingle the races. It robs the colored female of protection against licentiousness. Still worse, it robs her of self-respect. It dooms her class to prostitution. Nothing but freedom can give her the feelings of a woman, and can shield her from brutal lust. Slavery does something worse than sell off her children. It makes her a stranger to the delicacy of her sex. Undoubtedly a smile will be provoked by expressions of concern for the delicacy of a colored woman. But is this a conventional, arbitrary accomplishment, appropriate only to a white skin? Is it not the fit, natural, beautiful adorning which God designed for every woman; and does not a curse belong to an institution which blights it not accidentally, but by a necessary, fixed operation? It is the relation of property in human beings which generates the impure connections of the South, and which prevents the natural repugnance growing out of difference of color from exerting its power. As far as marriage is concerned, there seems to be a natural repugnance between the races; and in saying this, no unfeeling contempt is expressed towards either race. Marriage is an affair of taste. We do not marry the old; yet how profoundly we respect them. How few women would a man of refinement consent to marry; yet he honors the sex. The barrier of color, as far as this particular connection is concerned, implies no degradation of the African race. There seems, as I have said, a repugnance in nature; but, if not natural, the prejudice is as strong as an innate feeling; and how much it may be relied on to prevent connections, we may judge from the whole experience of the North. There is another security against this union in our country. I refer to the mark which has been set on the colored race by their past slavery, — a mark which generations will not efface, and in which the whites will have no desire to participate. Even were the slaves of the South of our own color, and were slavery to fix on them and on their children some badge or memorial, such as the impress of a lash on the forehead, or of a chain on the cheek, how few among the class of free descent would be anxious to ally themselves with this separated portion of the race! The spirit of caste, which almost seems the strongest in human nature, will certainly postpone amalgamation long enough to give the world opportunity to understand and manage the subject much better than ourselves. To continue a system of wrong from dread of such evils, only shows the ingenuity of power in defending itself. The fable of the wolf and the lamb drinking at the same stream comes spontaneously to our thoughts. But allowing what I have contested, allowing that amalgamation is to be anticipated, then I maintain we have no right to resist it. Then it is not unnatural. If the tendencies to it are so strong that they can only be resisted by a systematic degradation of a large portion of our fellow-creatures, then God intended it to take place, and resistance to it is opposition to his will. What a strange reason for oppressing a race of fellow-beings, that, if we restore them to their rights, we shall marry them!

I proceed to the last objection to emancipation. We are told that it will stir up the two races to a war, which nothing but the slavery or extermination of one or the other will end. We have often heard of the "fears of the brave," so that we ought not, perhaps, to wonder at the alarm here expressed. And yet we are somewhat surprised that "the chivalry of the South" should see in the colored man a formidable foe, and should be willing to put forth their fears as a defence of their injustice. Superior as the slave-holders are in number, holding all the property and civil power, distinguished by education, by skill in arms, and by singular daring, and backed by the whole power of the free States, can they seriously dread collisions? All our fear here is, that the colored man, though freed, will remain a slave, will be crushed by the lordly spirit, the high bearing of the white race; that he will not for a long time rise to a just self-respect. We fear that, in a country where the law of honor and Lynch law are rife, he cannot enjoy that equality before the civil laws to which freedom will give him a nominal claim. We fear that, among a peo-

ple who take the protection of their persons and character into their own hands, and shoot down the man who offers an insult, the poor colored race, whose assertion of rights will easily be construed into insolence, will be very slow to insist on their due. That they should gain the ascendency, without some miraculous combination of circumstances, is impossible. Were they a fierce, savage, indomitable race, they might be looked on with apprehension; but they are the most inoffensive people on earth; and their mildness has undoubtedly perpetuated their chains. With emancipation, their present rapid increase will be checked, for the motives to breed them will cease. With liberty of motion, the desire of change of place will spring up; they will naturally be more or less dispersed; the danger of concentration on a few spots will diminish; and when we think of the vast extent of our country, we may expect them to become a sprinkling through our population, incapable, even if desirous, of disturbing the public peace. Especially the discontented, bold, and adventurous — the very spirits from which turbulence might be feared — will be attracted by hope and novelty, as well as driven by inward restlessness, to new scenes. In truth, can we conceive of a country which has so little to dread from emancipation as this, reaching as it does from ocean to ocean, and destined to receive increasing accessions to its numbers from the Old World? It is also worthy of note, that the characteristics of the colored race are particularly fitted to keep them harmless. I refer to their passion for imitation of their superiors, and to their love of show and fashion, which tend to attach them more to the white race than to their own, and to break them up into different ranks or castes among themselves.

The groundlessness of fears from emancipation is becoming more apparent from the experiment of the West Indies. I do not speak of this as decided; but its first fruits surpass all expectation. The slaves in those islands were to their masters in the proportion of eight or ten to one, and they are shut up in narrow islands, which prevent dispersion; and yet the gift of freedom has not provoked an act of violence. Their new liberty has been followed by a degree of order unknown before; and what makes this peaceful transition more striking is, that emancipation took place under every possible disadvantage. It was not the free gift of the master, not an act of justice and kindness, not accompanied with appeals to the gratitude and better nature of the slave. It was conferred by a distant benefactor; it was forced on the planter. It was submitted to with predictions of its ruinous results. The generous hope, which so often creates the good it pants for, was wanting. In Jamaica, it would seem that the furious opposition of the planting interest to the measure broke out, in some instances, into a desire of its defeat. Yet, under all these disadvantages, which can never occur here, because emancipation here must be a free gift, the prospects of a successful issue are brighter than had dawned on any but the most ardent spirits. The failure of such an experiment would not have discouraged me. What ought not to be hoped from its success?

Mr. Clay seems particularly to dread immediate emancipation. But this, in the common acceptation of the words, is not the only way of giving freedom. Let the wisdom of the South engage in this cause heartily, and in good faith, and it is reasonable to expect that means of a safe transition to freedom, not dreamed of now, would be devised. This work we have no desire to take out of the master's hands, nor would we thrust on him our plans for adoption. I indeed think that emancipation, in one sense of the phrase, should be immediate; that is, the right of property in a human being should be immediately disclaimed. But though private ownership should cease, the State would be authorized and bound to provide for its own safety. The legislature may place the colored race under guardianship, may impose such restraints as the public order shall require, and may postpone the full enjoyment of personal liberty even to the next generation. There was a time when these safeguards seemed to me needful. Happily the West Indies are teaching, and, I trust, will continue to teach, that immediate emancipation, in the full sense of the words, is safer than a gradual loosening of the chain.

Let me close this head with one re-

mark. Allow what is not true; allow emancipation to be dangerous. Will it be safer hereafter than at the present moment? Will it be safer when the slaves shall have doubled, trebled, or still more increased? And must it not at length come? Can any man, who considers the chances of war, and the direction which opinion is taking in the civilized world, believe that slavery is to be perpetual? Is it wise to wink out of sight a continually increasing peril? At this moment, what possible danger is to be feared from emancipation in the Northern slave States? Does not every Kentuckian *know* that slavery can be ended now without the slightest hazard to social order? Does not the whole danger as to that State lie in delay? How, then, can danger be an excuse for refusing emancipation?

Having thus reviewed the common objections to emancipation, I pass to one more topic which is referred to in Mr. Clay's speech, and which is the burden of many passionate appeals from the South. I have in view the objections which are made to the agitation of the question of slavery at the North. These are chiefly two, — that such discussion may excite insurrection among the slaves: and that it threatens to dissolve the Union.

In regard to the first, — the danger of insurrection, — I have shown how I view it by continuing to write on the subject of slavery. Could I discover even a slight ground for apprehending such a result, I would not write. Nothing would tempt me to take the hazard of stirring up a servile war. Bad as slavery is, massacre is far worse. In the present case, words of truth and good-will are the only weapons for a Christian to fight with A mysterious and adorable Providence permits and controls massacre, war, and the rage of savage men, for the subversion of corrupt institutions, just as it purifies the tainted atmosphere by storms and lightnings. But man is not trusted with these awful powers; and let not philanthropy be disheartened, because not permitted to reform the world by the sudden processes of violence and bloodshed. Moral influences are the surest and most enduring, and good men part with their strength in resorting to other means.

I have known too much of slavery, of the spirit of its victims, of the restraints under which they live, and of the master's power, to dread the stirring up of insurrections. On this point, persons who have not visited slave countries fall into great errors. Not long ago, a speech was made in Boston, in which the slaves were compared to wild beasts, thirsting for blood; and the good people were told that the master locks his doors at night, not knowing but that in the morning he shall find the throats of wife and children cut from ear to ear; and there were found among us some who, in the simplicity of their hearts, believed the tale. One would have thought that, in hearing the fearful story, they would have asked themselves how it happens that our Southern brethren give five hundred or a thousand dollars for one of these beasts of prey? how it is that they are anxious to fill their houses and plantations, and surround their wives and children, with assassins? Human nature, if this account be true, is a different thing at the South from what it is at the North. Here we should go mad, and should lose life as well as reason, if the murderous blade were glaring before our eyes night and day; and, still more, we should be most grateful to our neighbors who should be anxious to free us from the curse, instead of rejecting their "meddling interference" with threats and execrations. But among the hearers of the speech referred to, there seemed not a few to whom these difficulties did not occur. They even forgot to inquire how the fearful account was to be reconciled with the assurances from the South of the happiness of the slave and the blessings of the institution; and, in their sympathy with the South, they frowned fiercely enough on such of us as, by our writings, are stirring up the colored race to murder. To tranquillize these compassionate people, I will tell them that the picture which terrified them was a work of fancy. There is no such terror in slave-holding countries. In my long residences among slaves, I have used fewer precautions at night than in this good city. I have slept in one place with open doors, and in another have given to a slave the key to lock the house at the hour of retiring, and to reopen it in the morning, when I have been the sole tenant of the dwelling. Undoubtedly the slave-holder

wears arms, just as we bolt our doors and appoint patrols of watchmen in the streets; but, in both cases, these and other means of defence bring such security that sleep is undisturbed by fear. The slaves, broken from birth to submission, brought up in ignorance, confined to the plantation, having no means of external concert, wanting mutual confidence, because wanting principle, and separated by the distinction of house servants and field laborers, cower before their instructed, armed, united, organized masters, and feel resistance to be vain. Add to this, the strong attachment by which some on almost every estate are bound to their owners, — stronger than what they bear to their own race, — and we shall see that the danger of a servile war is not great enough to embitter life or deserve much sympathy.

Rome had servile wars; but her slaves had been freemen. Among them were fierce barbarians, whose native wildernesses had infused an indomitable love of liberty; and there were civilized men, who groaned in spirit and gnashed their teeth at the degrading, intolerable yoke which was crushing them. But in this country there are no materials for servile war, — at least in times of peace. In war, indeed, whether civil or foreign, an army marching with "Emancipation" on its banner, might stir up the palsied spirit of the oppressed to terrible retribution for their wrongs. But very little is to be feared in ordinary times. Were the slave more dangerous, I should feel less for his yoke. Were a greater portion of the spirit of a man left him, I should not think him so wronged. But what is to be feared from a man who stands by and sees wife and child lacerated without cause, and is driven by no impulse to interpose for their defence? The strongest sensibilities of nature cannot sting him to do for his child what the hen does for her chicken, or the trembling hare for her young.

The slave, as far as I have known him, is not a being to be feared. The iron has eaten into his soul, and this is worse than eating into the flesh. The tidings that there are people here who would set him free will do little harm. He withstands a far greater temptation than this, — I mean the presence of the free negro. One would think that the sight of his own race enjoying liberty would, if any thing, stir him up to the assertion of his rights; but it fails. Liberty is a word not indeed to be heard without awakening desire; but it rouses no resistance. The colonizationist holds out to the slaves an elysium, where they are to be free and rich and happy, and a great people; thus teaching them that there is nothing in their nature which forbids them the enjoyment of all human rights; and the master, so far from dreading the doctrines of this society, will become its president. No. Slavery has done its work, — has broken the spirit. So little is the slave inclined to violence, that it is affirmed, and I presume truly, that there are fewer murders by their hands than by an equal number of white men at the North. We hear, indeed, of atrocious deeds, assassinations, bloody combats at the South. But these are the deeds of white men. Pistols and bowie-knives are not worn by the colored race. Slavery produces horrible multiplied murders at the South, not by infusing rage, revenge into the man who bears the yoke, but by nursing proud, unforgiving, bloodthirsty propensities in the master.

Undoubtedly there are exposures to massacre in slave countries, as there are to mobs, partial insurrections in all countries. But outbreaks at the South will be found, perhaps always, to have their cause in local circumstances, not in influences from abroad. I do not say that there is no danger in slavery. Systems founded in wrong want stability, and are every day growing more and more insecure, with the progress of intelligence and moral sentiment in the world. Unexpected explosions may take place at the South. Secret causes may be at work on the spirit of the slave. Foreign invasion would be a death-blow to the system. I mean only to say, that there is no danger from the discussion of slavery at the North, or only that indirect, distant danger which we are always encountering, and which no man thinks of flying from, in human affairs. The stormiest day of abolitionism has passed, and yet not a symptom of insurrection has appeared at the South. It is morally impossible that there should be danger in the calmer days which are to follow.

I now proceed to the second objection

to the agitation of slavery at the North. We are told that the Union will be thus endangered. "Danger to the Union" is so old a cry, that it ceases to startle you or myself; and yet so much sensitiveness to it remains, that the topic ought not to be lightly dismissed. And I begin with saying, that were the Union as weak as these clamors suppose, were it capable of being dissolved by any of the hundred causes which are said to threaten it, then it would not be worth the keeping. The bonds which hold a nation together, if not exceedingly strong, are of no use. They will snap in the hour of need. But our Union is not so weak as our alarmists imagine. It has stood many storms, and will stand many more. It is not, as many think, a creature of a day. Its foundations were laid at the first settlement of these States, and their whole history was silently preparing them to become one great people. There is not a community on earth which has so distinct a conviction of the blessings of national union, and of the evils of separation, as this country; and, in the present age of the world, such a conviction may avail almost or quite as much as the traditional prejudices and habits of other nations. Then our Union does not rest only on the clear perception of the good it confers. It rests on sentiment as well as interest, and on a higher sentiment than binds any other people. We are charged, I know, with being given to boasting; but this reproach must not deter me from speaking of the deep foundation of our Union in the claims of our country on our love and reverence. No other people can look back to such founders as we. No other people has done as much in an equal time for civilization and freedom. Two hundred years have hardly passed over us, and we have redeemed from savage wildness a realm compared with which European kingdoms are dwarfed into provinces; and, through every period of our history, we have been pressing forwards to an equality of rights and a freedom of institutions nowhere else known in past or present times. The deliberate construction of a civil polity, in which the idea of liberty is realized to a degree not dreamed of in other countries, is one of the grandest achievements of history. Other governments, the creatures of chance, and obstructed by abuses of barbarous times, bear no such testimony to the energy and elevation of the public mind. Through this clear, bright, practical development of the principle of liberty, these United States, an infant country, growing up in a distant wilderness, have moved and quickened the civilized world. This country has been called by Providence to a twofold work, — to spread civilization over a new continent, and to give a new impulse to the cause of human rights and freedom. A higher destiny has been granted to no people; and, with all our imperfections (exceedingly great, I acknowledge), we have accomplished our task with a force of thought and will unsurpassed in human history. Add to this, that we have produced what no other country can boast of, a spotless revolutionary leader, a chief who, in a season of storm and civil strife, amidst unbounded popularity, amidst the temptations of severe hardship and of brilliant success, never, in a single instance, grasped at power, forgot his duty to his country, or wavered in his loyalty to freedom. In one form of greatness we feel ourselves unrivalled. The annals of no people furnish a patriot and friend of liberty so pure, so disinterested as Washington. That a people having such a history should be bound by sentiment to the national Union, is a necessary result of the laws of human nature; and accordingly the people, as far as I know them, are, on this point, of one heart and one mind.

But, besides this generous sentiment, we have characteristic feelings, as a people, which bind us together. One of our national passions is pride in a vast extent of territory. From the circumstance of our history and location, we are accustomed to think and talk of immense regions, and to scour remote tracts of sea and land; and we should experience a sense of confinement in the boundaries which satisfy other states. An American has a passion for belonging to a great country. A witty foreigner observed of the city of Washington, that it had one merit, if no other; it was a city of "magnificent distances." For this kind of magnificence our people have a decided taste. We look with something like scorn on the kingdoms of the Old World; and our mother

country seems to us but a speck on the ocean. We travel a distance equal to the whole length of Great Britain in two days or less, and feel as if we had but begun our journey. Our great men desire to connect their names with this vast country; and humble individuals, whether wisely or not, derive from it a feeling of importance. The poor man, in voting, feels that he is exercising, in part, the sovereignty of an immense realm. There is more of the imagination than of the heart in the sentiment now unfolded: but it is real, and it is no frail bond of national union.

Another cause of union may appear to foreigners less serious than it really is. We hold together, because we know not where to break off. Neighboring States are too much allied in feelings and interests and domestic bonds for separation, and no State is willing to occupy the position of a frontier.

Our Union is every day gaining strength by the increased facilities of intercourse which place distant parts of the country side by side, and are interweaving almost as closely the interests and affections of remote States as of those which border on each other. The subtile steam, made up of mutually repelling particles, and melting in a moment into air, has become to this country a cord stronger than adamant. Providence seems to intend to give us the physical means of binding together a wider region than was ever before blessed with one beneficent sway.

It also deserves attention, that the cause which has hitherto chiefly disturbed our Union is diminishing, if it has not passed away. I refer to the disposition of the national legislature to interfere with local interests, or to extend itself beyond the bounds of strict necessity; thus awakening the jealousy of different sections, and giving them the notion of separate interests! This disposition is yielding, not only to the resistance of different States, but to an impossibility of its exercise founded on the nature of free institutions. Under these, government is a slowly moving machine. Its wheels seem to be clogged more and more. Diversities of interest, collisions of passion, party-spirit, and endless varieties of opinion, throw almost insuperable obstacles in the way of legislation. Congress, after a long session, separates, having hardly passed laws enough to keep the government in operation. All free states, at home and abroad, feel this difficulty; and, evil as it seems, it has no small advantages. It abates that worse nuisance, excess of legislation. By this cause, Congress is compelled to keep itself within its bounds; for in these it finds more work than it can do. The government must be in reality what it is in name, general, and must be as simple as consists with public safety; and, thus qualified, why may it not hold together a mighty realm?

Foreigners expect disunion from the extent of our territory, but in this we see safety, as well as danger; for it not only flatters, as we have seen, the national pride, but multiplies the bonds of mutual interest, renders free exchange of productions and friendly intercourse vastly more profitable, and, at the same time, checks despotic power of party leaders, those simultaneous excitements, those passionate movements, that concentration of all the energies and feelings of the people on a single point of controversy, by which free states of narrower dimensions are convulsed.

From these remarks it will be seen that I partake little of the nervous sensitiveness of a portion of the people on the subject of the Union. Undoubtedly it is exposed to perils, which may turn these hopes and prophecies into illusions. The experience of life teaches us to be prepared for the worst. Our present prosperity seems too unparalleled to endure. But loose, vague fears ought not to disturb us; nor should they be propagated, because they often serve to fulfil themselves. The truth is, that we are a people singularly given to alarm, and very much on the ground on which the rich fear most about property. The greatness of our blessings makes us timid. As far as my knowledge of this community extends, the Union is most dear. It may be said of this, as of other social ties, that its strength cannot be fully known till we are seriously called to dissolve it.

But, it is said, the South is passionate, and threatens to secede if we agitate this subject of slavery. Is this no cause of alarm? To this argument I would offer two answers. First, the South, passion-

ate as it may be, is not insane. Does not the South know that, in abandoning us on the ground of slavery, it would take the surest step towards converting the free States to intense and overwhelming abolitionism? Would not slavery become from that moment the grand distinctive idea of the Southern republic? And would not its Northern rival, by instinct and necessity, found itself on the antagonist principle? In such an event, there would be no need of anti-slavery societies, of abolition agitations, to convert the North. The blow that would sever the Union for this cause would produce an instantaneous explosion to shake the whole land. The moral sentiment against slavery, now kept down by the interests and duties which grow out of union, would burst its fetters, and be reinforced by the whole strength of the patriotic principle, as well as by all the prejudices and local passions which would follow disunion. Does not the South see that our exemption from the taint of slavery would, in this case, become our main boast? that we should cast the reproach of this institution into her teeth, in very different language from what is now used? that what is now tolerated in sister States would be intensely hated in separate, rival communities? Let disunion on this ground take place, and then the North may become truly dangerous to the South. Then real incendiaries, very different from those who now bear the name, might spring up among us. Then fanaticism would borrow force and protection from national feeling. Then, in the unfriendly relations between the two communities, which would soon be created, and in the self-regarding policy which we should adopt, we should take into account the weakness which a servile population would bring on our adversaries. We should feel that we have an ally in our rival's bosom, nor would that ally forget to look northward for liberation. I say the South is not insane. Nothing but a palpable necessity could induce it to break off from the free States on the ground of slavery.

This leads me to observe, in the next place, that there is, and can be, no kind of necessity or warrant for separation furnished to the South by the discussion of slavery at the North. This topic will indeed be agitated, and more and more freely; but no discussion, no agitation of slavery, no form of abolition, can produce such an excitement on the subject in the free States as will furnish the slave States with any motive to encounter the terrible evils of separation. This subject deserves some consideration. Abolitionism may be viewed in two lights; first, as the organized array of societies against slavery; and next, as an individual sentiment, scattered through the whole population. In neither view can it drive the South to disunion, at least for a long time to come. Regarded as an organized body, abolitionism will subsist and will influence opinion, but it will never gain an ascendency in the free States. On this point my mind has never wavered. It nowhere carries with it the mass of the people, or the weight of opinion. It has brought no religious or political body under its influence. Fashion, wealth, sectarian prejudice, and political ambition are, for the most part, opposed to it. That the South should be driven by it to desperation, is impossible. Many of the obstacles to the ascendency of this first form of abolitionism will naturally be presented in my views of the second. I will here only observe, that, with the intelligence and state of feeling prevalent at the North, public opinion cannot be determined by associations, especially by one which takes agitation for its motto. Agitation may be useful in producing a speedy movement in favor of an object of clear utility, and about which opinions do not greatly differ. For example, in the case of temperance, where men are generally of one mind, where opinion is fixed, where excitement is the great object to be accomplished, where men are to be roused to resist habits which they know to be wrong, — in such a case, an array of numbers, a system of pledges, and multiplied public meetings, may do good. But on a subject involving many practical difficulties and solemn consequences, and coming, as many think, into collision with great public interests, agitation will not now avail. Men distrust it, fear it, and resent as a wrong the violence with which the opinions of zealous men are forced on the community. Agitation may carry such a country as Ireland, where the people, besides being ignorant, are all inflamed with one sense of wrong, and every heart re-

sponds to the agitator's cry. So it carried the British Act of Emancipation, for the nation was ripe for action, and for the most part had no hostile prejudices to surrender. But an intelligent people, divided in opinion and feeling on a great subject, cannot be carried by storm, or be swept away by a fervent association. The ardent advocates even of a good cause, if marshalled into an army, and joined in vehement onset on the prejudices of such a community, cannot but awaken reaction and obstinate repulsion; and will, too often, put themselves in the wrong by passionate movements, of which the foe is sure to profit. I now speak of associated agitation. Let the individual enthusiast, who acts from his own soul, agitate as much as he will. I would not say a word to stifle the full, bursting heart. But premeditated, organized agitation is another thing. Besides the difficulty already stated, it is apt to degenerate into noise and show, and to fall under suspicion of pretence, and on this account is less forgiven for what is deemed excess. I see, therefore, very serious obstacles to the triumphs of organized abolitionism in a community like ours. It has, indeed, done good. Under all its disadvantages, it has roused many minds, but it cannot carry with it the people.

As to abolitionism in its more general form, or regarded as an individual principle of settled, earnest opposition to slavery, this has taken deep root, and must grow and triumph. It is in harmony with our institutions, and with all the tendencies of modern civilization. It triumphs in Europe, and will flow in upon us from abroad more and more freely, in consequence of those improvements of intercourse which place Europe almost at our door. Still, it is far from being universal among us. There are obstacles as well as aids to its progress, in consequence of which it is to make its way calmly, gradually, so that there is no possibility of any violent action from the freest discussion of slavery. There is no danger of an antislavery fever here, which will justify the South to itself in encountering the infinite hazards of disunion.

The prevalent state of feeling in the free States in regard to slavery is indifference, — an indifference strengthened by the notion of great difficulties attending the subject. The fact is painful, but the truth should be spoken. The majority of the people, even yet, care little about the matter. A painful proof of this insensibility was furnished about a year and a half ago, when the English West Indies were emancipated. An event surpassing this in moral grandeur is not recorded in history. In one day, half a million, probably seven hundred thousand of human beings, were rescued from bondage, to full, unqualified freedom. The consciousness of wrongs, in so many breasts, was exchanged into rapturous, grateful joy. What shouts of thanksgiving broke forth from those liberated crowds! What new sanctity and strength were added to the domestic ties! What new hopes opened on future generations! The crowning glory of this day was the fact that the work of emancipation was wholly due to the principles of Christianity. The West Indies were freed, not by force, or human policy, but by the reverence of a great people for justice and humanity. The men who began and carried on this cause were Christian philanthropists; and they prevailed by spreading their own spirit through a nation. In this respect the emancipation of the West Indies was a grander work than the redemption of the Israelites from bondage. This was accomplished by force, by outward miracles, by the violence of the elements. That was achieved by love, by moral power, by God, working not in the stormy seas, but in the depths of the human heart. And how was this day of emancipation — one of the most blessed days which ever dawned on the earth — received in this country? Whilst in distant England a thrill of gratitude and joy pervaded thousands and millions, we, the neighbors of the West Indies, and who boast of our love of liberty, saw the sun of that day rise and set with hardly a thought of the scenes on which it was pouring its joyful light. The greatest part of our newspapers did not refer to the event. The great majority of the people had forgotten it. Such was the testimony we gave to our concern for the poor slave; and is it from discussions of slavery among such a people that the country is to be overturned?

It will undoubtedly be said that our

uncertainty as to the issues of West Indian emancipation prevented our rejoicing in it. But does uncertainty so act where the heart is deeply moved? Is it a part of human nature to wait for assurance before it exults at events in which its affections are involved? Does the new-born child receive no welcome because we are not sure of the prosperity of his future years? Does the lover of freedom give no salutation, no benediction, to a people rising in defence of rights, or establishing free institutions, because the experiment of liberty may fail? Undoubtedly there were evils to be apprehended from West Indian emancipation; for when was a great social revolution ever accomplished, or a great abuse ever removed, without them? It was impossible for the slave and the master to change their old relations, to reorganize society, without continuing to feel more or less the influences of the old system of oppression. Are the wounds of ages to be healed in a moment? Could a perfect social order be expected to rise from the ruins of slavery? But must corrupt systems be made perpetual, because of the chances of reform? In the case of the West India emancipation, we had more pledges of success than are usually given. We knew that the trial of liberty had been made in Antigua, without the occurrence of any of the evils which had been dreaded. The great transition from slavery to freedom had taken place in a day without disorder, without the slightest injury to property or life, with no excitement but overwhelming gratitude. Yet, as a people, we cared nothing for the liberation of the West Indian slave. With the exception of a few voices, the mighty chorus of praise to God, which ascended from the Gulf of Mexico and from Great Britain, found no response here.

This indifference to slavery has foundations among us which are not to be removed in a day. One cause is to be found in the all-devouring passion for gain, accumulation, which leaves little leisure for sympathy with any suffering which does not meet our eye, and which will listen to no invocations by which the old channels of trade and profit may be obstructed. Another cause is to be found in the sympathies of what are called the higher and more refined classes here with the like classes at the South. The tide of fashion — no unimportant influence even in a republic — sets strongly against antislavery efforts. Another cause is our position in regard to the colored race. In Europe, the negro is known chiefly by report, and is therefore easily recognized as a man. His humanity is never questioned. Still more, he is an object for the imagination and the heart. He is known only as a wronged, suffering man. He is almost a picturesque being. Thousands and thousands in England, at the mention of the African slave, immediately recall to their minds that most affecting figure of the negro, as Darwin portrayed him, touching the earth with one knee, lifting up his chained hands, and exclaiming, "Am I not a man and a brother?" To us, the negro is no creature of imagination. We see him as he is. There is nothing picturesque in his lot. On visiting the slave States, we see him practically ranked with inferior creatures, and taking the rank submissively. We hear from him shouts of boisterous laughter, much oftener than sighs or groans; and this laughter repels compassion, whilst it inspires something like contempt. We here have a hard task to perform. We have to conquer old and deep prejudices, and to see a true man in one with whom we have associated ideas of degradation inconsistent with humanity. These are painful truths; but it is good to know the truth. One thing is plain, that free discussion of slavery is not likely to stir up in the free States rash, careless assaults on the institutions of the South, and so to endanger the Union. We, who are called incendiaries because we discuss this subject, do not kindle our fires among dry woods, but too often on fields of ice. A consuming conflagration is not to be feared.

I have now considered the objections to the free discussion of slavery at the North. This discussion is safe; still more, it is a duty, and must go on; and under this and other influences, the antislavery spirit must spread and must prevail. Mr. Clay's speech will but aid the movement. The antislavery spirit may triumph slowly, but triumph it must and will. It may be thought that, from my own showing, the success of this cause is not so sure as its friends are accustomed to boast. But, notwithstanding

all the obstacles which I have frankly stated, antislavery principles have made great progress, have become deep convictions in many souls within a few years: and the impulse, far from being spent, continually gains strength. There are those who hope that the present movement is a temporary fanaticism. We are even told that a distinguished senator from the South, on the close of Mr. Clay's speech, repaid this effort for slavery with unbounded applause, and declared, that "Abolitionism was now down." But such men have not studied our times. Strange, that in an age when great principles are stirring the human soul, and when the mass of men, who have hitherto slept, are waking up to thought, it should be imagined that an individual, a name, a breath, can arrest the grand forward movements of society! When will statesmen learn that there are higher powers than political motives, interests, and intrigues? When will they learn the might which dwells in truth? When will they learn that the great moral and religious ideas which have now seized on and are working in men's souls are the most efficient, durable forces which are acting in the world? When will they learn that the past and present are not the future, but that the changes already wrought in society are only forerunners, signs, and springs of mightier revolutions? Politicians, absorbed in near objects, are prophets only on a small scale. They may foretell the issues of the next election, though even here they are often baffled; but the breaking out of a deep moral conviction in the mass of men is a mystery which they have little skill to interpret. The future of this country is to take its shape, not from the growing of cotton at the South, not from the struggles of parties or leaders for power or station, but from the great principles which are unfolding themselves silently in men's breasts. There is here, and through the civilized world, a steady current of thought and feeling in one direction. The old notion of the subjection of the many for the comfort, ease, pleasure, and pride of the few, is fast wearing away. A far higher and more rational conception of freedom than entered into the loftiest speculations of ancient times is spreading itself, and is changing the face of society. "Equality before the laws" has become the watchword of all civilized states. The absolute worth of a human being is better understood, that is, his worth as an individual, or on his own account, and not merely as a useful tool to others. Christianity is more and more seen to attach a sacredness and unspeakable dignity to every man, because each man is immortal. Such is the current of human thought. Principles of a higher order are beginning to operate on society, and the dawn of these primal, everlasting lights, is a sure omen of a brighter day. This is the true sign of the coming ages. Politicians, seizing on the narrow, selfish principles of human nature, expect these to rule for ever. They hope, by their own machinery, to determine the movements of the world. But if history teaches any lesson, it is the impotence of statesmen; and, happily, this impotence is increasing every day, with the spread of lights and moral force among the people. Would politicians study history with more care, they might learn, even from the dark times which are past, that self-interest is not, after all, the mightiest agent in human affairs; that the course of human events has been more determined, on the whole, by great principles, by great emotions, by feeling, by enthusiasm, than by selfish calculations, or by selfish men. In the great conflict between the Oriental and the Western World, which was decided at Thermopylæ and Marathon; in the last great conflict between Polytheism and Theism, begun by Jesus Christ, and carried on by his followers; in the Reformation of Luther; in the American Revolution; in these grandest epochs of history, what was it which won the victory? What were the mighty, all-prevailing powers? Not political management, not self-interest, not the lower principles of human nature, but the principles of freedom and religion, moral power, moral enthusiasm, the divine aspirations of the human soul. Great thoughts and great emotions have a place in human history which no historian has hitherto given them, and the future is to be more determined by these than the past. The antislavery spirit is not, then, to die under the breath of an orator. As easily might that breath blow out the sun.

Slavery must fall, because it stands in

direct hostility to all the grand movements, principles, and reforms of our age, because it stands in the way of an advancing world. One great idea stands out amidst the discoveries and improvements of modern times. It is, that man is not to exercise arbitrary, irresponsible power over man. To restrain power, to divide and balance it, to create responsibility for its just use, to secure the individual against its abuse, to substitute law for private will, to shield the weak from the strong, to give to the injured the means of redress, to set a fence round every man's property and rights, in a word, to secure liberty, — such, under various expressions, is the great object on which philosophers, patriots, philanthropists, have long fixed their thoughts and hopes. It is remarkable, and one of the happy omens of the times, that even absolute governments have reached in a measure this grand idea. They present themselves as the guardians of liberty. They profess their desire and purpose to sustain equal laws, under which all men, from the highest to the lowest, shall find effectual protection for their rights. The distinguished Prussian historian, Raumer, in his letters on England, maintains that his own government, which foreigners call despotic, does not rest on private will, and that it insures, on the whole, greater freedom to the subject than the British people can boast. Thus despotism does homage to the great ideas and spirit of our times; and yet in the midst of this progress, in the face of this universal reverence for human rights, the slave-holder stands apart, and sets up his claim to ownership of his fellow-creatures, and insists on arbitrary, irresponsible rule, and makes his will a law, and enforces it by degrading punishments. And can this power stand? Is it able to resist the moral power of the world? Can it withstand a higher power, that of Eternal Justice, before which all worlds bow, and to which the highest orders of beings must give account?

I began this discussion with stating that I should avoid, as much as possible, all personalities; and I have aimed throughout to look only at the system, not at individuals. I am aware, however, that some of my remarks must seem to have a very unfavorable bearing on the slave-holder; for how can the evils and crimes of a system be held up without implicating more or less those who sustain it? To prevent, then, all misapprehension, I wish to say that, whilst I think slave-holders in general highly culpable for upholding a system of wrong which has been so plainly exposed, I do not regard slave-holding as a proof of the necessary absence of moral and religious principle. Our nature is strangely inconsistent, and experience continually teaches us that faults and sins on which the eye of conscience has not been distinctly turned may consist with real virtue. A man, living in a community, all of whose members join in passionate support of an evil institution, must have an energy of thought, a moral force, a moral independence which few can boast, in order to see and resist and renounce the wrong. No moral trial on earth is perhaps so overpowering. The light, which prevails in other regions, enters most slowly this compact, dense mass of moral error. I cannot forget this in judging the slave-holder. I remember, too, that he is not merely a slave-holder. He sustains the natural, innocent, purifying relations of domestic life, of private friendship, of country, and of Christian worship, and in these he may be exemplary; in these there are women at the South eminently faithful. I know it is said that in these acknowledgments I weaken my testimony against slavery; but truth is dearer than policy. I cannot hold it back. Could I liberate all the slaves, by misrepresenting the slave-holder, I would not do it. The primary work of a man is, not to liberate slaves, but to be just, to render to all their due, to do what is right, be the cost what it may; and all benevolent enterprises, which have not their origin and rule in this sovereign principle of duty, are "splendid sins." The slave-holders commit a great wrong, many without consciousness of the wrong, and many with entire indifference to the moral character of slave-holding. And in all this they resemble other societies of men here and abroad. There is much unconscious wrong-doing, and, still more, much conscious sacrifice of right to interest, all the world over. This should not prevent rebuke of other communities, but should check invidious comparison and the spirit of self-exalta-

tion. We of the North have reason and are bound to condemn the enormous wrongs practised at the South; but have we a right to boast of ourselves as better than our neighbors? Is not the selfish spirit of gain, which is blinding multitudes at the South to the injustice of slavery, very rife here? Were this institution rooted here, should we not cling as a people to it as obstinately as others? Are none of us now reconciled to it by the profits it affords them? England reproaches our slavery, and she cannot do it too solemnly. But has England a right to boast over the slaveholder? Who can fathom the depths of guilt and woe in that rich, prosperous island? Is there another spot on earth in which so many crimes and agonies are accumulated as in London? Where else on earth is so shocking a contrast to be seen of boundless luxury and unutterable wretchedness? What a work has philanthropy to do for the ignorant, intemperate, half-famished crowds of Ireland and Great Britain! Her nobles and merchants, indeed, scatter their thousands and ten thousands among the poor. But do they retrench one indulgence or one ostentatious display, or resolutely meet the great question, how the terrible evils which weigh down and threaten society are to be substantially redressed? I say not these things in the spirit of retaliation towards England. I ask from her just, indignant remonstrance against our wrong-doing. But I would show that, in assailing slavery, I am not blind to all other evils, that I mean not to set apart the slaveholder as alone deserving rebuke, and that I acknowledge the justice of many of his reproofs of these free States and of Europe. God alone knows the chief offender. The slave-holder, indeed, is chargeable with the peculiar guilt of ordaining, and upholding with set purpose, a system of enormous injustice. Slavery is a creature of human will and choice, and at the same time the greatest wrong and insult on human nature. I therefore cry aloud against it. Of the individuals who defend and perpetuate the system, I am sure that the best are deeply injured by it; but among them there are better than myself. I do not fix their rank in a world of transgressors. I desire to lift up the wronged and oppressed. I leave to a higher Judge the heart, the sins, the virtues of the oppressor.

I have now concluded my remarks on the topics suggested by Mr. Clay's speech; and here you may expect me to close this long communication. But believing, as I do, that my engagements and duties will not allow me to write again on slavery, I am inclined to relieve my mind of all its burdens on this subject. Allow me, then, to say a few words on a topic which has given me many painful thoughts, — the more painful, because so few have seemed to share my feeling. I refer to that gross outrage on rights and liberty, the burning of the Hall of Freedom in Philadelphia. I have felt this the more because this hall was erected for free discussion, was dedicated to liberty of speech. Undoubtedly it was especially designed to give the abolitionists a chance of being heard; but it was also intended to give the same privilege to others, who, in consequence of having adopted unpopular opinions, might be excluded from the places commonly devoted to public meetings. This building was associated with the dearest right of an intelligent, spiritual being, that of communicating thought and receiving such communication in return, — more intimately associated with it than any other edifice in the country. And this was stormed by a mob; a peaceful assemblage was driven from its walls; and afterwards it was levelled to the earth by fire.

Various circumstances conspired to take this out of the class of common crimes. It was not the act of the coarse, passionate multitude. It was not done in a transport of fury. The incendiaries proceeded leisurely in their work, and distinctly understood that they were executing the wish and purpose of a great majority of the people. Passionate outbreaks may be forgiven. An act performed by the reckless few does not alarm us, because we know that a moral force subsists in the community to counteract it. But when individuals, to whom we look for a restraining moral power, undertake deliberately the work of the reckless and violent, then the outrage on law and right wears a singularly dark and menacing aspect. Such a community may well feel the foundations of social order tottering beneath them. After

the mob of Philadelphia, who wonders at the mob of Harrisburg?

Another aggravation of this act was, that the blameless character of those who had erected and were occupying the Hall of Freedom was distinctly understood. The assemblage thronging this edifice was not made up of profligates, of the false, the lawless, the profane. On that occasion were met together citizens of Philadelphia and visitors from other cities and States, who were second to none in purity of life; and they had convened in obedience to what they believed, however erroneously, the will of God, and to accomplish what seemed to them a great work of justice and humanity. I doubt whether, at that hour, there were collected in any other single spot of the land so many good and upright men and women, so many sincere friends of the race. In that crowd was John G. Whittier, a man whose genius and virtues would do honor to any city, whose poetry bursts from the soul with the fire and indignant energy of an ancient prophet, and whose noble simplicity of character is said to be the delight of all who know him. In that crowd was Lucretia Mott, that beautiful example of womanhood. Who that has heard the tones of her voice, and looked on the mild radiance of her benign and intelligent countenance, can endure the thought that such a woman was driven by a mob from a spot to which she had gone, as she religiously believed, on a mission of Christian sympathy? There were many others, worthy associates of those whom I have named, religious men, prepared to suffer in the cause of humanity, — devoted women, whose hearts were burdened with the infinite indignities heaped on their sex by slavery. Such were the people who were denied the protection of the laws; denied the privilege granted to the most profligate political party, and even to a meeting of Atheists; treated as outcasts, as the refuse and offscouring of the world. In them was revived the experience of the first witnesses to the Christian faith. Happily, Christianity has not wholly failed to improve society. At first, the disciple himself was destroyed, — now only his edifice; and this is certainly some progress of the world.

And what was the mighty cause of this outrage? A general reply is, that the abolitionists were fanatics. Be it so. Is fanaticism a justification of this summary justice? What more common than this fever in our churches? How does it infect whole sects! What more common in our political meetings? Must the walls within which fanatics meet be purged by desolating fire? Will not then the whole land be lighted by the flames? Shall I be told that the fanaticism of abolitionists is of peculiar atrocity? — that they are marked, set apart by the monstrousness of their doctrines? These doctrines are the brotherhood of the human race, and the right of every human being to his own person and to the protection of equal laws Such are the heresies that must be burned out with fire, and buried under the ruins of the temple where they are preached! Undoubtedly there may be crimes, so unnatural, so terrible to a community, that a people may be forgiven if, deeming the usual forms of justice too slow, they assume the perilous office of inflicting speedy punishment. But that the processes of law, that the chartered rights of a free people should be set aside to punish men who come together to protest against the greatest wrong in the land, and whose fanaticism consists in the excess of their zeal for the oppressed; this is a doctrine which puts to shame the dark ages, and which cannot long keep its ground in our own.

But this general charge of fanaticism is not the main defence of this hall-burning. The old cry of "danger to the Union" is set up. Abolitionism was to be committed to the flames, because it threatened to separate the States. I shall not, of course, repeat what I have already said on this topic; but I will only ask, what will be the effect of burning up every edifice which gives shelter to the supposed enemies of the Union? At this very moment, one of these twenty-six States has virtually assumed the right of war, which the Constitution confers on the general government, and would inevitably drive us into hostilities with one of the most powerful nations of Europe, if the insanity of the contest did not make it next to impossible; and in so doing, it has given a precedent more menacing to the Union than any thing in our history, with the single exception of the nullification or States-

rights movement. And shall all who favor this usurpation be forbidden to meet but at the peril of mobs and flames? In this case, might not some halls of legislation meet the fate of the Hall of Freedom? I must protest against the disposition to make the crime of endangering the Union a sufficient cause for house-burning. The nerves of our people are particularly sensitive on this point, and incendiarism will become the fashion if this plea will suffice for it. Every householder should lift up his voice against the dangerous doctrine.

But we have not yet touched the great cause of the conflagration of the Hall of Freedom. Something worse than fanaticism or separation of the Union was the impulse to this violence. We are told that white people and black sat together on the benches of the hall, and were even seen walking together in the streets! This was the unheard-of atrocity which the virtues of the people of Philadelphia could not endure. They might have borne the dissolution of the national tie; but this junction of black and white was too much for human patience to sustain. And has it indeed come to this? For such a cause are mobs and fires to be let loose on our persons and most costly buildings? What! Has not an American citizen a right to sit and walk with whom he will? Is this common privilege of humanity denied us? Is society authorized to choose our associates? Must our neighbor's tastes as to friendship and companionship control our own? Have the feudal times come back to us, when to break the law of caste was a greater crime than to violate the laws of God? What must Europe have thought when the news crossed the ocean of the burning of the Hall of Freedom, because white and colored people walked together in the streets? Europe might well open its eyes in wonder. On that continent, with all its aristocracy, the colored man mixes freely with his fellow-creatures. He passes for a man. He sometimes receives the countenance of the rich, and has even found his way into the palaces of the great. In Europe, the doctrine would be thought too absurd for refutation that a colored man of pure morals and piety, of cultivated intellect and refined manners, was not a fit companion for the best in the land. What must Europe have said when brought to understand that, in a republic founded on the principles of human rights and equality, people are placed beyond the protection of the laws, for treating an African as a man? This Philadelphia doctrine deserves no mercy. What an insult is thrown on human nature, in making it a heinous crime to sit or walk with a human being, whoever he may be?

It just occurs to me that I have forgotten the circumstance which filled to overflowing the cup of abolitionist wickedness in Philadelphia. The great offence was this, that certain young women, of antislavery faith, were seen to walk the streets with colored young men! Of the truth of this allegation, which has been denied, I am not able to judge; but, allowing its correctness, I must think that to violate the majesty of the laws, and to convulse a whole city, because a few young women thought fit to manifest in this way their benevolence towards a despised race,

> "Resembles ocean into tempest wrought
> To waft a feather, or to drown a fly."

Offences against manners are wisely left to the scourge of public opinion, which proves itself, in such cases, a more effectual as well as more merciful discipline than burning or the gallows. If ridicule and indignation will not put down supposed misdemeanors of this class, what will force avail? May I be here allowed to counsel my fair abolitionist friends (if they have really fallen into the "unpardonable transgression" laid to their charge) to respect hereafter the usages of society in regard to their communications with the other sex. If their antislavery zeal compels them to bear testimony against the prejudice which excludes the colored people from the society of the whites, let them choose for their associates the women of the despised caste. With less defiance of opinion, they will thus give equal expression to their interest in the wronged. I believe, however, that the less conspicuous their zeal in this and other public movements, the better. There are none for whom I feel a deeper and more affectionate solicitude than for the young of the other sex; and when I think of their inexperience.

and of the strength of their sensibility, and then consider how exposed they are, on occasions of struggle and excitement, to unconscious imprudences which may throw a shade over their characters not soon to be dispelled, and which, in their calmer hours, may visit them with secret upbraidings, or with fears of having started from the proper path, I cannot but desire that, whilst they open their hearts to all generous sympathies, they should postpone the public manifestation of their zeal to a riper age.

The violence which was offered the abolitionists for their reception of the colored people to freer social intercourse, was the more aggravated, because, if they erred in the matter, their motive was a generous one, not got up for the occasion, but proved to be sincere by their whole conduct. They say that the colored race, ground as they have been in the dust by long tyranny, and still suffering under prejudices which forbid their elevation, are entitled to peculiar regard from the disciples of him who came to raise the fallen, "to seek and save the lost." They look on this people with peculiar sympathy, because subjected to peculiar hardships. With this view, they are anxious to break down the distinction, or at least to diminish the distance, between the black man and the white, believing that in this way only the degrading influences of the injuries of years can be overcome. Allow this to be an error, is it not a generous one? Is there nothing holy in sympathy with the wronged? Are feelings of benevolent concern, for whatever portion of our race, to be insulted, and to bring down violence on our heads, because they transgress conventional rules and the forms of "good society"? That ignorant and coarse people should treat the motives of the abolitionists with scorn cannot surprise us; but that any, who belong to what is called the respectable and refined class, should join the fierce multitude in persecuting men of worth and humanity, admits no excuse. Does it not show that the line of separation between the high and low is not as broad as we sometimes imagine: that much which passes for refinement is mere gloss; and that when the passions are stirred up by the concurrence of numbers, "the friends of order" can set laws at defiance as boldly as the multitude?

This outrage, if viewed in its political aspects, deserves severe reprobation. Mob-law, in this country, ought always to be frowned down. It is an invasion of the fundamental principle of our institutions, of the sovereignty of the people, and the more dangerous, because it seems to the multitude to be an assertion of the principle which it overthrows. The sovereignty of the people has here but one mode of manifestation, and that is the laws. It can express itself in no other way; and, consequently, a mob, in forcibly suspending the laws, and in substituting its own will for that which the legitimate organs of the people have proclaimed, usurps for a time the sovereignty of the state, and is virtually rebellion. In a despotism the laws are of less moment than in a free country, because in the former there is a force above the laws, an irresistible will, which has at its disposal a subservient soldiery and summary punishments, to maintain something like order in the state. But in a republic there is nothing higher than the laws; and in shaking the authority of these, the whole social edifice is shaken. Reverence for the laws is the essential spirit, the guardian power, of a free state. Take this away, and no physical force can take its place. The force is in the excited multitude, and in proportion as it is roused against law, it prepares the way and constitutes a demand for a more regular, despotic power, which, bad as it is, is better than the tyranny of crowds. There is, indeed, as I have intimated, one case where popular commotion does comparatively little harm. I mean that which is excited by some daring crime which the laws sternly forbid, and which sends an electric thrill of horror through a virtuous community. In such a case the public without law do the work of law, and enforce those natural, eternal principles of right on which all legislation should rest. Even this violence, however, is dangerous. But, be it ever so blameless, who can bring under this head the outrage offered to abolitionists, men who had broken no law, and whose distinction was that they had planted themselves on the ground of natural and everlasting right?

This outrage against the abolitionists made little impression on the country at large. It was pronounced wrong, of course; but then we were told that the abolitionists were so imprudent, so fierce, so given to denunciation, so intolerant towards all who differ from them, that they had no great claim to sympathy! Everywhere the excesses of the abolitionists are used to palliate the persecution which they suffer. But are they the only intolerant people in the country? Is there a single political party which does not deal as freely in denunciation? Is there a religious sect which has not its measure of bitterness? I ask, as before, if fierce denunciation is to be visited with flames, where will the conflagration stop?

In thus speaking, let me not be considered as blind to the errors of the abolitionists. My interest in their object increases my pain at their defects. When I consider them as having espoused a just and holy cause, I am peculiarly grieved by the appearances of passionate severity in their writing, speeches, and movements. Such men ought to find in the grandeur, purity, and benevolence of their end, irresistible motives to self-control, to a spirit of equity and mildness, to a calm, lofty, trust in God. I grieve that in an age when the power of gentleness and meekness is beginning to be understood, they have sought strength in very different weapons. I do not deny their error; but I say, let there be some proportion between the punishment and the offence. Is nothing to be pardoned to men who have meditated on great wrongs until their spirits are deeply stirred? Is vehemence in such men the unpardonable sin? Must we rigidly insist that they shall weigh every word before they speak? When all England was on fire with the injuries of the slave, is it wonderful that men in this country, where the evil is most towering, should echo in louder tones the cry which came to them over the ocean? Is it wonderful that women, thinking of more than a million of their own sex, at no great distance, exposed to degradation and prostitution, should, in their grief and indignation, repel every extenuating plea for the supporters of these abominations? Was it possible that none should speak on this subject but the wise and prudent? Does not every great cause gather round itself vehement spirits? Must no evil be touched till we have assurance that it shall be shaken and subverted by rule? We bear extravagance and vehemence elsewhere, without burning down men's houses. Why this singular sensitiveness to anti-slavery vehemence, except it be that slavery, which so many call an evil with the lips, has never come as an evil to their consciences and hearts?

But, it is said, the abolitionists injure a good cause. Be it so. I think they have done it harm as well as good. But is not this the common course of human affairs? What good cause is not harmed, and sometimes thrown back, by its best friends. In the present imperfect state of our nature, men seldom take a strong hold of any great object, without falling into excess. Enthusiasm, by which I mean a disproportionate strength of feeling and emotion, such as interferes more or less with the judgment, seems almost inseparable from earnestness. The calm reason, the single idea of right, the principle of pure love, such as it exists in God, serene and unimpassioned, — these divine impulses seldom of themselves carry men through great enterprises. Human passionateness mixes with higher influences. This is to be lamented, and much evil is done; but we must endure enthusiasm with its excesses, or sink into a lifeless monotony. These excesses we ought to rebuke and discourage; but we must not hunt them down as the greatest crimes. We must take heed lest in our war against rashness we quench all the generous sentiments of human nature. It is natural to desire that evils should be removed gently, imperceptibly, without agitation; and the more of this quiet process the better. But it is not ordinarily by such processes that the mysterious providence of God purifies society. Religion and freedom have made their way through struggles and storms. Established evils naturally oppose an iron front to reform: and the spirit of reform, gathering new vehemence from oppositions, pours itself forth in passionate efforts. Man is not good enough yet to join invincible courage, zeal, and struggle, with all-suffering meekness. But must conflict with evil cease, because it will be marred with human imperfection? Must the burning spirit lock up its sympathies with

suffering humanity, because not sure of being always self-possessed? Do we forgive nothing to the warm-hearted? Should we not labor to temper and guide aright excessive zeal in a virtuous cause, instead of persecuting it as the worst of crimes?

The abolitionists deserve rebuke; but let it be proportioned to the offence. They do wrong in their angry denunciation of slave-holders. But is calling the slave-holder hard names a crime of unparalleled aggravation? Is it not, at least, as great a crime to spoil a man of his rights and liberty, to make him a chattel, and trample him in the dust? And why shall the latter offender escape with so much gentler rebuke? I know, as well as the slave-holder, what it is to bear the burden of hard names. The South has not been sparing of its invectives in return for my poor efforts against slavery. I understand the evil of reproach; and I am compelled to pronounce it a very slight one, and not to be named in comparison with bondage; and why is it that he who inflicts the former should be called to drink the cup of wrath to the very dregs, whilst he who inflicts the latter receives hardly a mild rebuke?

I say these things, not as a partisan of the abolitionists, but from a love of justice. They seem to me greatly wronged by the unparalleled persecution to which they have been exposed; and the wronged should never want a defender. But I am not of them. In the spirit of many of them I see much to condemn. I utterly disapprove their sweeping denunciations. I fear that their scorn of expediency may degenerate into recklessness. I fear that, as a natural if not necessary consequence of their multiplied meetings, held chiefly for excitement, their zeal must often be forced, got up for effect, — a product of calculation, not a swell of the heart. I confide in them the less, the more they increase. I fear that their resort to political action will impair their singleness of purpose and their moral power. I distrust the system of association and agitation in a cause like this. But because I see among them somewhat to fear and blame, must I shut my eyes on more which I ought to commend? Must not men of pure and lofty aims be honored, because, like every thing human, they are not free from fault? I respect the abolitionists for maintaining great principles with courage and fervor, amidst scorn and violence. Can men have a higher claim to respect? In their body, amidst prejudiced, narrow-minded, conceited, self-seeking members, such as are found in all associations, there is a large proportion of uncompromising, single-hearted friends of truth, right, and freedom; and such men are securities against the adoption of criminal ends or criminal means. In their front rank — perhaps at their head — is Gerrit Smith; a man worthy of all honor for his overflowing munificence, for his calm yet invincible moral courage, for his Christian liberality, embracing men of every sect and name, and for his deep, active, inexhaustible sympathy with the sinful, suffering, and oppressed. In their ranks may also be found our common friend, Charles Follen, that genuine man, that heroic spirit, whose love of freedom unites, in rare harmony, the old Roman force with Christian love; in whom we see the generous, rash enthusiasm of his youth, tempered by time and trial into a most sweet and winning virtue. I could name others, honored and dear. I do not, for the sake of such, shut my eyes on the defects of the association; but that it should be selected for outrage and persecution, is a monstrous wrong, against which solemn testimony ought to be borne.

There is one consolation attending persecution. It often exalts the spirit of the sufferer, and often covers with honor those whom it had destined to shame. Who made Socrates the most venerable name of antiquity? The men who mixed for him the cup of hemlock, and drove him as a criminal from the world which he had enlightened. Providence teaches us the doctrine of retribution very touchingly in the fact that future ages guard with peculiar reverence the memories of men who, in their own times, were contemned, abhorred, hunted like wild beasts, and destroyed by fire or sword, for their fidelity to truth. That the abolitionists have grown strong under outrage, we know; and in this I should rejoice were their cause ever so bad; because persecution must be worse, and its defeat must be a good. I wish that persecution, if not

checked by principle, may be stayed, by seeing that it fights against itself, and builds up those whom it toils to destroy. How long the abolitionists will be remembered, I know not; but as long as they live in history, they will wear as a crown the sufferings which they have so firmly borne. Posterity will be just to them; nor can I doubt what doom posterity will pronounce on the mobs or single men who have labored to silence them by brutal force. I should be glad to see them exchanging their array of affiliated societies for less conspicuous and artificial means of action. But let them not do this from subserviency to opinion, or in opposition to their sense of right. Let them yield nothing to fear. Let them never be false to that great cause which they have fought for so manfully, — freedom of speech. Let them never give countenance to the doctrine, which all tyrants hold, that material power, physical pain, is mightier than the convictions of reason, than the principle of duty, than the love of God and mankind. Sooner may they pine and perish in prisons, sooner bleed or be strangled by the executioner, than surrender their deliberate principles to lawless violence.

In the remarks now made on the recent outrage at Philadelphia, I have felt myself bound to use great plainness of speech. Had I consulted my feelings, I should have been silent. In that city I have old and dear friends, and have received hospitalities which I remember with gratitude. But we are not allowed to "confer with flesh and blood." I beg, however, to say, in order to prevent misinterpretation, that I have not thought for a moment of holding up Philadelphia as the worst of cities. I do not infer from a single tumult the character of a vast population. How many thousands of that metropolis took no part in the transaction under consideration! And of those who gave it their active or passive sanction, how many thousands were hurried on by imitation and sympathy, were swept away by a common impulse, without comprehending the import of the deed! In a popular ferment individuals lay aside themselves for a time, and do what they would shrink from if left to act on their separate responsibility. In all cities, it is true of the vast majority of men that their consciences cannot stand alone. Their principles, as they call them, are echoes of general sentiment. Their sense of duty, unpropped by opinion, totters, and too often falls. One of the saddest views of society is the almost universal want of self-determined, self-subsistent virtue. It is, therefore, no sign of unparalleled depravity that a community proves false to great principles in seasons of excitement. All great cities abound in ignorance, prejudice, passion, selfish conformity to the world, and moral corruption in its grosser and more refined forms; and that these bitter fountains should sometimes burst forth, is a matter of course. I ascribe to no city precedence in virtue or crime. I would only say that Philadelphia has placed herself, more conspicuously than other cities, on a bad eminence, and she must hold it, until buildings devoted to liberty of speech can stand unharmed on her soil.

I now finish this long letter. Your patience, my dear Sir, has not, I trust, been exhausted. Whether this communication will answer the public ends which I have proposed, I know not: but it will do one good, of a personal nature. It will be a memorial, however brief, of a friendship which began in our youth, and which has withstood the vicissitudes of so many years, that we may expect it to go down with us to our graves. It pleases me that our names should be associated in a work which, though written in haste, and for a temporary exigency, yet reflects something of both our minds. It is fit that the thoughts unfolded in this letter should be addressed to one with whom I have conversed long and familiarly on the great interests of human nature. I owe you much for the light and strength you have given me, and especially for the faith and hope which, under much personal suffering and depression, you have cherished and expressed in regard to the destinies of our race. We have given much of our sympathy to the multitude. We have felt more for the many who are forgotten than for the few who shine; and our great inquiry has been, how the mass of men may be raised from ignorance and sensuality to a higher social, intellectual, moral, and religious life. We have rejoiced together in the progress already made

by individuals and communities; but a voice has come to us from the depths of human suffering, from the abuses of the social state, from the teachings of Jesus Christ, urging the need of new struggle with giant evils, and of new efforts for the diffusion of comforts, refinements, quickening truths, enlightened piety, and disinterested virtue. A few years will bring us to our journey's end. To the last, I trust, we shall speak words of blessing to our race, and words of encouragement to all who toil and suffer for its good. Through God's grace we hope for another life; but that life, we believe, will, in some respects, be one with this. Our deep sympathies with the great human family will, we believe, survive the grave. We shall then rejoice in the interpretation of the dark mysteries of the present state, of the woes and oppressions now so rife on earth. May it not be hoped that, instead of our present poor and broken labors, we shall then render services to our brethren worthy of that nobler life? But the future will reveal its own secrets. It is enough to know that this human world, of which we form a portion, lives, suffers, and is moving onward, under the eye and care of the Infinite Father. Before his pure, omnipotent goodness, all oppressions must fall; and under his reign our highest aspirations, prayers, and hopes for suffering humanity must, sooner or later, receive an accomplishment, beyond the power of prophecy to utter or of thought to comprehend.

NOTES.

Note A. — As the page here referred to was passing through the press, I understood that it was maintained by some that the treatment which abolition petitions had received from Congress was not so peculiar as I had supposed; and I state this that the reader may inquire for himself. For one, I feel little disposition to inquire. It is very possible that, in this world of tyranny and usurpation, scattered precedents may be found, which, if used for interpreting and defining our rights, would reduce them all to insignificance. A man, jealous of his rights, will not yield them to this, or any other kind of logic. We have here the case of a great number of petitions from all parts of the free States, and from citizens of intelligence and blameless character, which, before being presented, were denied, by a resolution of Congress, the usual notice and consideration. It was not the case of a single petition, coming from a half-insane man, from an eccentric schemer, bearing on its face the marks of mental aberration, or asking for something palpably absurd and unconstitutional. The petitions of the abolitionists greatly exceeded in number all the other petitions to Congress taken together. They represented large masses of citizens who prayed for what is pronounced constitutional by our wisest men. And Congress resolved, before these petitions were offered, that, on being presented, they should be laid on the table without debate, and that no member should have the privilege of saying a word in their behalf, or of calling them up for consideration or for any action in relation to them at a future time. Has any thing like this ever occurred before? Or, if it has, shall we go to such precedents for an interpretation of the right of petition? Is it not plain that, after this measure, party-spirit can never want pretexts for rejecting any and all petitions, be they what they may? To say, that because these petitions passed through the form of being laid on the table, the right was not touched, strikes me as one of those evasions which will do for a court of law, but which it is an insult to present to a great nation. Suppose that Congress, at the beginning of a session, should ordain that an aperture of certain dimensions should be made on the clerk's table, and be connected by a tube with the cellar or common sewer; and should then ordain, that by far the greater number of petitions, to be presented during the session, should be committed to the part of the table occupied by the opening, so as to sink immediately and be never heard of more. What man of common sense, who knows the difference between words and things, or what freeman, who cares a rush for his rights, would not say that the right of petition had been virtually annulled? Why not openly reject the petitions, without this mockery? Do we not know that it is from side-blows that liberty has most to fear? It is very possible that legal subtilty may find precedents for the course pursued by Congress, just as it may find

authorities to prove that we have no right to our own persons, but may be sold as chattels. But such reasonings to a freeman carry their answer on their own front. Human rights are too sacred, too substantial, to be refined and attenuated into shadows by ingenious comparison of precedents and authorities. I take the ground that the right of petition is *something*, and of course that there is a fatal fallacy in the reasoning which would reduce it to *nothing*. I would recommend to my readers a "Letter of the Honorable Caleb Cushing to the People of Massachusetts," in which this subject is discussed with great clearness and ability. It should be circulated as a tract. The public are also much indebted to the Honorable J. Q. Adams, for his unshrinking energy in maintaining the right of petition.

I say this from no particular interest in the present case. I doubt whether the agitation of slavery in Congress is to do good to the country or to the cause of emancipation; whether abolition petitions bring the subject before the people, either at the North or South, in the manner most likely to produce conviction. I look at the matter without reference to present parties. One of the sacred rights of the people has been touched, and this should never be done without expressions of jealousy and reprobation. The strongest political influence in this country is party-spirit, — a selfish, unrighteous, unscrupulous spirit, impatient of restraint, and always ready to sacrifice the provisions of the Constitution to present purposes and immediate triumph. One of the most solemn duties of patriotism is to guard our rights from the touch of this harpy. No precedents of encroachment must be yielded to party-spirit, for it will push them to extremes. No bulwarks, which our fathers have erected round our liberties, must be surrendered. The dangers of liberty are always great from human passions and selfishness, — great under the freest institutions, and sometimes greater from what is called the popular party than from any other; and for this plain reason, that this party has formed the bad habit of calling itself "the people," and easily deludes itself into the belief that, being "the people," it may take great freedoms with the Constitution, and use its power with little restraint. This delusion is what constitutes the danger to liberty from mobs; mobs call themselves "the people."

Note B. — I have allowed on this page that slavery wears a milder aspect at the South than in other countries. I ought to inform my readers that this is denied by some who have inquired into the matter. A pamphlet or larger volume is announced at New York, in which the subject of the *treatment* of slaves at the South is to be particularly considered. The work is said to be the result of patient inquiries, and full proofs of its statements are promised. Those at the North, who believe in the mildness of Southern slavery, will do well to examine the publication.

EMANCIPATION.

Introductory Remarks.

The following tract grew almost insensibly out of the strong impressions received from recent accounts of the emancipated British Islands. Joseph John Gurney, well known among us as a member and minister of the Quaker denomination, was so kind as to visit me after his return from the West Indies, and then transmitted to me his "Familiar Letters to Henry Clay," * describing a winter in those regions. The satisfaction which I felt was so great that I could not confine it to myself. I began to write, as a man begins to talk after hearing good news. Many thoughts connected with the topic rushed successively into my mind; and gradually, and

* The book is entitled, "Familiar Letters to Henry Clay, of Kentucky, describing a Winter in the West Indies. By Joseph John Gurney."

with little labor, this slight work took the form it now wears. I am encouraged to hope that it is of some little value, from the spontaneousness of its growth.

This tract was prepared for the press some time ago, and should have been published immediately after the appearance of Mr. Gurney's "Letters." But I was discouraged by the preoccupation of the minds of the whole community with the politics of the day. I was obliged to wait for the storm to pass; and I now send it forth in the hope that some, at least, are at leisure to give me a short hearing. Not that I expect to be heard very widely. No one knows more than I do the want of popularity of the subject. Multitudes would think it a waste of time to give their thoughts to this great question of justice and humanity. But still, there are not a few to whom the truth will be welcome. Such will find that in these pages I am not going again over the ground which I have already travelled; and I hope they will feel that, having begun with "Slavery," I am fitly ending with "Emancipation."

The latter part of the tract discusses a topic which I have occasionally touched on, but which needs a more full exposition, and on which I have long wished to communicate my views. The duties of the free States in regard to slavery need to be better understood, and my suggestions, I hope, will be weighed with candor. As I have taken little interest for years in the politics of the day, and as my hope for the country rests not on any party, but solely on our means of education, and on moral and religious influences, I ought not to be accused of wishing to give a political aspect to the antislavery cause. I am very unwilling that it should take the form of a struggle for office and power. Still, it has political relations; and of these I shall speak with freedom. The topic is an exciting one; but, as I look at it with perfect calmness, I hope I shall not disturb the minds of others. — *November* 15, 1840.

At length a report of West Indian emancipation has reached us to which some heed will be given; and it is so cheering that I should be glad to make it more extensively known. We have had already faithful and affecting accounts of this great social revolution; but, coming from men who bear an unpopular name, they have received little attention. Here we have the testimony of a man in no way connected with American abolitionists. In his long residence among us Mr. Gurney has rather shunned this party, — whether justly or wisely, I do not say. The fact is stated simply to prevent or remove a prejudice from which he ought not to suffer. He came to this country on no mission from the enemies of slavery in his own land. Nor did he come, as so many travellers do, to gather or invent materials for a marketable book; but to preach the gospel, in obedience to what he thought "a heavenly call." In this character he visited many parts of our land, and everywhere secured esteem as a man, and won no small attention to his religious teachings. After many labors here, he felt himself charged with a divine message to the West Indies. His first object in travelling over those islands was to preach; but, in his various journeys and communications with individuals, he naturally opened his eyes and ears to the subject which there engrosses almost every thought, and in which his own philanthropy gave him special interest. In his "Letters" he furnishes us with the details and a few results of his observation, interspersed with some personal adventure, and with notices of the natural appearances and productions of regions so new and striking to an Englishman. The book has the merit of perfectly answering its end, which is, not to reason about emancipation, but to make the reader a spectator, and to give him facts for his own reflection. It is written with much ease, simplicity, clearness, and sometimes with beauty. It is especially distinguished by a spirit of kindness. It not only expresses a sincere Christian philanthropy, but breathes a good humor which must disarm even the most prejudiced. They who have refused to read antislavery productions, because steeped in gall, will find no bitter ingredients here. Not that there is a spirit of compromise or timidity in our author. He is a thoroughly kind-hearted man, and conscientiously believes that he can best serve the cause of truth and liberty by giving free utterance to his own benignant

spirit. The book has not only the substantial merit of fidelity on a subject of immense importance, but another claim, which may operate more widely in its favor. It is entertaining. It does not give us dull and dry wisdom, but the quick, animated observations of a man who saw with his heart as well as his eyes, who took a strong interest in what he describes.

That the book is entirely impartial, I do not say. This highest merit of a book seems to require more than human virtue. To see things precisely as they are, with not a shade or coloring from our own prejudices or affections, is the last triumph of self-denial. The most honest often see what they want to see; and a man so honored as Mr. Gurney is very apt to be told what he wants to hear. But the book bears strong marks of truth. The uprightness of the author secures us against important error. Let even large deductions be made for his feelings, as a Quaker, against slavery, for his sympathy with the negro and the negro's friends; after every allowance, the great truth will come out, that the hopes of the most sanguine advocates of emancipation have been realized, if not surpassed, in the West Indies.

Such a book is much needed. There has been in this country a backwardness, almost an unwillingness, to believe good reports from the West Indies. Not a few have desired to hear evil, and have propagated so industriously every fiction or exaggeration unfavorable to freedom, that the honest and benevolent have been misled. The general state of mind among us in regard to West Indian emancipation has been disheartening. So deadly a poison has Southern slavery infused into the opinions and feelings of the North, especially in the larger cities, that few cordial wishes for the success of emancipation have met our ears. Stray rumors of the failure of the experiment in this or that island have been trumpeted through the country by the newspapers, and the easy faith of the multitude has been practised on till their sympathies with the oppressed have become blunted. I have myself seen the countenance of a man not wanting in general humanity brighten at accounts of the bad working of emancipation. In such a state of feeling and opinion, a book like Mr. Gurney's is invaluable. The truth is told simply, kindly; and, though it may receive little aid from our newspapers, must find its way into the hands of many honest readers. I offer a few extracts, not to take the place of the book, but in the hope of drawing to it more general attention. So various and interesting are the details, and so suited to the various prejudices and misapprehensions common in our country, that my only difficulty is to make a selection, — to know where to stop. He first visited Tortola: —

"We could not but feel an intense interest in making our first visit to a British island peopled with emancipated negroes. Out of a population of nearly five thousand, there are scarcely more than two hundred white persons; but we heard of no inconveniences arising from this disparity. We had letters to Dr. Dyott, the stipendiary magistrate, and to some of the principal planters, who greeted us with a warm welcome, and soon relieved us from our very natural anxiety by assuring us that freedom was working well in Tortola. One of our first visits was to a school for black children, under the care of Alexander Bott, the pious minister of the parish church. It was in good order, — the children answered our questions well. We then proceeded to the jail; in which, if my memory serves me right, we found only one prisoner, with the jailer and the judge! Our kind friend, Francis Spencer Wigley, the chief justice of the British Virgin Islands, happened to be there, and cheered us with the information that crime had vastly decreased since the period of full emancipation." — *p.* 25.

His next visit was to St. Christopher's: —

"I mounted one of the governor's horses, and enjoyed a solitary ride in the country. Although it was the seventh day of the week, usually applied by the emancipated laborers to their private purposes, I observed many of them diligently at work on the cane grounds, cutting the canes for the mill. Their aspect was that of physical vigor and cheerful contentment, and all my questions, as I passed along, were answered satisfactorily. On my way I ventured to call at one of the estates, and found it was the home of Robert Claxton, the solicitor-general of the colony, a gentleman of great intelligence and respectability. He was kind enough to impart a variety of useful and, in general, cheering information. One fact mentioned by him spoke volumes

Speaking of a small property on the island belonging to himself, he said, 'Six years ago (that is, shortly before the Act of Emancipation) it was worth only £2,000, with the slaves upon it. Now, without a single slave, it is worth three times the money. I would not sell it for £6,000.' This remarkable rise in the value of property is by no means confined to particular estates. I was assured that, as compared with those times of depression and alarm which preceded the Act of Emancipation, it is at once general and very considerable. I asked the President Crook, and some other persons, whether there was a single individual on the island who wished for the restoration of slavery. Answer, 'Certainly not one,'" —*p.* 34.

"'They will do an *infinity* of work,' said one of my informants, '*for wages*.'

"This state of things is accompanied by a vast increase in their own comforts. Our friend Cadman, the Methodist minister, was on this station during slavery, in the year 1826. He has now returned to it under freedom. 'The change for the better,' he observed, 'in the dress, demeanor, and welfare of the people, is *prodigious*.' The imports are vastly increased. The duties on them were £1,000 more in 1838 than in 1837; and in 1839, double those of 1838, within £150. This surprising increase is owing to the demand on the part of the free laborers for imported goods, especially for articles of dress. The difficulty experienced by the gentry living in the town in procuring fowls, eggs, &c., from the negroes is considerably increased. The reason is well known, — the laborers make use of them for home consumption. Marriage is now become frequent amongst them, and a profusion of eggs is expended on their wedding-cakes! Doubtless they will soon learn to exchange these freaks of luxury for the gradual acquisition of wealth." — *p.* 36.

He next visited Antigua: —

"Our company was now joined by Nathaniel Gilbert, an evangelical clergyman of the Church of England, and a large proprietor and planter on the island. Both he and Sir William [the governor] amply confirmed our previous favorable impressions respecting the state of the colony. On my inquiring of them respecting the value of landed property, their joint answer was clear and decided. 'At the lowest computation, the land, without a single slave upon it, is fully as valuable now as it was, including all the slaves, before emancipation.' In other words, the value of the slaves is already transferred to the land. Satisfactory as is this computation, I have every reason to believe that it is much below the mark. With respect to real property in the town of St. John's, it has risen in value with still greater rapidity. A large number of new stores have been opened; new houses are built or building; the streets have been cleared and improved; trade is greatly on the increase; and the whole place wears the appearance of progressive wealth and prosperity." —*p.* 43.

"Extensive inquiry has led us to the conviction that, on most of the properties of Antigua, and, in general, throughout the West Indies, one-third only of the slaves were operative. What with childhood, age, infirmity, sickness, *sham* sickness, and other causes, full two-thirds of the negro population might be regarded as dead weight. The pecuniary saving, on many of the estates in Antigua, by the change of slave for free labor, is, at least, *thirty per cent.*" —*pp.* 45, 46.

"We had appointed a meeting at a country village called Parham. It was a morning of violent rain; but about two hundred negroes braved the weather, and united with us in public worship. It is said that they are less willing to come out to their places of worship *in the rain* than was the case formerly. The reason is curious. They now have *shoes and stockings*, which they are unwilling to expose to the mud." —*p.* 47.

"It is a cheering circumstance, of no small importance, that there are no less, as we were told, than *seven thousand scholars* in the various charity schools of Antigua. In all these schools the Bible is read and taught. Who can doubt the beneficial moral effect of these extensive efforts?" — *p.* 48.

"The vicar of St. John's, during the last seven years of slavery, married only one hundred and ten pairs of negroes. In the single year of freedom, 1839, the number of pairs married by him was 185.

"With respect to crime, it has been rapidly diminishing during the last few years. The numbers committed to the house of correction in 1837 — chiefly for petty offences, formerly punished on the estates — were 850; in 1838, only 244; in 1839, 311. The number left in the prison at the close of 1837 was 147; at the close of 1839, only 35.

"Nor can it be doubted that the personal comforts of the laborers have been in the mean time vastly increased. The duties on imports in 1833 (the last year of slavery) were £13,576; in 1839 they were £24,650. This augmentation has been occasioned by the importation of dry goods and other articles, for which a demand, entirely new, has arisen among the laboring population. The quantity of bread and meat used as

food by the laborers is surprisingly increased. Their wedding-cakes and dinners are extravagant, even to the point, at times, of drinking champagne!

"In connection with every congregation in the island, whether of the Church of England or among the Dissenters, has been formed a friendly society. The laborers subscribe their weekly pittances to these institutions, and draw out comfortable supplies, in case of sickness, old age, burials, and other exigencies. Thus is the negro gradually trained to the habits of prudence and foresight."—*pp.* 48, 49.

"A female proprietor who had become embarrassed was advised to sell off part of her property in small lots. The experiment answered her warmest expectations. The laborers in the neighborhood bought up all the little freeholds with extreme eagerness, made their payments faithfully, and lost no time in settling on the spots which they had purchased. They soon framed their houses, and brought their gardens into useful cultivation with yams, bananas, plantains, pine-apples, and other fruits and vegetables, including plots of sugar-cane. In this way Augusta and Liberta sprang up as if by magic. I visited several of the cottages, in company with the rector of the parish, and was surprised by the excellence of the buildings, as well as by the neat furniture and cleanly little articles of daily use which we found within. It was a scene of contentment and happiness; and I may certainly add, of industry; for these little freeholders occupied only their leisure hours in working on their own grounds. They were also earning wages as laborers on the neighboring estates, or working at English Harbor as mechanics."—*pp.* 49, 50.

"We were now placed in possession of clear documentary evidence respecting the staple produce of the island. The average exports of the last five years of slavery (1829 to 1833, inclusive) were: sugar, 12,189 hogsheads; molasses, 3,308 puncheons; and rum, 2,468 puncheons. Those of the first five years of freedom (1834 to 1838, inclusive) were: sugar, 13,545 hogsheads; molasses, 8,308 puncheons; and rum, 1,109 puncheons; showing an excess of 1,356 hogsheads of sugar, and of 5,000 puncheons of molasses; and a diminution of 1,359 puncheons of rum. This comparison is surely a triumphant one; not only does it demonstrate the advantage derived from free labor during a course of five years, but affords a proof that many of the planters of Antigua have ceased to convert their molasses into rum. It ought to be observed that these five years of freedom included two of drought, one very calamitous. The statement for 1839 forms an admirable climax to this account. It is as follows: sugar, 22,383 hogsheads (10,000 beyond the last average of slavery); 13,433 puncheons of molasses (also 10,000 beyond that average); and only 582 puncheons of rum! That, in the sixth year of freedom, after the fair trial of five years, the exports of sugar from Antigua almost doubled the average of the last five years of slavery, is a fact which precludes the necessity of all other evidence. By what hands was this vast crop raised and realized? By the hands of that lazy and impracticable race (as they have often been described), the negroes. And under what stimulus has the work been effected? Solely under that of moderate wages."—*p.* 53.

He next visited Dominica, of which he gives equally favorable accounts; but I hasten to make a few extracts from his notices of Jamaica, the island from which the most unfavorable reports have come, and in which the unwise and unkind measures of the proprietors, particularly in regard to rents, have done much to counteract the good influences of emancipation:—

"We were glad to observe that the day [Sunday] was remarkably well observed at Kingston,—just as it is in many of the cities of your highly favored Union. A wonderful scene we witnessed that morning in Samuel Oughton's Baptist Chapel, which we attended without having communicated to the people any previous notice of our coming. The minister was so obliging as to make way for us on the occasion, and to invite us to hold our meeting with his flock after the manner of Friends. Such a flock we had not before seen, consisting of nearly three thousand black people, chiefly emancipated slaves, attired, after their favorite custom, in neat white raiment, and most respectable and orderly in their demeanor and appearance. They sat in silence with us, in an exemplary manner, and appeared both to understand and appreciate the doctrines of divine truth preached on the occasion. The congregation is greatly increased, both in numbers and respectability, since the date of full freedom. They pour in from the country, partly on foot, and partly on mules or horses of their own. They now entirely support the mission, and are enlarging their chapel at the expense of £1,000 sterling. Their subscriptions to this and other collateral objects are at once voluntary and very liberal. 'I have brought my mite for the chapel,' said a black woman, once a slave, to S. Oughton, a day or two before our meeting; 'I am sorry it is no more;'

she then put into his hand two pieces of gold amounting to five dollars."—*pp.* 74, 75.

"Here it may be well to notice the fact, that the great majority of estates in Jamaica belong to absentee proprietors, who reside in England. In Jamaica, they are placed under the care of some attorney, or representative of the owner; one attorney often undertaking the care of numerous estates. Under the attorney is the overseer, on each particular property, on whom the management almost exclusively devolves. This state of things is extremely unfavorable to the welfare of Jamaica. If the proprietors cannot give their personal attention to their estates, it would certainly be a better plan to lease them to eligible tenants on the spot, — a practice which has of late years been adopted in many instances. It is only surprising that estates, never visited by the proprietor, and seldom by the attorney, but left to the care of inexperienced young men, often of immoral character, should prosper at all. Nor would they prosper, even as they now do, but for two causes; first, the exuberant bounty of nature, and secondly, the orderly, inoffensive conduct and patient industry of the negro race." —*p.* 85.

"The rapid diffusion of marriage among the negroes, and the increase of it even among the white inhabitants in Jamaica, is one of the happiest results of freedom. We were assured, on good authority, that four times as many marriages took place last year in Jamaica as in an equal population, on an average, in England, — a fact which proves not only that numerous new connections are formed, but also that multitudes who were formerly living as man and wife without the right sanction are now convinced of the sinfulness of the practice, and are availing themselves with eagerness of the marriage covenant. It appears that upwards of sixteen hundred negro couples were married in the Baptist churches alone during the year 1839." —*p.* 86.

"In the parish (or *county*) of St. Mary, rent and wages have been arranged quite independently of each other, and labor has been suffered to find its market without obstruction. The consequence is, that there have been no differences, and the people are working well. The quantity of work obtained from a freeman there is far beyond the old task of the slave. In the laborious occupation of holing, the emancipated negroes perform double the work of the slave in a day. In road-making, the day's task under slavery was to break four barrels of stone. *Now*, by task-work, a weak hand will fill eight barrels, a strong one from ten to twelve." —*p.* 89.

"At the Baptist station at Sligoville we spent several hours. It is located on a lofty hill, and is surrounded by fifty acres of fertile mountain land. This property is divided into one hundred and fifty freehold lots, fifty of which had been already sold to the emancipated laborers, and had proved a timely refuge for many laborers who had been driven by hard usage from their former homes. Some of them had built good cottages; others, temporary huts; and others, again, were preparing the ground for building. Their gardens were cleared, or in process of clearing, and in many cases already brought into fine cultivation. Not a hoe, I believe, had ever been driven into that land before. *Now*, a village had risen up, with every promise of comfort and prosperity, and the land was likely to produce a vast abundance of nutritious food. The people settled there were all married pairs, mostly with families, and the men employed the bulk of their time in working for wages on the neighboring estates. The chapel and the school were immediately at hand, and the religious character of the people stood high. Never did I witness a scene of greater industry, or one more marked by contentment for the present and hope for the future. How instructive to remember that two years ago this peaceful village had no existence!" —*p.* 90.

"On our return home we visited two neighboring estates, of about equal size (I believe) and equal fertility; both among the finest properties, for natural and local advantages, which I anywhere saw in Jamaica. One was in difficulty; the other all prosperity. The first was the estate already alluded to, which had been deprived of so many hands by vain attempts to compel the labor of freemen. There, if I am not mistaken, I *saw*, as we passed by, the clear marks of that violence by which the people had been expelled. The second, called 'Dawkin's Caymanas,' was under the enlightened attorneyship of Judge Bernard, who, with his lady, and the respectable overseer, met us on the spot. On this property the laborers were independent tenants. Their rent was settled according to the money value of the tenements which they occupied, and they were allowed to take their labor to the best market they could find. As a matter of course, they took it to the *home* market; and excellently were they working on the property of their old master. The attorney, the overseer, and the laborers, all seemed equally satisfied, equally at their ease. Here, then, was one property which would occasion a *bad report* of Jamaica; another which would as surely give rise to a *good report*. As it regards the properties themselves, both reports are true; and they are the respective results of two opposite modes of management.

"At Dawkin's Caymanas we had the pleasure of witnessing an interesting spectacle; for the laborers on the property, with their wives, sons, and daughters, were on that day met at a picnic dinner. The table, of vast length, was spread under a wattled building erected for the purpose, and at the convenient hour of six in the evening (after the day's work was finished) was loaded with all sorts of good fare, — soup, fish, fowls, pigs, and joints of meat, in abundance. About one hundred and fifty men and women of the African race, attired with the greatest neatness, were assembled, in much harmony and order, to partake of the feast; but no drink was provided stronger than water. It was a sober, substantial repast, — the festival of peace and freedom. This dinner was to have taken place on New-Year's day; but it so happened that a Baptist meeting-house in another part of the island had been destroyed by fire; and, at the suggestion of their minister, these honest people agreed to waive their dinner, and to subscribe their money, instead, to the rebuilding of the meeting-house. For this purpose they raised a noble sum (I believe considerably upwards of £100 sterling); and now, in the third month of the year, finding that matters were working well with them, they thought it well to indulge themselves with their social dinner. By an unanimous vote, they commissioned me to present a message of their affectionate regards to Thomas Clarkson and Thomas Fowell Buxton, the two men to whom, of all others, perhaps, they were the most indebted for their present enjoyment." — *pp.* 91, 92.

"After breakfast we drove to Kelly's, one of Lord Sligo's properties. We saw the people on this property busily engaged in the laborious occupation of holing, — a work for which ploughing is now pretty generally substituted in Jamaica. 'How are you all getting along?' said my companion, to a tall, bright-looking black man, busily engaged with his hoe. 'Right well, massa, right well,' he replied. 'I am from America,' said my friend, 'where there are many slaves; what shall I say to them from you? shall I tell them that freedom is working well here?' 'Yes, massa,' said he, 'much well under freedom, — thank God for it!' 'Much well' they were indeed doing, for they were earning a dollar for every hundred cane holes; a great effort, certainly, but one which many of them accomplished by four o'clock in the afternoon. 'How is this?' asked the same friend, as he felt the lumps or welts on the shoulder of another man. 'O, massa,' cried the negro, 'I was flogged when a slave, — no more whip now, — all free!'" — *p.* 96.

"The prosperity of the planters in Jamaica must not be measured by the mere amount of the produce of sugar or coffee as compared with the time of slavery. Even where produce is diminished, profit will be increased — if freedom be fairly tried — by the saving of expense. 'I had rather make sixty tierces of coffee,' said A. B., 'under freedom, than one hundred and twenty under slavery; such is the saving of expense that I make a better profit by it; *nevertheless, I mean to make one hundred and twenty, as before.*'" — *p.* 118.

"'Do you see that excellent new stone wall round the field below us?' said the young physician to me, as we stood at A.B.'s front door, surveying the delightful scenery 'That wall could scarcely have been built at all under slavery or the apprenticeship; the necessary labor could not then have been hired at less than £5 currency, or about $13 per chain. Under freedom it cost only from $3.50 to $4 per chain, — not one-third of the amount. Still more remarkable is the fact that the whole of it was built under the stimulus of job-work, by an invalid negro, who, during slavery, had been given up to total inaction.' This was the substance of our conversation. The information was afterwards fully confirmed by the proprietor. Such was the fresh blood infused into the veins of this decrepid person by the genial hand of freedom, that he had been redeemed from absolute uselessness, had executed a noble work, had greatly improved his master's property, and, finally, had realized for himself a handsome sum of money. This single fact is admirably and undeniably illustrative of the principles of the case; and for that purpose is as good as a thousand." — *p.* 119.

"I will take the present opportunity of offering to thy attention the account of exports from Jamaica (as exhibited in the return printed for the House of Assembly) for the last year of the apprenticeship, and the first of full freedom: —

	Hhds.
Sugar, for the year ending 9th month (Sept.) 30, 1838	53,825
Sugar, for the year ending 9th month (Sept.) 30, 1839	45,359
Apparent diminution . .	8,466

"This difference is much less considerable than many persons have been led to imagine; the real diminution, however, is still less; because there has lately taken place in Jamaica an increase in the size of the hogshead. Instead of the old measure, which contained 17 cwt., new ones have been introduced, containing from 20 to 22 cwt., — a change which, for several reasons, is an economical one for the planter. Allowing only five per cent for this change, the deficiency is reduced from 8,466 hogsheads to 5,775; and this amount is further lessened

by the fact that, in consequence of freedom, there is a vast addition to the consumption of sugar among the people of Jamaica itself, and therefore to the home sale.

"The account of coffee is not so favorable: —

	Cwt.
Coffee, for the year ending 9th month (Sept.) 30, 1838	117,313
Coffee, for the year ending 9th month (Sept.) 30, 1839	78,759
Diminution (about one-third)	38,554

"The coffee is a very uncertain crop, and the deficiency, on the comparison of these two years, is not greater, I believe, than has often occurred before. We are also to remember that, both in sugar and coffee, the profit to the planter may be increased by the saving of expense, even when the produce is diminished. Still, it must be allowed that some decrease has taken place on both the articles, in connection with the change of system. With regard to the year 1840, it is expected that coffee will, at least, maintain the last amount; but a further decrease on sugar is generally anticipated.

"Now, so far as this decrease of produce is connected with the change of system, it is obviously to be traced to a corresponding decrease in the quantity of labor. But here comes the critical question, — the real turning-point. To what is this decrease in the quantity of labor owing? I answer deliberately, but without reserve, '*Mainly* to causes which class under slavery, and not under freedom.' It is, for the most part, the result of those impolitic attempts to force the labor of freemen which have disgusted the peasantry, and have led to the desertion of many of the estates.

"It is a cheering circumstance that the amount of planting and other preparatory labor bestowed on the estates during the autumn of 1839 has been much greater, by all accounts, than in the autumn of 1838. This is itself the effect of an improved understanding between the planters and the peasants; and the result of it (if other circumstances be equal) cannot fail to be a considerable increase of produce in 1841. I am told, however, that there is one circumstance which may possibly prevent this result, as it regards sugar. It is, that the cultivation of it under the old system was forced on certain properties, which, from their situation and other circumstances, were wholly unfit for the purpose. These plantations afforded an income to the local agents, but to the proprietors were either unprofitable or losing concerns. On such properties, under those new circumstances which bring all things to their true level, the cultivation of sugar must cease.

"In the mean time the imports of the island are rapidly increasing; trade improving; the towns thriving; new villages rising in every direction; property much enhanced in value; well-managed estates productive and profitable; expenses of management diminished; short methods of labor adopted; provisions cultivated on a larger scale than ever; and the people, wherever they are properly treated, industrious, contented, and gradually accumulating wealth." — *pp.* 132–134.

"My narrative respecting the British West India Islands being now brought to a close, I will take the liberty of concentrating and recapitulating the principal points of the subject in a few distinct propositions: —

"1st. *The emancipated negroes are working well on the estates of their old masters.* — Nor does Jamaica, when duly inspected and fairly estimated, furnish any exception to the general result. We find that, in that island, wherever the negroes are *fairly*, *kindly*, and *wisely* treated, there they are working well on the properties of their old masters; and that the existing instances of a contrary description must be ascribed to causes which class under slavery, and not under freedom. Let it not, however, be imagined that the negroes who are not working on the estates of their old masters are, on that account, idle. Even these are, in general, busily employed in cultivating their own grounds, in various descriptions of handicraft, in lime-burning or fishing, — in benefiting themselves and the community, through some new but equally desirable medium. Besides all this, stone walls are built, new houses erected, pastures cleaned, ditches dug, meadows drained, roads made and macadamized, stores fitted up, villages formed, and other beneficial operations effected; the whole of which, before emancipation, it would have been a folly even to attempt. The old notion that the negro is by constitution a lazy creature, who will do no work at all except by compulsion, is now for ever exploded." — *pp.* 137, 138.

"2d. An increased quantity of work thrown upon the market is, of course, followed by the cheapening of labor." — *p.* 138.

"3d. *Real property has risen and is rising in value.* — I wish it, however, to be understood that the comparison is not here made with those olden times of slavery, when the soils of the islands were in their most prolific state, and the slaves themselves of a corresponding value; but with those days of depression and alarm which preceded the Act of Emancipation. All that I mean to assert is, that landed property in the British colonies has touched the bottom, has found that bottom solid, has already risen considerably, and is now on a steady,

ascending march towards the recovery of its highest value. One circumstance which greatly contributed to produce its depreciation was the cry of interested persons who wished to run it down; and the demand for it which has arisen among these very persons is now restoring it to its rightful value. Remember the old gentleman in Antigua, who is always complaining of the effects of freedom, and *always buying land.*" —*pp.* 139, 140.

"4th. The personal comforts of the laboring population, under freedom, are multiplied tenfold." —*p.* 140.

"5th. Lastly, the moral and religious improvement of this people, under freedom, is more than equal to the increase of their comforts. Under this head there are three points deserving, respectively, of a distinct place in our memories. First, the rapid increase and vast extent of elementary and Christian education, — schools for infants, young persons, and adults, multiplying in every direction. Secondly, the gradual, but decided, diminution of crime, amounting, in many country districts, almost to its extinction. Thirdly, the happy change of the general and almost universal practice of concubinage for the equally general adoption of marriage. 'Concubinage,' says Dr. Stewart, in his letter to me, 'the universal practice of the colored people, has wholly disappeared from amongst them. No young woman of color thinks of forming such connections now.' What is more, the improved morality of the blacks is reflecting itself on the white inhabitants; even the overseers are ceasing, one after another, from a sinful mode of life, and are forming reputable connections in marriage. But while these three points are confessedly of high importance, there is a *fourth* which at once embraces and outweighs them all, — I mean the diffusion of vital Christianity. I know that great apprehensions were entertained — especially in this country — lest, on the cessation of slavery, the negroes should break away at once from their masters and their ministers. But freedom has come, and while their masters have not been forsaken, their religious teachers have become dearer to them than ever. Under the banner of liberty, the churches and meeting-houses have been enlarged and multiplied, the attendance has become regular and devout, the congregations have in many cases been more than doubled; above all, the conversion of souls (as we have reason to believe) has been going on to an extent never before known in these colonies. In a religious point of view, as I have before hinted, the wilderness, in many places, has indeed begun to 'blossom as the rose.' 'Instead of the thorn' *has* 'come up the fir-tree, and instead of the brier' *has* 'come up the myrtle-tree, and it shall be to the Lord for a name; for an everlasting sign, that shall not be cut off.'" —*pp.* 141, 142.

I have now given a few extracts from Mr. Gurney's book. They need no comment. Indeed, nothing can be said to convince or move the reader, if these simple records of emancipation do not find their way to his heart. In the whole history of efforts for human happiness it is doubtful if another example can be found of so great a revolution accomplished with so few sacrifices and such immediate reward. Compare with this the American Revolution, which had for its end to shake off a yoke too light to be named by the side of domestic slavery. Through what fields of blood and years of suffering did we seek civil freedom, — a boon insignificant in comparison with freedom from an owner's grasp! It is the ordinary law of Providence, that great blessings shall be gained by great sacrifices, and that the most beneficial social changes shall bring immediate suffering. That near a million of human beings should pass in a day from the deepest degradation to the rights of freemen with so little agitation of the social system, is a fact so strange that we naturally suspect, at first, some tinging of the picture from the author's sympathies; and we are brought to full conviction only by the simplicity and minuteness of his details. For one, I should have rejoiced in emancipation as an unspeakable good, had the immediate results worn a much darker hue. I wanted only to know that social order was preserved, that the laws were respected, after emancipation. I felt that, were anarchy escaped, no evil worse than slavery could take its place. I had not forgotten the doctrine of our fathers, that human freedom is worth vast sacrifices, that it can hardly be bought at too great a price.

I proceed now to offer a few remarks on several topics suggested by Mr. Gurney's book; and I shall close by considering the duties which belong to individuals and to the free States in relation to slavery.

The first topic suggested by our author, and perhaps the most worthy of note, is his anxiety to show that emancipation has been accompanied with

little pecuniary loss, — that as a money-eyed speculation it is not to be condemned. He evidently supposes that he is writing for a people who will judge of this grand event in history by the standard of commercial profit or loss. In this view, his simple book tells more than a thousand satires against the spirit of our times. In speaking of West Indian emancipation, it has been common for men to say, We must wait for the facts! And what facts have they waited for? They have waited to know that the master, after fattening many years on oppression, had lost nothing by the triumph of justice and humanity; that the slave, on being freed, was to yield as large an income as before to his employer. This delicate sensibility to the rights of the wrong-doer, this concern for property, this unconcern for human nature, is a sign of the little progress made even here by free principles, and of men's ignorance of the great end of social union.

Every good man must protest against this mode of settling the question of emancipation. It seems to be taken for granted by not a few, that if, in consequence of this event, the crops have fallen off, or the number of coffee bags or sugar hogsheads is lessened, then emancipation is to be pronounced a failure, and the great act of freeing a people from the most odious bondage is to be set down as folly. At the North and the South this base doctrine has seized on the public mind. It runs through our presses, not excepting the more respectable. The bright promises of emancipation are too unimportant for our newspapers; but the fearful intelligence that this or that island has shipped fewer hogsheads of sugar than in the days of slavery, is thought worthy to be published far and wide; and emancipation is a curse, because the civilized world must pay a few cents more to bring tea or coffee to the due degree of sweetness. It passes for an "ultraism" of philanthropy to prize a million of human beings above as many pounds of sugar.

What is the great end of civilized society? Not coffee and sugar; not the greatest possible amount of mineral, vegetable, or animal productions; but the protection of the rights of all its members. The sacrifice of rights, especially of the dearest and most sacred, to increase of property, is one of the most flagrant crimes of the social state. That every man should have his due, not that a few proprietors should riot on the toil, sweat, and blood of the many, — this is the great design of the union of men into communities. Emancipation was not meant to increase the crops, but to restore to human beings their birthright, to give to every man the free use of his powers for his own and others' good.

That the production of sugar would be diminished for a time, in consequence of emancipation, was a thing to be expected, if not desired. It is in the sugar culture that the slaves in the West Indies have been and are most overworked. In Cuba, we are told by men who have given particular attention to that island, the mortality on the sugar estates is ten per cent. annually, so that a whole gang is used up, swept off, in ten years. Suppose emancipation introduced into Cuba. Would not the production of sugar be diminished? Ought not every man to desire the diminution? I do not say, that such atrocious cruelty was common in the British Islands. But it was in this department chiefly that the slaves were exposed to excessive toil. It was to be expected, then, that, when left free, they would prefer other modes of industry. Accordingly, whilst the sugar is diminished, the ordinary articles of subsistence have increased. Some of the slaves have become small farmers; and many more, who hire themselves as laborers, cultivate small patches of land on their own account. There is another important consideration. Before freedom, the women formed no inconsiderable part of the gangs who labored on the sugar crops. These are now very much, if not wholly, withdrawn. Is it a grief to a man, who has the spirit of a man, that woman's burdens are made lighter? Other causes of the diminution of the sugar crop may be found in Mr. Gurney's book; but these are enough to show us that this effect is due in part to the good working of emancipation, to a relief of the male and female slave, in which we ought to rejoice.

Before emancipation, I expected that the immediate result of the measure

would be more or less idleness, and consequently a diminution of produce. How natural was it to anticipate that men who had worked under the lash, and had looked on exemption from toil as the happiness of paradise, should surrender themselves more or less to sloth, on becoming their own masters! It is the curse of a bad system to unfit men, at first, for a better. That the paralyzing effect of slavery should continue after its extinction, that the slave should, at the first, produce less than before, — this, surely, is no matter of wonder. The wonder is — and it is a great one — that the slaves in the West Indies have, in their new condition, been so greatly influenced by the motives of freemen; that the spirit of industry has so far survived the system of compulsion under which they had been trained; that ideas of a better mode of living have taken so strong a hold on their minds; that so many refined tastes and wants have been so soon developed. Here is the wonder; and all this shows, what we have often heard, that the negro is more susceptible of civilization from abroad than any other race of men. That some, perhaps many, of the slaves have worked too little is not to be denied; nor can we blame them much for it. All of us, I suspect, under like circumstances, would turn our first freedom into a holiday. Besides, when we think that they have been sweating and bleeding to nourish in all manner of luxury a few indolent proprietors, they do not seem very inexcusable for a short emulation of their superiors. The negro sleeping all day under the shade of the palm-tree, ought not to offend our moral sense much more than the "owner" stretched on his ottoman or sofa. What ought to astonish us is the limitation, not the existence, of the evil.

It is to be desired that those among us who groan over emancipation because the staples of the Islands are diminished, should be made to wear for a few months the yoke of slavery, so as to judge experimentally whether freedom is worth or not a few hogsheads of sugar. If, knowing what this yoke is, they are willing that others should bear it, they deserve themselves, above all others, to be crushed by it. Slavery is the greatest of wrongs, the most intolerable of all the forms of oppression. We of this country thought that to be robbed of political liberty was an injury not to be endured, and, as a people, were ready to shed our blood like water to avert it. But political liberty is of no worth compared with *personal;* and slavery robs men of the latter. Under the despotism of modern Europe, the people, though deprived of political freedom, enjoy codes of laws constructed with great care, the fruits of the wisdom of ages, which recognize the sacredness of the rights of person and property, and under which those rights are essentially secure. A subject of these despotisms may still be a man, may better his condition, may enrich his intellect, may fill the earth with his fame. He enjoys essentially *personal* freedom, and through this accomplishes the great ends of his being. To be stripped of this blessing, to be owned by a fellow-creature, to hold our limbs and faculties as another's property, to be subject every moment to another's will, to stand in awe of another's lash, to have our whole energies chained to never-varying tasks for another's luxury, to hold wife and children at another's pleasure, — what wrong can be compared with this? This is such an insult on human nature, such an impiety towards the common Father, that the whole earth should send up one cry of reprobation against it; and yet we are told this outrage must continue, lest the market of the civilized world should be deprived of some hogsheads of sugar.

It is hard to weigh human rights against each other; they are all sacred and invaluable. But there is no one which nature, instinct makes so dear to us as the right of action, of free motion; the right of exerting, and by exertion enlarging, our faculties of body and mind; the right of forming plans, of directing our powers according to our convictions of interest and duty: the right of putting forth our energies from a spring in our own breasts. Self-motion, this is what our nature hungers and thirsts for as its true element and life. In truth, every thing that lives — the bird, the insect — craves and delights in freedom of action; and much more must this be the instinct of a rational, moral creature of God, who can attain by such freedom alone to the proper strength and enjoyment of his nature. The

rights of property or reputation are poor compared with this. Of what worth would be the products of the universe to a man forbidden to use his limbs, or shut up in a prison? To be deprived of that freedom of action which consists with others' freedom; to be forbidden to exert our faculties for our own good; to be cut off from enterprise; to have a narrow circle drawn round us, and to be kept within it by a spy and a lash; to meet an iron barrier in another's selfish will, let impulse or desire turn where it may; to be systematically denied the means of cultivating the powers which distinguish us from the brute; — this is to be wounded not only in the dearest earthly interests, but in the very life of the soul. Our humanity pines and dies, rather than lives, in this unnatural restraint. Now, it is the very essence of slavery to prostrate this right of action, of self-motion, not indirectly, or uncertainly, but immediately and without disguise; and is this right to be weighed in the scales against sugar and coffee; and are eight hundred thousand human beings to be robbed of it to increase the luxuries of the world?

What matters it that the staples of the West Indies are diminished? Do the people there starve? Are they driven by want to robbery? Has the negro passed from the hands of the overseer into those of the hangman? We learn from Mr. Gurney that the prophecies of ruin to the West Indies are fulfilled chiefly in regard to the prisons. These are in some places falling to decay, and everywhere have fewer inmates. And what makes this result more striking is, that, since emancipation, many offences, formerly punished summarily by the master on the plantation, now fall under the cognizance of the magistrate, and are, of course, punishable by imprisonment. Do the freed slaves want clothing? Do rags form the standard of emancipation? We hear not only of decent apparel, but are told that negro vanity, hardly surpassed by that of the white dandy, suffers nothing for want of decoration or fashionable attire. There is not a sign that the people fare the worse for freedom. Enough is produced to give subsistence to an improved and cheerful population; and what more can we desire? In our sympathy with the rich proprietor, shall we complain of a change which has secured to every man his rights, and to thousands, once trodden under foot, the comforts of life and the means of intellectual and moral progress? Is it nothing that the old, unfurnished hut of the slave is in many spots giving place to the comfortable cottage? Is it nothing that in these cottages marriage is an indissoluble tie? that the mother presses her child to her heart as indeed her own? Is it nothing that churches are springing up, not from the donations of the opulent, but from the hard earnings of the religious poor? What if a few owners of sugar estates export less than formerly? Are the many always to be sacrificed to the few? Suppose the luxuries of the splendid mansion to be retrenched. Is it no compensation that the comforts of the laborer's hut are increased? Emancipation was resisted on the ground that the slave, if restored to his rights, would fall into idleness and vagrancy, and even relapse into barbarism. But the emancipated negro discovers no indifference to the comforts of civilized life. He has wants various enough to keep him in action. His standard of living has risen. He desires a better lodging, dress, and food. He has begun, too, to thirst for accumulation. As Mr. Gurney says, "He understands his interest as well as a Yankee." He is more likely to fall into the civilized man's cupidity than into the sloth and filth of a savage. Is it an offset for all these benefits, that the custom-house reports a diminution of the staples of slavery?

What a country most needs is, not an increase of its exports, but the well-being of all classes of its population, and especially of the most numerous class; and these things are not one and the same. It is a striking fact, that, while the exports of the emancipated islands have decreased, the imports are greater than before. In Jamaica, during slavery, the industry of the laborers was given chiefly to a staple which was sent to absentee proprietors, who expended the proceeds very much in a luxurious life in England. At present not a little of this industry is employed on articles of subsistence and comfort for the working class and their families; and, at the same time, such an amount of labor is sold by this class to the planter, and so fast are

they acquiring a taste for better modes of living, that they need and can pay for great imports from the mother country. Surely, when we see the fruits of industry diffusing themselves more and more through the mass of a community, finding their way to the very hovel, and raising the multitude of men to new civilization and self-respect, we cannot grieve much, even though it should appear that, on the whole, the amount of exports or even of products is decreased. It is not the quantity, but the distribution, the use of products, which determines the prosperity of a state. For example, were the grain which is now grown among us for distillation annually destroyed by fire, or were every ship freighted with distilled liquors to sink on approaching our shores, so that the crew might be saved, how immensely would the happiness, honor, and real strength of the country be increased by the loss, even were this not to be replaced, as it soon would be, by the springing up of a new, virtuous industry, now excluded by intemperance! So, were the labor and capital now spent on the importation of pernicious luxuries to be employed in the intellectual, moral, and religious culture of the whole people, how immense would be the gain in every respect, though for a short time material products were diminished! A better age will look back with wonder and scorn on the misdirected industry of the present times. The only sure sign of public prosperity is, that the mass of the people are steadily multiplying the comforts of life and the means of improvement; and where this takes place, we need not trouble ourselves about exports or products.

I am not very anxious to repel the charge against emancipation of diminishing the industry of the Islands, though it has been much exaggerated. Allow that the freed slaves work less. Has man nothing to do but work? Are not too many here overworked? If a people can live with comfort on less toil, are they not to be envied rather than condemned? What a happiness would it be, if we here, by a new wisdom, a new temperance, and a new spirit of brotherly love, could cease to be the care-worn drudges which so many in all classes are, and could give a greater portion of life to thought, to refined social intercourse, to the enjoyment of the beauty which God spreads over the universe, to works of genius and art, to communion with our Creator! Labor connected with and aiding such a life would be noble. How much of it is thrown away on poor, superficial, degrading gratifications!

We hear the condition of Hayti deplored because the people are so idle and produce so little for exportation. Many look back to the period when a few planters drove thousands of slaves to the cane-field and sugar-mill in order to enrich themselves and to secure to their families the luxurious ease so coveted in tropical climes, and they sigh over the change which has taken place. I look on the change with very different feelings. The negroes in that luxuriant island have increased to above a million. By slight toil they obtain the comforts of life. Their homes are sacred; their little property in a good degree secure. They live together peaceably. So little inclined are they to violence, that the large amounts of specie paid by the government to France, as the price of independence, have been transported through the country on horseback with comparatively no defence, and with a safety which no one would be mad enough to expect under such circumstances in what are called civilized lands. It is true, their enjoyments are animal in a great degree. They live much like neglected children, making little or no progress, making life one long day of unprofitable ease. I should rejoice to raise them from children into men. But when I contrast this tranquil, unoffending life with the horrors of a slave plantation, it seems to me a paradise. What matters it that they send next to no coffee or sugar to Europe? How much better that they should stretch themselves in the heat of the day under their gracefully waving groves, than sweat and bleed under an overseer for others' selfish ease! Hayti has one curse, and that is, not freedom, but tyranny. Her president for life is a despot, under a less ominous name. Her government, indifferent or hostile to the improvement of the people, is sustained by a standing army, which undoubtedly is an instrument of oppression. But in so simple a form of society despotism is not that organized robbery

which has flourished in the civilized world. Undoubtedly in this rude state of things the laws are often unwise, partial, and ill administered. I have no taste for this childish condition of society. Still, I turn with pleasure from slavery to the thought of a million of fellow-beings, little instructed indeed, but enjoying ease and comfort under that beautiful sky and on the bosom of that exhaustless soil. In one respect Hayti is infinitely advantaged by her change of condition. Under slavery her colored population — that is, the mass of her inhabitants — had no chance of rising, could make no progress in intelligence and in the arts and refinements of life They were doomed to perpetual degradation. Under freedom their improvement is possible. They are placed within the reach of meliorating influences. Their intercourse with other nations, and the opportunities afforded to many among them of bettering their condition, furnish various means and incitements to progress. If the Catholic church, which is rendering at this moment immense aid to civilization and pure morals in Ireland, were to enter in earnest on the work of enlightening and regenerating Hayti, or if (what I should greatly prefer) any other church could have free access to the people, this island might in a short time become an important accession to the Christian and civilized world, and the dark cloud which hangs over the first years of her freedom would vanish before the brightness of her later history.

My maxim is, "Any thing but slavery! Poverty sooner than slavery!" Suppose that we of this good city of Boston were summoned to choose between living on bread and water and such a state of things as existed in the West Indies. Suppose that the present wealth of our metropolis could be continued only on the condition that five thousand out of our eighty thousand inhabitants should live as princes, and the rest of us be reduced to slavery to sustain the luxury of our masters. Should we not all cry out, Give us the bread and water? Would we not rather see our fair city levelled to the earth, and choose to work out slowly for ourselves and our children a better lot, than stoop our necks to the yoke? So we all feel when the case is brought home to ourselves. What should we say to the man who should strive to terrify us, by prophecies of diminished products and exports, into the substitution of bondage for the character of freemen?

In the preceding remarks I have insisted that emancipation is not to be treated as a question of profit and loss, that its merits are not to be settled by its influence on the master's gains. Mr. Gurney, however, maintains that the master has nothing to fear, that real estate has risen, that free labor costs less than that of the slave. All this is good news, and should be spread through the land; for men are especially inclined to be just when they can serve themselves by justice. But emancipation rests on higher ground than the master's accumulation, even on the rights and essential interests of the slave. And let these be held sacred, though the luxury of the master be retrenched.

2. I have now finished my remarks on a topic which was always present to the mind of our author, — the alleged decrease of industry and exports since emancipation. The next topic to which I shall turn is his notice of slavery in Cuba. He only touched at this island, but evidently received the same sad impression which we receive from those who have had longer time for observation. He says: —

"Of one feature in the slave-trade and slavery of Cuba I had no knowledge until I was on the spot. The importation consists almost entirely of *men*, and we were informed that on many of the estates not a single female is to be found. Natural increase is disregarded. The Cubans import the stronger animals, like bullocks, work them up, and then seek a fresh supply. This, surely, is a system of most unnatural barbarity." — *p.* 160.

This barbarity is believed to be unparalleled. The young African, torn from home and his native shore, is brought to a plantation where he is never to know a home. All the relations of domestic life are systematically denied him. Woman's countenance he is not to look upon. The child's voice he is no more to hear. His owner finds it more gainful to import than to breed slaves; and, still more, has made the sad discovery, that it is cheaper to "work up" the servile laborer in his youth, and to replace him by a new victim, than to let him grow old in moderate toil. I

have been told by some of the most recent travellers in Cuba, who gave particular attention to the subject,* that in the sugar-making season the slaves are generally allowed but four out of the twenty-four hours for sleep. From these, too, I learned that a gang of slaves is used up in ten years. Of the young men imported from Africa, one out of ten dies yearly. To supply this enormous waste of life, above twenty-five thousand slaves are imported annually from Africa,† in vessels so crowded that sometimes one quarter, sometimes one half, of the wretched creatures perish in agony before reaching land. It is to be feared that Cuban slavery, traced from the moment when the African touches the deck to the happier moment when he finds his grave on the ocean or the plantation, includes an amount of crime and misery not to be paralleled in any portion of the globe, civilized or savage. And there are more reasons than one why I would bring this horrid picture before the minds of my countrymen. We, we, do much to sustain this system of horror and blood. The Cuban slave-trade is carried on in vessels built especially for this use in American ports. These vessels often sail under the American flag, and are aided by American merchantmen, and, as is feared, by American capital. And this is not all. The sugar, in producing which so many of our fellow-creatures perish miserably, is shipped in great quantities to this country. We are the customers who stimulate by our demands this infernal cruelty. And, knowing this, shall we become accessories to the murder of our brethren by continuing to use the fruit of the hard-wrung toil which destroys them? The sugar of Cuba comes to us drenched with human blood. So we ought to see it, and to turn from it with loathing. The guilt which produces it ought to be put down by the spontaneous, instinctive horror of the civilized world.

There is another fact worthy attention. It is said that most of the plantations in Cuba which have been recently brought under cultivation belong to Americans, that the number of American slave-holders is increasing rapidly on the island, and, consequently, that the importation of human cargoes from Africa finds much of its encouragement from the citizens of our republic. It is not easy to speak in measured terms of this enormity. For men born and brought up amidst slavery many apologies may be made. But men born beyond the sound of the lash, brought up where human rights are held sacred, who, in face of all the light thrown now on slavery, can still deal in human flesh, can become customers of the "felon" who tears the African from his native shore, and can with open eyes inflict this deepest wrong for gain, and gain alone, — such "have no cloak for their sin." Men so hard of heart, so steeled against the reproofs of conscience, so intent on thriving, though it be by the most cruel wrongs, are not to be touched by human expostulation and rebuke. But if any should tremble before Almighty justice, ought not *they?*

There is another reason for dwelling on this topic. It teaches us the little reliance to be placed on the impressions respecting slavery brought home by superficial observers. We have seen what slavery is in Cuba; and yet men of high character from this country, who have visited that island, have returned to tell us of the mildness of the system. Men who would cut off their right hand sooner than withdraw the sympathy of others from human suffering have virtually done so by their representation of the kindly working of slavery on the very spot where it exists with peculiar horrors. They have visited some favored plantation, been treated with hospitality, seen no tortures, heard no shrieks, and then come home to reprove those who set forth indignantly the wrongs of the slave. And what is true with regard to the visitors of the West Indies applies to those who visit our Southern States. Having witnessed slavery in the families of some of the most enlightened and

* My accounts from Cuba have been received from Dr. Madden, and David Turnbull, Esq.; the former, one of the British commissioners resident at Havana to enforce the treaty with Spain in relation to the slave trade; the latter, a gentleman who visited Cuba chiefly, if not solely, to inquire into slavery. Mr. Turnbull's account of Cuba, in his "Travels in the West," deserves to be read. The reports of such men, confirmed in a very important particular by Mr. Gurney, have an authority which obliges me to speak as I have done of the slave system of this island. If, indeed (what is most unlikely), they have fallen into errors on the subject, these can easily be exposed, and I shall rejoice in being the means of bringing out the truth.

† There are different estimates of the number, some making it much greater than the text.

refined inhabitants, they return to speak of it as no very fearful thing. Had they inquired about the state of society through the whole country, and learned that more than one-fourth of the inhabitants cannot write their own names, they would have forborne to make a few selected families the representatives of the community, and might have believed in the possibility of some of the horrid details recorded in "Slavery as it is." For myself, I do not think it worth my while to inquire into the merits of slavery in this or that region. It is enough for me to know that one human being holds other human beings as his property, subject to his arbitrary and irresponsible will, and compels them to toil for his luxury and ease. I know enough of men to know what the workings of such a system on a large scale must be; and I hold my understanding insulted when men talk to me of its humanity. If there be one truth of history taught more plainly than any other, it is the tendency of human nature to abuse power. To protect ourselves against power, to keep this in perpetual check, by dividing it among many hands, by limiting its duration, by defining its action with sharp lines, by watching it jealously, by holding it responsible for abuses, this is the grand aim and benefit of the social institutions which are our chief boast. Arbitrary, unchecked power is the evil against which all experience cries out so loudly that apologies for it may be dismissed without a hearing. But admit the plea of its apologists. Allow slavery to be ever so humane. Grant that the man who owns me is ever so kind. The wrong of him who presumes to talk of owning me is too unmeasured to be softened by kindness. There are wrongs which can be redeemed by no kindness. Because a man treads on me with velvet foot, must I be content to grovel in the earth? Because he gives me meat as well as bread, whilst he takes my child and sells it into a land where my chained limbs cannot follow, must I thank him for his kindness? I do not envy those who think slavery no very pitiable a lot, provided its nakedness be covered and its hunger regularly appeased.

It is worthy of consideration, that the slave's lot does not improve with the advance of what is called civilization, — that is, of trade and luxuries. Slavery is such a violation of nature, that it is an exception to the general law of progress. In rude states of society, when men's wants and employments are few, and trade and other means of gain hardly exist, the slave leads a comparatively easy life; he partakes of the general indolence. He lives in the family much as a member, and is oppressed by no great disparity of rank. But when society advances, and wants multiply, and the lust of gain springs up, and prices increase, the slave's lot grows harder. He is viewed more and more as a machine to be used for profit, and is tasked like the beast of burden. The distance between him and his master increases, and he has less and less of the spirit of a man. He may have better food; but it is that he may work the more. He may be whipped less passionately or frequently; but it is because the never-varying routine of toil and the more skilful discipline which civilization teaches have subdued him more completely. Thus to the slave it is no gain that the community grow richer and more luxurious. He has an interest in the return of society to barbarism, for in this case he would come nearer the general level. He would escape the peculiar ignominy and accumulated burdens which he has to bear in civilized life.

3. I pass to another topic suggested by Mr. Gurney's book. What is it, let me ask, which has freed the West India slave, and is now raising him to the dignity of a man? The answer is most cheering. The great emancipator has been Christianity. Policy, interest, state-craft, church-craft, the low motives which have originated other revolutions, have not worked here. From the times of Clarkson and Wilberforce down to the present day, the friends of the slave, who have pleaded his cause and broken his chains, have been Christians: and it is from Christ, the divine philanthropist, from the inspiration of his cross, that they have gathered faith, hope, and love, for the conflict. This illustration of the spirit and power of Christianity is a bright addition to the evidences of its truth. We have here the miracle of a great nation rising in its strength, not for conquest, not to assert its own rights, but to free and elevate the most despised

and injured race on earth; and as this stands alone in human history, so it recalls to us those wonderful works of mercy and power by which the divinity of our religion was at first confirmed.

It is with deep sorrow that I am compelled to turn to the contrast between religion in England and religion in America. There it vindicates the cause of the oppressed. Here it rivets the chain, and hardens the heart of the oppressor. At the South, what is the Christian ministry doing for the slave? Teaching the rightfulness of his yoke, joining in the cry against the men who plead for his freedom, giving the sanction of God's name to the greatest offence against his children. This is the saddest view presented by the conflict with slavery. The very men whose office it is to plead against all wrong, to enforce the obligation of impartial, inflexible justice, to breathe the spirit of universal brotherly love, to resist at all hazards the spirit and evil customs of the world, to live and to die under the banner of Christian truth, have enlisted under the standard of slavery. Had they merely declined to bring the subject into the church, on the ground of the presence of the slave, they would have been justified. Had they declined to discuss it through the press and in conversation, on the ground that the public mind was too furious to bear the truth, they would have been approved by multitudes; though it is wisest for the minister to resign his office, when it can be exercised only under menace and unrighteous restraint, and to go where with unsealed lips he may teach and enforce human duty in its full extent. But the ministers at the South have not been content with silence. The majority of them are understood to have given their support to slavery, to have thrown their weight into the scale of the master. That, in so doing, they have belied their clear convictions, that they have preached known falsehood, we do not say. Few ministers of Christ, we trust, can teach what their deliberate judgments condemn. But, in cases like the present, how common is it for the judgment to receive a shape and hue from self-interest, from private affection, from the tyranny of opinion, and the passions of the multitude! Few ministers, we trust, can sin against clear, steady light. But how common is it for the mind to waver and to be obscured in regard to scorned and persecuted truth! When we look beyond the bounds of slavery, we find the civilized and Christian world, with few exceptions, reprobating slavery, as at war with the precepts and spirit of Christ. But at the South his ministers sustain it, as consistent with justice, equity, and disinterested love. Can we help saying that the loud, menacing, popular voice has proved too strong for the servants of Christ?

We hoped better things than this, because the prevalent sects at the South are the Methodists and Baptists, and these were expected to be less tainted by a worldly spirit than other denominations in which luxury and fashion bear greater sway. But the Methodists, forgetful of their great founder, who cried aloud against slavery and spared not; and the Baptists, forgetful of the sainted name of Roger Williams, whose love of the despised Indian, and whose martyr spirit should have taught them fearless sympathy with the negro, have been found in the ranks of the foes of freedom. Indeed, their allegiance to slavery seems to know no bounds. A Baptist association at the South decreed that a slave, sold at a distance from his wife, might marry again in obedience to his master; and that he would even do wrong to disobey in this particular. Thus one of the plainest precepts of Christianity has been set at nought. Thus the poor slave is taught to renounce his wife, however dear, to rupture the most sacred social tie, that, like the other animals, he may keep up the stock of the estate. The General Methodist Conference, during this very year, have decreed that the testimony of a colored member of their churches should not be received against a white member who may be on trial before an ecclesiastical tribunal. Thus, in church affairs, a multitude of disciples of Jesus Christ, who have been received into Christian communion on the ground of their spiritual regeneration, who belong, as is believed, to the church on earth and in heaven, are put down by their brethren as incapable of recognizing the obligation of truth, of performing the most common duty of morality, and are denied a privilege conceded, in worldly affairs, to the most depraved. Thus the relig-

ion of the South heaps insult and injury on the slave.

And what have the Christians of the North done? We rejoice to say, that from these have gone forth not a few testimonies against slavery. Not a few ministers, in associations, conventions, presbyteries, or conferences, have declared the inconsistency of the system with the principles of Christianity and with the law of love. Still, the churches and congregations of the free States have, in the main, looked coldly on the subject, and discouraged, too effectually, the free expression of thought and feeling in regard to it by the religious teacher. Under that legislation of public opinion which, without courts or offices, sways more despotically than Czars or Sultans, the pulpit and the press have, in no small degree, been reduced to silence as to slavery, especially in cities, the chief seats of this invisible power. Some fervent spirits among us, seeing religion in this and other cases so ready to bend to worldly opinion, have been filled with indignation. They have spoken of Christianity as having no life here, as a beautiful corpse, laid out in much state, worshipped with costly homage, but worshipped very much as were the prophets whose tombs were so ostentatiously garnished in the times of the Saviour. But this is unjust. Christianity lives and acts among us. It imposes many salutary restraints. It inspires many good deeds. There are not a few in whom it puts forth a power worthy of its better days, and the number of such is growing. Let us not be ungrateful for what this religion is doing, nor shut our ears against the prophecies which the present gives of its future triumphs. Still, as a general rule, the Christianity of this day falls fearfully short of the Christianity of the immediate followers of our Lord. Then the meaning of a Christian was, that he took the cross and followed Christ, that he counted not his life dear to him in the service of God and man, that he trod the world under his feet. Now we ask leave of the world how far we shall follow Christ. What wrong or abuse is there, which the bulk of the people may think essential to their prosperity, and may defend with outcry and menace, before which the Christianity of this age will not bow? We need a new John, who, with the untamed and solemn energy of the wilderness, shall cry out among us, Repent! We need that the Crucified should speak to us with a more startling voice, "He that forsaketh not all things and followeth me cannot be my disciple." We need that the all-sacrificing, all-sympathizing spirit of Christianity should cease to bow to the spirit of the world. We need that, under a deep sense of want and woe, the church should cry out, "Thy kingdom come!" and with holy importunity should bring down new strength, and life, and love from heaven.

4. I pass to another topic suggested by Mr. Gurney's book. According to this and all the books written on the subject, emancipation has borne a singular testimony to the noble elements of the negro character. It may be doubted whether any other race would have borne this trial as well as they. Before the day of freedom came, the West Indies and this country foreboded fearful consequences from the sudden transition of such a multitude from bondage to liberty. Revenge, massacre, unbridled lust, were to usher in the grand festival of emancipation, which was to end in the breaking out of a new Pandemonium on earth. Instead of this, the holy day of liberty was welcomed by shouts and tears of gratitude. The liberated negroes did not hasten, as Saxon serfs in like circumstances might have done, to haunts of intoxication, but to the house of God. Their rude churches were thronged. Their joy found utterance in prayers and hymns. History contains no record more touching than the account of the religious, tender thankfulness which this vast boon awakened in the negro breast.* And what followed? Was this beautiful emotion an evanescent transport, soon to give way to ferocity and vengeance? It was natural for masters who had inflicted causeless stripes, and filled the cup of the slaves with bitterness, to fear their rage after liberation. But the overwhelming joy of freedom having subsided, they returned to labor. Not even a blow was struck in the excitement of that vast change. No violation of the peace required the interposition of the magistrate. The new relation was assumed easily, quietly, without an

* See note A at end of this article.

act of violence. And since that time, in the short space of two years, how much have they accomplished! Beautiful villages have grown up. Little freeholds have been purchased. The marriage tie has become sacred. The child is educated. Crime has diminished. There are islands where a greater proportion of the young are trained in schools than among the whites of the slave States. I ask, whether any other people on the face of the earth would have received and used the infinite blessing of liberty so well?

The history of West Indian emancipation teaches us that we are holding in bondage one of the best races of the human family. The negro is among the mildest, gentlest of men. He is singularly susceptible of improvement from abroad. His children, it is said, receive more rapidly than ours the elements of knowledge. How far he can originate improvements time only can teach. His nature is affectionate, easily touched; and hence he is more open to religious impression than the white man. The European race have manifested more courage, enterprise, invention; but in the dispositions which Christianity particularly honors, how inferior are they to the African! When I cast my eyes over our Southern region, the land of bowie-knives, Lynch law, and duels, of "chivalry," "honor," and revenge: and when I consider that Christianity is declared to be a spirit of charity, "which seeketh not its own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil, and endureth all things," and is also declared to be "the wisdom from above, which is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits;" can I hesitate in deciding to which of the races in that land Christianity is most adapted, and in which its noblest disciples are most likely to be reared? It may be said, indeed, of all the European nations, that they are distinguished by qualities opposed to the spirit of Christianity: and it is one of the most remarkable events of history, that the religion of Jesus should have struck root among them. As yet it has not subdued them. The "law of honor," the strongest of all laws in the European race, is, to this day, directly hostile to the character and word of Christ. The African carries within him, much more than we, the germs of a meek, long-suffering, loving virtue. A short residence among the negroes in the West Indies impressed me with their capacity of improvement. On all sides I heard of their religious tendencies, the noblest in human nature. I saw, too, on the plantation where I resided, a gracefulness and dignity of form and motion, rare in my own native New England. And this is the race which has been selected to be trodden down and confounded with the brutes! Undoubtedly the negroes are debased: for, were slavery not debasing, I should have little quarrel with it. But let not their degradation be alleged in proof of peculiar incapacity of moral elevation. They are given to theft; but there is no peculiar, aggravated guilt in stealing from those by whom they are robbed of all their rights and their very persons. They are given to falsehood; but this is the very effect produced by oppression on the Irish peasantry. They are undoubtedly sensual; and yet the African countenance seldom shows that coarse, brutal sensuality which is so common in the face of the white man. I should expect from the African race, if civilized, less energy, less courage, less intellectual originality, than in our race, but more amiableness, tranquillity, gentleness, and content. They might not rise to an equality in outward condition, but would probably be a much happier race. There is no reason for holding such a race in chains; they need no chain to make them harmless.*

In the remarks now made I have aimed only to express my sympathy with the wronged. As to the white population of the South, I have no intention to disparage it. I have no undue partiality to the North; for I believe that, were Northern men slaveholders, and satisfied that they could grow richer by slave than by free labor, not a few would retain their property in human flesh with as resolute and furious a grasp as their Southern brethren. In truth, until the cotton culture had intoxicated the minds of the South with golden dreams, that part of the country seemed less tainted by cupidity than our own. The character of that region is still a mixed one, impulsive, passionate, vindictive, sensual; but frank,

* See note B at end of this article.

courageous, self-relying, enthusiastic, and capable of great sacrifices for a friend. Could the withering influence of slavery be withdrawn, the Southern character, though less consistent, less based on principle, might be more attractive and lofty than that of the North. The South is fond of calling itself Anglo Saxon. Judging from character, I should say that this name belongs much more to the North, the country of steady, persevering, unconquerable energy. Our Southern brethren remind me more of the Normans. They seem to have in their veins the burning blood of that pirate race, who spread terror through Europe, who seized part of France as a prey, and then pounced on England; a conquering, chivalrous race, from which most of the noble families of England are said to be derived. There were certainly noble traits in the Norman character, such as its enthusiasm, its defiance of peril by sea and land, its force of will, its rude sense of honor. But the man of Norman spirit, or Norman blood, should never be a slave-holder. He is the last man to profit by this relation. His pride and fierce passions need restraint, not perpetual nourishment; whilst his indisposition to labor, his desire to live by others' toil, demands the stern pressure of necessity to rescue him from dishonorable sloth. Under kindlier influences he may take rank among the noblest of his race.

However, in looking at the South, the first thing which strikes my eyes is, not the Anglo-Saxon or the Norman, but the slave. I overlook the dwellings of the rich. My thoughts go to the comfortless hut of the negro. They go to the dark mass at work in the fields. That injured man is my brother, and ought not my sympathies to gather round him peculiarly? Talk not to me of the hospitality, comforts, luxuries of the planter's mansion. These are all the signs of a mighty wrong. My thoughts turn first to the slave. I would not, however, exaggerate his evils. He is not the most unhappy man on that soil. True, his powers are undeveloped; but therefore he is incapable of the guilt which others incur. He has, as we have seen, a generous nature, and his day of improvement, though long postponed, is to come. When I see by his side (and is the sight very rare?) the self-indulgent man who, from mere love of gain and ease, extorts his sweat, I think of the fearful words which the Saviour has put into the lips of the Hebrew patriarch in the unseen world, "Thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and Lazarus evil things; but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented." Distinctions founded on wrong endure but for a day. Could we now penetrate the future world, what startling revelations would be made to us! Before the all-seeing, impartial justice of God, we should see every badge of humiliation taken off from the fallen, crushed, and enslaved: and where, where would the selfish, unfeeling oppressor appear?

5. I shall advert but to one more topic suggested by Mr. Gurney's book; I refer to the kind and respectful manner in which he speaks of many slave-holders. He has no sympathy with those who set down this class of men indiscriminately as the chief of sinners, but speaks with satisfaction of examples of piety and virtue which he found in their number. By some among us this lenity will be ascribed to his desire to win for himself golden opinions; but he deserves no such censure. The opinion of slave-holders is of no moment to him; for he has left them for ever, and returns to his own country, where his testimony to their worth will find no sympathy, but expose him to suspicion, perhaps to reproach. Of the justice of his judgment I have no doubt. Among slave-holders there may be, and there are, good men. But the inferences from this judgment are often false and pernicious. There is a common disposition to connect the character of the slave-holder and the character of slavery. Many at the North, who by intercourse of business or friendship have come to appreciate the good qualities of individuals at the South, are led to the secret, if not uttered, inference, that a system sustained by such people can be no monstrous thing. They repel indignantly the invectives of the abolitionists against the master, and by a natural process go on to question or repel their denunciation of slavery. Here lies the secret of much of the want of just feeling in regard to this institution. People become reconciled to it in a measure by the virtues of its supporters. I will not reply to this error by insisting

that the virtues which grow up under slavery bear a small proportion to the vices which it feeds. I take a broader ground. I maintain that we can never argue safely from the character of a man to the system he upholds. It is a solemn truth, not yet understood as it should be, that the worst institutions may be sustained, the worst deeds performed, the most merciless cruelties inflicted, by the conscientious and the good. History teaches no truth more awful, and proofs of it crowd on us from the records of the earliest and latest times. Thus, the worship of the immoral deities of heathenism was sustained by the great men of antiquity. The bloodiest and most unrighteous wars have been instigated by patriots. For ages the Jews were thought to have forfeited the rights of men, as much as the African race at the South, and were insulted, spoiled, and slain, not by mobs, but by sovereigns and prelates, who really supposed themselves avengers of the crucified Saviour. Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, men of singular humanity, doomed Christians to death, surrendering their better feelings to what they thought the safety of the state. Few names in history are more illustrious than Isabella of Castile. She was the model, in most respects, of a noble woman. But Isabella outstripped her age in what she thought pious zeal against heretics. Having taken lessons in her wars against the Moors, and in the extermination of the Jews, she entered fully into the spirit of the Inquisition; and by her great moral power contributed more than any other sovereign to the extension of its fearful influence: and thus the horrible tortures and murders of that infernal institution, in her ill-fated country, lie very much at her door. Of all the causes which have contributed to the ruin of Spain, the gloomy, unrelenting spirit of religious bigotry has wrought most deeply; so that the illustrious Isabella, through her zeal for religion and the salvation of her subjects, sowed the seeds of her country's ruin. It is remarkable, that Spain, in her late struggle for freedom, has not produced one great man; and at this moment the country seems threatened with disorganization; and it is to the almost universal corruption, to the want of mutual confidence, to the deep dissimulation and fraud, which the spirit of the Inquisition, the spirit of misguided religion, has spread through society, that this degradation must chiefly be traced. The wrongs, woes, cruelties, inflicted by the religious, the conscientious, are among the most important teachings of the past. Nor has this strange mixture of good and evil ceased. Crimes, to which time and usage have given sanction, are still found in neighborhood with virtue. Examples taken from other countries stagger belief, but are true. Thus, in not a few regions, the infant is cast out to perish by parents who abound in tenderness to their surviving children. Our own enormities are to be understood hereafter. Slavery is not, then, absolved of guilt by the virtues of its supporters, nor are its wrongs on this account a whit less tolerable. The Inquisition was not a whit less infernal because sustained by Isabella. Wars are not a whit less murderous because waged for our country's glory: nor was the slave-trade less a complication of unutterable cruelties because our fathers brought the African here to make him a Christian.

The great truth now insisted on, that evil is evil, no matter at whose door it lies, and that men acting from conscience and religion may do nefarious deeds, needs to be better understood, that we may not shelter ourselves or our institutions under the names of the great or the good who have passed away. It shows us that, in good company, we may do the work of fiends. It teaches us how important is the culture of our whole moral and rational nature, how dangerous to rest on the old and the established without habitually and honestly seeking the truth. With these views, I believe at once that slavery is an atrocious wrong, and yet that among its upholders may be found good and pious people. I do not look on a slave country as one of the provinces of hell. There, as elsewhere, the human spirit may hold communion with God, and it may ascend thence to heaven. Still, slavery does not lay aside its horrible nature because of the character of some of its supporters. Persecution is a cruel outrage, no matter by whom carried on; and so slavery, no matter by whom maintained, works fearful evil to bond and free. It breathes a moral taint, contaminates young and old, prostrates the dearest rights, and strengthens the

cupidity, pride, love of power, and selfish sloth, on which it is founded. I readily grant that among slave-holders are to be found upright, religious men, and especially, pious, gentle, disinterested, noble-minded women, who sincerely labor to be the guardians and benefactors of the slaves, and under whose kind control much comfort may be enjoyed. But we must not on this account shut our eyes on the evils of the institution or forbear to expose them. On the contrary, this is the very reason for lifting up our voices against it; for slavery rests mainly on the virtues of its upholders. Without the sanction of good and great names it would soon die. Were it left as a monopoly to the selfish, cruel, unprincipled, it could not stand a year. It would become in men's view as infamous as the slave-trade, and be ranked among felonies. It is a solemn duty to speak plainly of wrongs which good men perpetrate. It is very easy to cry out against crimes which the laws punish, and which popular opinion has branded with infamy. What is especially demanded of the Christian is, a faithful, honest, generous testimony against enormities which are sanctioned by numbers and fashion and wealth and especially by great and honored names, and which, thus sustained, lift up their heads to heaven, and repay rebuke with menace and indignation.

I know that there are those who consider all acknowledgment of the virtues of slave-holders as treachery to the cause of freedom. But truth is truth, and must always be spoken and trusted. To be just is a greater work than to free slaves, or propagate religion, or save souls. I have faith in no policy but that of simplicity and godly sincerity. The crimes of good men in past times, of which I have spoken, have sprung chiefly from the disposition to sacrifice the simple, primary obligations of truth, justice, and humanity, to some grand cause, such as religion or country, which has dazzled and bewildered their moral sense. To free the slave, let us not wrong his master. Let us rather find comfort in the thought that there is no unmixed evil, that a spirit of goodness mixes more or less with the worst usages, and that even slavery is illumined by the virtues of the bond and free.

I have now finished my remarks on Mr. Gurney's book, and in doing so I join with many readers in thanking him for the good news he has reported, and in repeating his prayers for the success of emancipation. I now proceed to a different order of considerations of great importance, and which ought always to be connected with such discussions as have now engaged us. The subject before us is not one of mere speculation. It has a practical side. There are duties which belong to us, as individuals, and as free States, in regard to slavery. To these I now ask attention.

I begin with individuals; and their duty is, to be faithful in their testimony against this great evil, to speak their minds freely and fully, and thus to contribute what they may to the moral power of public opinion. It is not enough to think and feel justly. Sentiments not expressed slumber, and too often die. Utterance, in some form or other, is a principal duty of a social being. The chief good which an enlightened, virtuous mind can do is to bring itself forth. Not a few among us have refrained from this duty, have been speechless in regard to slavery, through disapprobation of what they have called the violence of the abolitionists. They have said that in this rage of the elements it was fit to be still. But the storm is passing away. Abolitionism, in obedience to an irresistible law of our nature, has parted with much of its original vehemence. All noble enthusiams pass through a feverish stage, and grow wiser and more serene. Still more, the power of the Antislavery Association is not a little broken by internal divisions, and by its increasing reliance on political action. It has thrown away its true strength, that is, moral influence, in proportion as it has consented to mix in the frays of party. Now, then, when associations are waning, it is time for the individual to be heard, time for a free, solemn protest against wrong.

It is often said that all moral efforts to forward the abolition of slavery are futile; that to expect men to sacrifice interest to duty is a proof of insanity; that, as long as slavery is a good pecuniary speculation, the South will stand by it to the death; that, whenever slave-labor shall prove a drug, it will be abandoned, and not before. It is vain, we are told, to talk, reason, or remonstrate.

On this ground some are anxious to bring East India cotton into competition with the Southern, that, by driving the latter from the market, the excessive stimulus to slave-breeding and the profits of slave-labor may cease. And is this true? Must men be starved into justice and humanity? Have truth and religion and conscience no power? One thing we know, that the insanity of opposing moral influence to deep-rooted evils has, at least, great names on its side. The Christian faith is the highest form of this madness and folly, and its history shows that "the foolishness of God is stronger than men." What an insult is it on the South, and on human nature, to believe that millions of slaveholders, of all ages, sexes, and conditions, in an age of freedom, intelligence, and Christian faith, are proof against all motives but the very lowest! Even in the most hardened, conscience never turns wholly to stone. Humanity never dies out among a people. After all, the most prevailing voice on earth is that of truth. Could emancipation be extorted only by depreciation of slave-labor, it would, indeed, be a good; but how much happier a relation would the master establish with the colored race, if, from no force but that of principle and kindness, he should set them free! Undoubtedly, at the South, as elsewhere, the majority are selfish, mercenary, corrupt; but it would be easy to find there more than "ten righteous," to find a multitude of upright, compassionate, devout minds, which, if awakened from the long insensibility of habit to the evils of slavery, would soon overpower the influences of the merely selfish slaveholder.

We are told, indeed, by the South, that slavery is no concern of ours, and consequently that the less we say of it the better. What! shall the wrongdoer forbid lookers-on to speak, because the affair is a private one, in which others must not interfere? Whoever injures a man binds all men to remonstrate, especially when the injured is too weak to speak in his own behalf. Let none imagine that, by seizing a fellow-creature and setting him apart as a chattel, they can sever his ties to God or man. Spiritual connections are not so easily broken. You may carry your victim ever so far, you may seclude him on a plantation or in a cell; but you cannot transport him beyond the sphere of human brotherhood, or cut him off from his race. The great bond of humanity is the last to be dissolved. Other ties, those of family and civil society, are severed by death. This, founded as it is on what is immortal in our nature, has an everlasting sacredness, and is never broken; and every man has a right, and, still more, is bound, to lift up his voice against its violation.

There are many whose testimony against slavery is very much diluted by the fact of its having been so long sanctioned, not only by usage, but by law, by public force, by the forms of civil authority. They bow before numbers and prescription. But in an age of inquiry and innovation, when other institutions must make good their title to continuance, it is a suspicious tenderness which fears to touch a heavy yoke because it has grown by time into the necks of our fellow-creatures. Do we not know that unjust monopolies, cruel prejudices, barbarous punishments, oppressive institutions, have been upheld by law for ages? Majorities are prone to think that they can create right by vote, and can legalize gainful crimes by calling the forms of justice to their support. But these conspiracies against humanity, these insults offered to the majesty and immutableness of truth and rectitude, are the last forms of wickedness to be spared. Selfish men, by combining into a majority, cannot change tyranny into right. The whole earth may cry out that this or that man was made to be owned and used as a chattel, or a brute, by his brother. But his birthright as a man, as a rational creature of God, cleaves to him untouched by the clamor. Crimes, exalted into laws, become therefore the more odious; just as the false gods of heathenism, when set up of old on the altar of Jehovah, shocked his true worshippers the more by usurping so conspicuously the honors due to him alone.

It is important that we should, each of us, bear our conscientious testimony against slavery, not only to swell that tide of public opinion which is to sweep it away, but that we may save ourselves from sinking into silent, unsuspected acquiescence in the evil. A constant resistance is needed to this downward tendency, as is proved by the tone of

feeling in the free States. What is more common among ourselves than a courteous, apologetic disapprobation of slavery, which differs little from taking its part? This is one of its worst influences. It taints the whole country. The existence, the perpetual presence, of a great, prosperous, unrestrained system of wrong in a community is one of the sorest trials to the moral sense of the people, and needs to be earnestly withstood. The idea of justice becomes unconsciously obscured in our minds. Our hearts become more or less seared to wrong. The South says that slavery is nothing to us at the North. But through our trade we are brought into constant contact with it; we grow familiar with it; still more, we thrive by it; and the next step is easy, to consent to the sacrifice of human beings by whom we prosper. The dead know not their want of life; and so a people, whose moral sentiments are palsied by the interweaving of all their interests with a system of oppression, become degraded without suspecting it. In consequence of this connection with slave countries, the idea of human rights, that great idea of our age, and on which we profess to build our institutions, is darkened weakened among us, so as to be to many little more than a sound. A country of licensed, legalized wrongs is not the atmosphere in which the sentiment of reverence for these rights can exist in full power. In such a community there may be a respect for the arbitrary rights which law creates and may destroy, and a respect for historical rights which rest on usage. But the fundamental rights which inhere in man as man, and which lie at the foundation of a just, equitable, beneficent, noble polity, must be imperfectly comprehended. This depression of moral sentiment in a people is an evil the extent of which is not easily apprehended. It affects and degrades every relation of life. Men in whose sight human nature is stripped of all its rights and dignity cannot love or honor any who possess it as they ought. In offering these remarks I do not forget, what I rejoice to know, that there is much moral feeling among us in regard to slavery. But still, there is a strong tendency to indifference, and to something worse; and on this account we owe it to our own moral health, and to the moral life of society, to express plainly and strongly our moral abhorrence of this institution.

This duty is rendered more urgent by the depraving tendency of our political connections and agitations. It has been said, much too sweepingly, but with some approximation to truth, that in this country we have hosts of politicians, but no statesmen; meaning, by the latter term, men of comprehensive, far-reaching views, who study the permanent good of the community, and hold fast, under all changes, to the great principles on which its salvation rests. The generality of our public men are mere politicians, purblind to the future, fevered by the present, merging patriotism in party-spirit, intent on carrying a vote or election, no matter what means they use or what precedents they establish, and holding themselves absolved from a strict morality in public affairs. A principal object of political tactics is, to conciliate and gain over to one or another side the most important interests of the country; and of consequence the slave interest is propitiated with no small care. No party can afford to lose the South. The master's vote is too precious to be hazarded by sympathy with the slaves. Accordingly parties and office-seekers wash their hands of abolitionism as if it were treason, and, without committing themselves to slavery, protest their innocence of hostility to it. How far they would bow to the slave power, were the success of a great election to depend on soothing it, cannot be foretold, especially since we have seen the party most jealous of popular rights surrendering to this power the right of petition. In this state of things the slave-holding interest has the floor of Congress very much to itself. Now and then a man of moral heroism meets it with erect front and a tone of conscious superiority. But political life does not abound in men of heroic mould. Military heroes may be found in swarms. Thousands die fearlessly on the field of battle, or the field of "honor." But the moral courage which can stand cold looks, frowns, and contempt, which asks counsel of higher oracles than people or rulers, and cheerfully gives up preferment to a just cause, is rare enough to be canonized. In such a country the tendency to corruption of moral sentiment in regard to slavery is strong.

Many are tempted to acquiescence in it; and of consequence the good man, the friend of humanity and his country, should meet the danger by strong, uncompromising reprobation of this great wrong.

I would close this topic with observing, that there is one portion of the community to which I would especially commend the cause of the enslaved, and the duty of open testimony against this form of oppression; and that is, our women. To them, above all others, slavery should seem an intolerable evil, because its chief victims are women. In their own country, and not very far from them, there are great multitudes of their sex exposed to dishonor, held as property by *man*, unprotected by law, driven to the field by the overseer, and happy if not consigned to infinitely baser uses, denied the rights of wife and mother, and liable to be stripped of husband and child when another's pleasure or interest may so determine. Such is the lot of hundreds of thousands of their sisters; and is there nothing here to stir up woman's sympathy, nothing for her to remember, when she approaches God's throne or opens her heart to her fellow-creatures? Woman should talk of the enslaved to her husband, and do what she can to awaken, amongst his ever-thronging worldly cares, some manly indignation, some interest in human freedom. She should breathe into her son a deep sense of the wrongs which man inflicts on man, and send him forth from her arms a friend of the weak and injured. She should look on her daughter, and shudder at the doom of so many daughters on her own shores. When she meets with woman, she should talk with her of the ten thousand homes which have no defence against licentiousness, against violation of the most sacred domestic ties; and through her whole intercourse, the fit season should be chosen to give strength to that deep moral conviction which can alone overcome this tremendous evil.

I know it will be said that, in thus doing, woman will wander beyond her sphere, and forsake her proper work. What! Do I hear such language in a civilized age, and in a land of Christians? What, let me ask, is woman's work? It is, to be a minister of Christian love. It is, to sympathize with human misery. It is, to breathe sympathy into man's heart. It is, to keep alive in society some feeling of human brotherhood. This is her mission on earth. Woman's sphere, I am told, is home. And why is home instituted? Why are domestic relations ordained? These relations are for a day; they cease at the grave. And what is their great end? To nourish a love which will endure for ever, to awaken universal sympathy. Our ties to our parents are to bind us to the Universal Parent; our fraternal bonds, to help us to see in all men our brethren. Home is to be a nursery of Christians; and what is the end of Christianity, but to awaken in all souls the principles of universal justice and universal charity? At home we are to learn to love our neighbor, our enemy, the stranger, the poor, the oppressed. If home do not train us to this, then it is wofully perverted. If home counteract and quench the spirit of Christianity, then we must remember the divine Teacher, who commands us to forsake father and mother, brother and sister, wife and child, for his sake, and for the sake of his truth. If the walls of home are the bulwarks of a narrow, clannish love, through which the cry of human miseries and wrongs cannot penetrate, then it is mockery to talk of their sacredness. Domestic life is at present too much in hostility to the spirit of Christ. A family should be a community of dear friends, strengthening one another for the service of their fellow-creatures. Can we give the name of Christian to most of our families? Can we give it to women who have no thoughts or sympathies for multitudes of their own sex, distant only two or three days' journey from their doors, and exposed to outrages from which they would pray to have their own daughters snatched, though it were by death?

Having spoken of the individual, I proceed to speak of the duties of the free States, in their political capacity, in regard to slavery; and these may be reduced to two heads, both of them negative. The first is, to abstain as rigidly from the use of political power against slavery in the States where it is established as from exercising it against slavery in foreign communities. The second is, to free ourselves from all obligation to use the powers of the

national or state governments in any manner whatever for the support of slavery.

The first duty is clear. In regard to slavery, the Southern States stand on the ground of foreign communities. They are not subject or responsible to us more than these. No State sovereignty can intermeddle with the institutions of another. We might as legitimately spread our legislation over the schools, churches, or persons of the South as over their slaves. And in regard to the general government, we know that it was not intended to confer any power, direct or indirect, on the free over the slave States. Any pretension to such power on the part of the North would have dissolved immediately the convention which framed the Constitution. Any act of the free States, when assembled in Congress, for the abolition of slavery in other States, would be a violation of the national compact, and would be just cause of complaint.

On this account I cannot but regret the disposition of a part of our abolitionists to organize themselves into a political party. Were it, indeed, their simple purpose to free the North from all obligation to give support to slavery, I should agree with them in their end, though not in their means. By looking, as they do, to political organization as a means of putting down the institution in other States, they lay themselves open to reproach. I know, indeed, that excellent men are engaged in this movement, and I acquit them of all disposition to transcend the limits of the federal Constitution. But it is to be feared that they may construe this instrument too literally; that, forgetting its spirit, they may seek to use its powers for purposes very remote from its original design. Their failure is almost inevitable. By extending their agency beyond its true bounds, they insure its defeat in its legitimate sphere. By assuming a political character, they lose the reputation of honest enthusiasts, and come to be considered as hypocritical seekers after place and power. Should they, in opposition to all probability, become a formidable party, they would unite the slave-holding States as one man; and the South, always able, when so united, to link with itself a party at the North, would rule the country as before.

No association, like the abolitionists, formed for a particular end, can, by becoming a political organization, rise to power. If it can contrive to perpetuate itself, it will provoke contempt by the disproportion of its means to its ends; but the probability is, that it will be swallowed up in the whirlpool of one or the other of the great national parties, from whose fury hardly any thing escapes. These mighty forces sweep all lesser political organizations before them. And these are to be robbed of their pernicious power, not by forming a third party, but by the increase of intelligence and virtue in the community, and by the silent flowing together of reflecting, upright, independent men, who will feel themselves bound to throw off the shackles of party; who will refuse any longer to neutralize their moral influence by coalition with the self seeking, the hollow-hearted, and the double-tongued; whose bond of union will be the solemn purpose to speak the truth without adulteration, to adhere to the right without compromise, to support good measures and discountenance bad, come from what quarter they may, to be just to all parties, and to expose alike the corruptions of all. There are now among us good and true men enough to turn the balance on all great questions, would they but confide in principle, and be loyal to it in word and deed. Under their influence, newspapers might be established in which men and measures of all parties would be tried without fear or favor by the moral, Christian law; and this revolution of the press would do more than all things else for the political regeneration of the country. The people would learn from it that, whilst boasting of liberty, they are used as puppets and tools; that popular sovereignty, with all its paper bulwarks, is a show rather than a substance, as long as party despotism endures. It is by such a broad, generous improvement of society, that our present political organizations are to be put down, and not by a third party on a narrow basis, and which, instead of embracing all the interests of the country, confines itself to a single point.

I cannot but express again regret at

the willingness of the abolitionists to rely on and pursue political power. Their strength has always lain in the simplicity of their religious trust, in their confidence in Christian truth. Formerly the hope sometimes crossed my mind that, by enlarging their views and purifying their spirit, they would gradually become a religious community, founded on the recognition of God as the common, equal Father of all mankind, on the recognition of Jesus Christ as having lived and died to unite to himself and to baptize with his spirit every human soul, and on the recognition of the brotherhood of all the members of God's human family. There are signs that Christians are tending, however slowly, toward a church in which these great ideas of Christianity will be realized; in which a spiritual reverence for God, and for the human soul, will take place of the customary homage paid to outward distinctions; and in which our present narrow sects will be swallowed up. I thought that I saw, in the principles with which the abolitionists started, a struggling of the human mind toward this Christian union. It is truly a disappointment to see so many of their number becoming a political party, an association almost always corrupting, and most justly suspected on account of the sacrifices of truth and honor and moral independence, which it extorts even from well-disposed men. Their proper work is, to act on all parties, to support each as far as it shall be true to human rights, to gather laborers for the good cause from all bodies, civil and religious, and to hold forth this cause as a universal interest, and not as the property or stepping-stone of a narrow association.

I know that it is said that nothing but this political action can put down slavery. Then slavery must continue: and if we faithfully do our part as Christians, we are not responsible for its continuance. We are not to feel as if we were bound to put it down by any and every means. We do not speak as Christians when we say that slavery *must* and *shall* fall. Who are we, to dictate thus to Omnipotence? It has pleased the mysterious providence of God that terrible evils should be left to overshadow the earth for ages. "How long, O Lord?" has been the secret cry extorted from good men by the crimes of the world for six thousand years. On the philanthropist of this age the same sad burden is laid, and it cannot be removed. We must not feel that, were slavery destroyed, paradise would be restored. As in our own souls the conquest of one evil passion reveals to us new spiritual foes, so in society one great evil hides in its shadow others perhaps as fearful, and its fall only summons us to new efforts for the redemption of the race. We know, indeed, that good is to triumph over evil in this world; that "Christ must reign till he shall put all enemies beneath his feet," or until his spirit shall triumph over the spirit, oppressions, corruptions of the world. Let us, then, work against all wrong, but with a calm, solemn earnestness, not with vehemence and tumult. Let us work with deep reverence and filial trust toward God, and not in the proud impetuosity of our own wills. Happy the day when such laborers shall be gathered by an inward attraction into one church or brotherhood, whose badge, creed, spirit, shall be universal love! This will be the true kingdom of God on earth, and its might will infinitely transcend political power.

For one, I have no desire to force emancipation on the South. Had I political power, I should fear to use it in such a cause. A forced emancipation is, on the whole, working well in the West Indies, because the mother country watches over and guides it, and pours in abundantly moral and religious influences to calm and enlighten and soften the minds newly set free. Here no such control can be exercised. Freedom at the South, to work well, must be the gift of the masters. Emancipation must be their own act and deed. It must spring from good-will and sense of justice, or, at least, from a sense of interest, and not be extorted by a foreign power; and with this origin, it will be more successful even than the experiment in the West Indies. In those islands, especially in Jamaica, the want of cordial co-operation on the part of the planters has continually obstructed the beneficial working of freedom, and still throws a doubtfulness over its complete success.

I have said that the free States cannot rightfully use the power of their own legislatures or of Congress to abolish

slavery in the States where it is established. Their first duty is to abstain from such acts. Their next and more solemn duty is to abstain from all action for the support of slavery. If they are not to subvert, much less are they to sustain it. There is some excuse for communities when, under a generous impulse, they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other states, and by force restore their rights; but they are without excuse in aiding other states in binding on men an unrighteous yoke. On this subject our fathers, in framing the Constitution, swerved from the right. We, their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and must walk in it. To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution. This is not a question of abolitionism. It has nothing to do with putting down slavery. We are simply called, as communities, to withhold support from it, to stand aloof, to break off all connection with this criminal institution. The free States ought to say to the South, "Slavery is yours, not ours, and on you the whole responsibility of it must fall. We wash our hands of it wholly. We shall exert no power against it; but do not call on us to put forth the least power in its behalf. We cannot, directly or indirectly, become accessories to this wrong. We cannot become jailers, or a patrol, or a watch, to keep your slaves under the yoke. You must guard them yourselves. If they escape, we cannot send them back. Our soil makes whoever touches it free. On this point you must manage your own concerns. You must guard your own frontier. In case of insurrection, we cannot come to you, save as friends alike of bond and free. Neither in our separate legislatures, nor in the national legislature, can we touch slavery to sustain it. On this point you are foreign communities. You have often said that you need not our protection; and we must take you at your word. In so doing we have no thought of acting on your fears. We think only of our duty, and this, in all circumstances, and at all hazards, must be done."

The people of the North think but little of the extent of the support given to slavery by the federal government; though, when it is considered that "the slave-holding interest has a representation in Congress of *twenty-five* members, *in addition* to the fair and equal representation of the free inhabitants," it is very natural to expect the exercise of the powers of Congress in behalf of this institution. The federal government has been, and is, the friend of the slaveholder, and the enemy of the slave. It authorizes the former to seize, in a free State, a colored man, on the ground of being a fugitive, and to bring him before a justice of the peace of his own selection; and this magistrate, without a jury, and without obligation to receive any testimony but what the professed master offers, can deliver up the accused to be held as property for life. The federal government authorizes not only the apprehension and imprisonment, in the District of Columbia, of a negro suspected of being a runaway, but the sale of him as a slave, if within a certain time he cannot prove his freedom. It sustains slavery within the District of Columbia, though "under its exclusive jurisdiction," and allows this District to be one of the chief slave-marts of the country. Not a slave-auction is held there but by the authority of Congress. The federal government has endeavored to obtain by negotiation the restoration of fugitive slaves who have sought and found freedom in Canada, and has offered in return to restore fugitives from the West Indies. It has disgraced itself in the sight of all Europe by claiming as property slaves who have been shipwrecked on the British islands, and who by touching British soil had become free. It has instructed its representative at Madrid to announce to the Spanish court, "that the emancipation of the slave population of Cuba would be very severely felt in the adjacent shores of the United States." It has purchased a vast unsettled territory which it has given up to be overrun with slavery. To crown all, it has, in violation of the Constitution, and of the right granted even by despotism to its subjects, refused to listen to petitions against these abuses of power. After all this humbling experience, is it not time for the free States to pause, to reflect, to weigh well what they are doing through the national government, and to resolve that they will free themselves from every obligation to

uphold an institution which they know to be unjust? *

The object now proposed is to be effected by amendments of the Constitution, and these should be sought in good faith; that is, not as the means of abolishing slavery, but as a means of removing us from a participation of its guilt. The free States should take the high ground of duty; and, to raise them to this height, the press, the pulpit, and all religious and upright men should join their powers. A people under so pure an impulse cannot fail. Such arrangements should be made that the word slavery need not be heard again in Congress or in the local legislatures. On the principle now laid down, the question of abolition in the District of Columbia should be settled. Emancipation at the seat of government ought to be insisted on, not for the purpose of influencing slavery elsewhere, but because what is done there is done by the whole people, because slavery sustained there is sustained by the free States. It is said that the will of the citizens of the District is to be consulted. Were this true, which cannot be granted, the difficulty may easily be surmounted. Let Congress resolve to establish itself where it will have no slavery to control or uphold, and the people of the District of Columbia will remove the obstacle to its continuance where it is, as fast as can be desired.

The great difficulty in the way of the arrangement now proposed is, the article of the Constitution requiring the surrender and return of fugitive slaves. A State obeying this seems to me to contract as great guilt as if it were to bring slaves from Africa. No man who regards slavery as among the greatest wrongs can in any way reduce his fellow-creatures to it. The flying slave asserts the first right of a man, and should meet aid rather than obstruction. Who that has the heart of a freeman, or breathes the love of a Christian, can send him back to his chain? On this point, however, the difficulty of an arrangement is every day growing less. This provision of the Constitution is undergoing a silent repeal, and no human power can sustain it. Just in proportion as slavery becomes the object of conscientious reprobation in the free States, just so fast the difficulty of sending back the fugitive increases. In the part of the country where I reside it is next to impossible that the slave who has reached us should be restored to bondage. Not that our courts of law are obstructed, — not that mobs would rescue the fugitive from the magistrate. We respect the public authorities. Not an arm would be raised against the officers of justice. But what are laws against the moral sense of a community? No man among us, who values his character, would aid the slave-hunter. The slave-hunter here would be looked on with as little favor as the felonious slave-trader. Those among us who dread to touch slavery in its own region, lest insurrection and tumults should follow change, still feel that the fugitive who has sought shelter so far can breed no tumult in the land which he has left, and that, of consequence, no motive but the unhallowed love of gain can prompt to his pursuit; and when they think of slavery as perpetuated, not for public order, but for gain, they abhor it, and would not lift a finger to replace the flying bondsman beneath the yoke. Thus this provision of the Constitution is virtually fading away; and, as I have said, no human power can restore it. The moral sentiment of a community is not to be withstood. Make as many constitutions as you will, — fence round your laws with what penalties you will, — the universal conscience makes them as weak as the threats of childhood. There is a spirit spreading through the country in regard to slavery which demands changes of the Constitution, and which will master if it cannot change it. No concerted opposition to this instrument is thought of or is needed. No secret understanding among our citizens is to be feared at the South. The simple presence to their minds of the great truth, that man cannot rightfully be the property of man, is enough to shelter the slave. With this conviction, we are palsy-stricken when called upon to restore him to bondage. Our sinews are relaxed; our hands hang down; our limbs will not carry us a step. Now this conviction is spreading, and will

* On the subject of this paragraph the reader will do well to consult "A View of the Action of the Federal Government in behalf of Slavery, by William Jay." The author is a son of Chief Justice Jay, and a worthy representative of the spirit and principles of his illustrious father.

become the established principle of the free States. Politicians, indeed, to answer a party end, may talk of property in man as something established or not to be questioned; but the people at large do not follow them. The people go with the civilized and Christian world. The South should understand this,—should look the difficulty in the face; and they will see that, from the nature of the case, resistance is idle,—that neither policy nor violence can avail. And, what is more, they have no right to reproach us with letting this provision of the Constitution die among us. *They* have done worse. *We* are passive. *They* have actively, openly, flagrantly violated the Constitution. They have passed laws threatening to imprison and punish the free colored citizens of the North for exercising the rights guarantied to every citizen by the national compact,—that is, for setting foot on their shores and using their highways. This wrong has been too patiently borne; and in one way we can turn it to good account. When reproached with unfaithfulness to the Constitution, we can hold it up as our shield, and cite the greater disloyalty of the South as an extenuation of our own.

It is best, however, that neither party should be unfaithful. It is best that both, enlightened as to the spirit of our times, should make new arrangements to prevent collision, to define the duties of each and all, to bring the Constitution into harmony with the moral convictions and with the safety of North and South. Until some such arrangements are made, perpetual collisions between the two great sections of our country must occur. Notwithstanding the tendencies to a low tone of thought and feeling at the North in regard to slavery, there is a decided increase of moral sensibility on the subject; and in proportion as this shall spread, the free States will insist more strenuously on being released from every obligation to give support to what they deliberately condemn.

This liberation of the free States from all connection with and action on slavery would, indeed, be an immense boon, and the removal of much dissension. Still, the root of bitterness would remain among us. Still, our union, that inestimable political good, will be insecure. Slavery, whilst it continues, must secretly, if not openly, mix with our policy, sow jealousies, determine the character of parties, and create, if not diversities of interests, at least suspicions of them, which may prove not a whit the less ruinous because groundless.

Slavery is unfriendly to union, as it is directly hostile to the fundamental principle on which all our institutions rest. No nation can admit an element at war with its vital, central law without losing something of its stability. The idea of human rights is the grand distinction of our country. Our chief boast as a people is found in the fact that the toils, sacrifices, heroic deeds of our fathers had for their end the establishment of these. Here is the unity which sums up our history, the glory which lights up our land, the chief foundation of the sentiment of loyalty, the chief spring of national feeling, the grand bond of national union; and whatever among us is at war with this principle weakens the living force which holds us together.

On this topic I cannot enlarge. But recent events compel me to refer to one influence more by which slavery is unfriendly to union. It aggravates those traits of character at the South which tend to division. It inflames that proud, fiery spirit which is quick to take offence, and which rushes into rash and reckless courses. This ungoverned violence of feeling breaks out especially in Congress, the centre from which impulses are communicated to the whole people. It is a painful thought, that, if any spot in the country is pre-eminent for rudeness and fierceness, it is the Hall of Representatives. Too many of our legislators seem to lay down at its door the common restraints of good society and the character of gentlemen. The national chamber seems liable to become a national nuisance; and although all parts of the country are in a measure responsible for this wound inflicted on the honor and union of the country, we do feel that the evil is to be imputed chiefly to the proud, impetuous temper of the South. It is believed that the personal violences which, if repeated, will reduce the national council to the level of a boxing match may be traced to that part of the country. This evil is too notorious to be softened down by apologies or explanations; nor is it less an evil because precedents and parallels

can be found in the legislative bodies of France and England. It tends, not merely to spread barbarism through the community, but to impair the authority of legislation, to give new ferocity to the conflicts of party, and thus to weaken the national tie.

If slavery, that brand of discord, were taken away, the peculiarities of Northern and Southern character would threaten little or no evil to the Union. On the contrary, these two grand divisions of the country, now estranged from each other, would be brought near, and by acting on and modifying one another would produce a national character of the highest order. The South, with more of ardor and of bold and rapid genius, and the North, with more of wisdom and steady principle, furnish admirable materials for a state. Nor is the union of these to a considerable degree impracticable. It is worthy of remark, that the most eminent men at the South have had a large infusion of the Northern character. Washington, in his calm dignity, his rigid order, his close attention to business, his reserve almost approaching coldness, bore a striking affinity to the North; and his sympathies led him to choose Northern men very much as his confidential friends. Mr. Madison had much of the calm wisdom, the patient, studious research, the exactness and quiet manner of our part of the country, with little of the imagination and fervor of his own. Chief Justice Marshall had more than these two great men of the genial, unreserved character of a warmer climate, but so blended with a spirit of moderation and clear judgment and serene wisdom as to make him the delight and confidence of the whole land. There is one other distinguished name of the South, which I have not mentioned, Mr. Jefferson; and the reason is, that his character seemed to belong to neither section of the country. He wanted the fiery, daring spirit of the South, and the calm energy of the North. He stood alone. He was a man of genius, given to bold, original, and somewhat visionary speculation, and at the same time a sagacious observer of men and events. He owed his vast influence, second only to Washington's, to his keen insight into the character of his countrymen and into the spirit of his age. His opponents have set him down as the most unscrupulous of politicians; but one merit, and no mean one, must be accorded to him, that of having adopted early, and of having held fast through life the most generous theory of human rights, and of having protested against slavery as an aggravated wrong. In truth, it is impossible to study the great men of the South, and to consider the force of intellect and character which that region has developed, without feelings of respect, and without the most ardent desire that it may free itself by any means, from an institution which aggravates what is evil and threatening in its character, which cripples much of its energy, which cuts it off from the sympathies and honor of the civilized world, and which prevents it from a true, cordial union with the rest of the country. It is slavery which prevents the two sections of country from acting on and modifying each other for the good of both. This is the great gulf between us, and it is constantly growing wider and deeper in proportion to the spread of moral feeling, of Christian philanthropy, of respect for men's rights, of interest in the oppressed.

Why is it that slavery is not thrown off? We here ascribe its continuance very much to cupidity and love of power. But there is another cause, which is certainly disappearing. Slavery at the South continues, in part, in consequence of that want of activity, of steady force, of resolute industry among the free white population, which it has itself produced. A people with force enough to attempt a social revolution, and to bear its first inconveniences, would not endure slavery. We of the North, with our characteristic energy, would hardly tolerate it a year. The sluggishness, the stupidity of the slaves would keep us in perpetual irritation. We should run over them, tread them almost unconsciously under foot, in our haste and eagerness to accomplish our enterprises. We should feel the wastefulness of slave labor in comparison with free. The clumsy mechanic, the lagging house-servant, the slovenly laborer, ever ready with a lying excuse, would be too much for our patience. Now there is reason to think that the stirring, earnest, industrious spirit of the North is finding its way Southward; and with this, a desire

to introduce better social relations can hardly be repressed.

We believe, too, that this revolution would be hastened if the South would open its ear to the working of emancipation in other countries, and to the deep interest in the African race which is now spreading through the world. On these subjects very little is yet known at the South. The newspapers there spread absurd rumors of the failure of the experiment of the West Indies but the truth finds no organs. We doubt, too, whether one newspaper has even made a reference to the recent public meeting in England for the civilization of Africa, the most remarkable, in one respect ever held in that country; for it was a representation of all ranks and sects including the greatest names in church and state and, what was not less venerable, a multitude of both sexes who have made themselves dear and honored by services to humanity. Whoever considers this and other signs of the times in Europe, will see the dawn of a better era, when the wrongs of past ages are to be redressed, when the African is to be lifted up, and the sentence of moral outlawry is to be passed on the enslavers of their brethren. Many among us are apt to smile and say that nations have but one law, — self interest. But a new and higher force is beginning to act on human affairs. Religion is becoming an active, diffusive unwearied principle of humanity and justice. All the forces of Christianity are concentrating themselves into a fervent, all-comprehending philanthropy. This is at length to be understood at the South, and it will be felt there. In that region there are pious men and women who will not endure to be cut off from the religious communion of the world. There are self respecting men brave enough to defy all personal danger, but not to defy the moral sentiment of mankind. There are the wise and good who will rejoice to learn that emancipation brings dignity and happiness to the slave and safety and honor to the free. Here is power enough to put down the selfish and unprincipled. Here are influences which, joined with favoring events from God's good providence, are, we trust, to remove the wrongs and evils of slavery, and to give us a right to hold up our head among Christian nations.

But if it is not ordained that by these and like influences this great wrong is to be done away, of one thing we are sure, that God's righteous providence lacks not means for accomplishing his designs. He has infinite ministers for humbling human pride and lifting up the fallen. The solemn lesson of our times is the instability of all human power. Despotic thrones have fallen, and surely private despotism cannot endure. We learn from history that, in seasons apparently the most inauspicious, the seeds of beneficent revolutions have been sown and have unfolded in silence. Much more, in these days of change and progress, causes must be at work for the redemption of the slave. Emancipation, universal freedom, must come. May God prepare its way, not by earthquakes and storms, but by "the still, small voice" of truth, by breathing into the hearts of this people the spirit of wisdom, justice, and love!

It is a solemn thought with which I close these remarks, that a people upholding or in any way giving countenance to slavery contract guilt in proportion to the light which is thrown on the injustice and evils of this institution, and to the evidence of the benefits of emancipation; and if so, then the weight of guilt on this nation is great and increasing. Our fathers carried on slavery in much blindness. They lived and walked under the shadow of a dark and bloody past. But the darkness is gone. "The mystery of iniquity" is now laid open. Slavery, from its birth to its last stage, is now brought to light.

The wars, the sacked and burning villages, the kidnapping and murders of Africa, which begin this horrible history; the crowded hold, the chains, stench, suffocation, burning thirst, and agonies of the slave-ship; the loathsome diseases and enormous waste of life in the middle passage; the wrongs and sufferings of the plantation, with its reign of terror and force, its unbridled lust, its violations of domestic rights and charities; — these all are revealed. The crimes and woes of slavery come to us in moans and shrieks from the Old World and the New, and from the ocean which divides them; and we are distinctly taught, that in no other calamity are such wrongs and miseries concentrated as in this. To put an end

to some of these woes, the most powerful nations have endeavored, by force of laws and punishments, to abolish the slave-trade; but the trial has proved that, while slavery endures, the traffic which ministers to it cannot be suppressed. At length the axe has been laid at the root of the accursed tree. By the act of a great nation nearly a million of slaves have been emancipated; and the first results have exceeded the hopes of philanthropy. All this history of slavery is given to the world. The truth is brought to our very doors. And, still more, to *us*, above all people, God has made known those eternal principles of freedom, justice, and humanity, by which the full enormity of slavery may be comprehended. To shut our eyes against all this light: to shut our ears and hearts against these monitions of God, these pleadings of humanity: to stand forth, in this great conflict of good with evil, as the chief upholders of oppression; to array ourselves against the efforts of the Christian and civilized world for the extinction of this greatest wrong; to perpetuate it with obstinate madness where it exists, and to make new regions of the earth groan under its woes; — this, surely, is a guilt which the justice of God cannot wink at, and on which insulted humanity, religion, and freedom call down fearful retribution.

NOTES.

Note A. — On this page I have spoken of the manner in which the slaves in the West Indies received emancipation. This great event took place, in Antigua, on the first of August, 1834. The following account of the manner in which the preceding night was kept is extracted from Thome and Kimball's book on the subject: —

"The Wesleyans kept 'watch-night' in all their chapels on the night of the 31st July. One of the Wesleyan missionaries gave us an account of the watch-meeting at the chapel in St. John's. The spacious house was filled with the candidates for liberty. All was animation and eagerness. A mighty chorus of voices swelled the song of expectation and joy; and, as they united in prayer, the voice of the leader was drowned in the universal acclamation of thanksgiving and praise and blessing and honor and glory to God, who had come down for their deliverance. In such exercises the evening was spent until the hour of twelve approached. The missionary then proposed that, when the clock on the cathedral should begin to strike, the whole congregation should fall upon their knees, and receive the boon of freedom in silence. Accordingly, as the loud bell tolled its first note, the immense assembly fell prostrate on their knees. All was silence, save the quivering, half-stifled breath of the struggling spirit. The slow notes of the clock fell upon the multitude; peal on peal, peal on peal, rolled over the prostrate throng, in tones of angels' voices, thrilling among the desolate chords and weary heart-strings. Scarce had the clock sounded its last note, when the lightning flashed vividly around, and a loud peal of thunder roared along the sky, — God's pillar of fire, and trump of jubilee! A moment of profoundest silence passed, — then came the *burst*, — they broke forth in prayer; they shouted, they sung 'Glory!' 'Alleluia!' they clapped their hands, leaped up, fell down, clasped each other in their free arms, cried, laughed, and went to and fro, tossing upward their unfettered hands; but high above the whole there was a mighty sound which ever and anon swelled up; it was the utterings, in broken negro dialect, of gratitude to God.

"After this gush of excitement had spent itself, and the congregation became calm, the religious exercises were resumed, and the remainder of the night was occupied in singing and prayer, in reading the Bible, and in addresses from the missionaries, explaining the nature of the freedom just received, and exhorting the free people to be industrious, steady, obedient to the laws, and to show themselves in all things worthy of the high boon which God had conferred upon them."

Note B. — On reading to a friend my remarks on the African character, he observed to me, that similar views had been taken by Alexander Kinmont, in his "Lectures on Man: Cincinnati, 1839." This induced me to examine the "Lectures;" and I had the satisfaction of finding, not only a coincidence of opinions, but that the author had pursued the subject much more thoroughly, and illustrated it with much strength and beauty. I would recommend this work to such as delight in bold and original thinking. The reader, indeed, will often question the soundness of the author's conclusions; but even in these cases the mind will be waked up to great and interesting subjects of reflection. I will subjoin a few extracts relating to the African character: —

"When the epoch of the civilization of the negro family arrives, in the lapse of ages, they will display in their native land some very peculiar and interesting traits of character, of which we, a distinct branch of the human family, can at present form no conception. It will be — indeed, it must be — a civilization of a peculiar stamp; perhaps, we might venture to conjecture, not so much distinguished by art as a certain beautiful nature; not so marked or adorned by science as exalted and refined by a new and lovely theology, — a reflection of the light of heaven more perfect and endearing than that which the intellects of the Caucasian race have ever yet exhibited. There is more of the *child*, of unsophisticated nature, in the negro race than in the European." — *p.* 190.

"The peninsula of Africa is the home of the negro, and the appropriate and destined seat of his future glory and civilization, — a civilization which, we need not fear to predict, will be as distinct in all its features from that of all other races as his complexion and natural temperament and genius are different. But who can doubt that here, also, humanity in its more advanced and millennial stage will reflect, under a sweet and mellow light, the softer attributes of the divine beneficence? If the Caucasian race is destined, as would appear from the precocity of their genius, and their natural quickness and extreme aptitude to the arts, to reflect the lustre of the divine wisdom, or, to speak more properly, the divine science, shall we envy the negro, if a later but far nobler civilization await him, — to return the splendor of the divine attributes of mercy and benevolence in the practice and exhibition of all the milder and gentler virtues?" — *p.* 191.

"If there are fewer vivid manifestations of intellect in the negro family than in the Caucasian, as I am disposed to believe, does that forbid the hope of the return of that pure and gentle state of society among them which attracts the peculiar regard of heaven?" — *p.* 192.

"The sweeter graces of the Christian religion appear almost too tropical and tender plants to grow in the soil of the Caucasian mind; they require a character of human nature, of which you can see the rude lineaments in the Ethiopian, to be implanted in, and grow naturally and beautifully withal." — *p.* 218.

THE DUTY OF THE FREE STATES;

Or, Remarks suggested by the Case of the "Creole."

[THE Author is aware that the following argument might have been more condensed, had circumstances allowed; but he is reconciled to publishing it in the present form by the belief that a degree of expansion and even of repetition may adapt it to its end, which is, to bring the subject within the comprehension of all who desire to know the truth. He now presents the first part of his work, in the hope that the second will soon follow. — BOSTON, *March* 26, 1842.]

PART I.

I RESPECTFULLY ask your attention, fellow-citizens of the free States, to a subject of great and pressing importance. The case of the "Creole," taken by itself, or separated from the principles which are complicated with it, however it might engage my feelings, would not have moved me to the present address. I am not writing to plead the cause of a hundred or more men, scattered through the West Indies, and claimed as slaves. In a world abounding with so much wrong and woe, we at this distance can spend but a few thoughts on these strangers. I rejoice that they are free; I trust that they will remain so; and with these feelings, I dismiss them from my thoughts. The case of the "Creole" involves great and vital principles, and as such I now invite to it your serious consideration.

The case is thus stated in the letter of the American Secretary of State to the American Minister in London: —

"It appears that the brig 'Creole,' of Richmond, Virginia, Ensor master, bound to New Orleans, sailed from Hampton roads with a cargo of merchandise, principally tobacco, and slaves, about one hundred and thirty-five in number; that, on the evening of the 7th of November, some of the slaves rose upon the crew of

the vessel, murdered a passenger named Hewell, who owned some of the negroes, wounded the captain dangerously, and the first mate and two of the crew severely; that the slaves soon obtained complete possession of the brig, which, under their direction, was taken into the port of Nassau, in the island of New Providence, where she arrived on the morning of the 9th of the same month; that, at the request of the American consul in that place, the governor ordered a guard on board, to prevent the escape of the mutineers, and with a view to an investigation of the circumstances of the case; that such investigation was accordingly made by two British magistrates, and that an examination also took place by the consul; that, on the report of the magistrates, nineteen of the slaves were imprisoned by the local authorities, as having been concerned in the mutiny and murder; and their surrender to the consul, to be sent to the United States for trial for these crimes, was refused, on the ground that the governor wished first to communicate with the government in England on the subject; that, through the interference of the colonial authorities, and even before the military guard was removed, the greater number of the slaves were liberated, and encouraged to go beyond the power of the master of the vessel, or the American consul, by proceedings which neither of them could control. This is the substance of the case, as stated in two protests, one made at Nassau, and one at New Orleans, and the consul's letters, together with sundry depositions taken by him; copies of all which are herewith transmitted."

This statement of the case of the "Creole" is derived chiefly from the testimony of the officers and crew of the vessel, and very naturally falls under suspicion of being colored, in part, by prejudice and passion. We must hear the other side, and compare all the witnesses, before we can understand the whole case. The main facts, however, cannot be misunderstood. The shipping of the slaves at Norfolk, the rising of a part of their number against the officers of the vessel, the success of the insurrection, the carrying of the vessel into the port of Nassau and the recognition and treatment of the slaves as free by the British authorities of that place; — these material points of the case cannot be questioned.

The letter of our government, stating these facts as grounds of complaint against England, is written with much caution, and seems wanting in the tone of earnestness and confidence which naturally belongs to a good cause. It does not go to the heart of the case. It relies more on the comity of nations than on principles of justice and natural law. Still in one respect it is decided. It protests against and complains of the British authorities and "calls loudly for redress." It maintains that "it was the plain and obvious duty" of the authorities at Nassau to give aid and succor to the officers of the "Creole" in reducing the slaves to subjection, in resuming their voyage with their cargo of men as well as of tobacco, and in bringing the insurgents to trial in this country. It maintains that the claims of the American masters to their slaves existed and were in force in the British port, and that these claims ought to have been acknowledged and sustained by the British magistrate. The plain inference is, that the government of the United States is bound to spread a shield over American slavery abroad as well as at home. Such is the letter.

This document I propose to examine, and I shall do so chiefly for two reasons: first, because it maintains morally unsound and pernicious doctrines, and is fitted to deprave the public mind; and secondly, because it tends to commit the free States to the defence and support of slavery. This last point is at this moment of peculiar importance. The free States are gradually and silently coming more and more into connection with slavery; are unconsciously learning to regard it as a national interest; and are about to pledge their wealth and strength, their bones and muscles and lives, to its defence. Slavery is mingling more and more with the politics of the country, determining more and more the individuals who shall hold office, and the great measures on which the public weal depends. It is time for the free States to wake up to the subject: to weigh it deliberately; to think of it, not casually, when some startling fact forces it up into notice, but with earnest continued solemn attention; to inquire into their duties in regard to it: to lay down their principles: to mark out their course; and to resolve on acquitting themselves righteously towards God, towards the South, and towards themselves. The North

has never come to this great matter in earnest. We have trifled with it. We have left things to take their course. We have been too much absorbed in pecuniary interests to watch the bearing of slavery on the government. Perhaps we have wanted the spirit, the manliness to look the subject fully in the face. Accordingly, the slave-power has been allowed to stamp itself on the national policy and to fortify itself with the national arm. For the pecuniary injury to our prosperity which may be traced to this source I care little or nothing. There is a higher view of the case There is a more vital question to be settled than that of interest the question of duty; and to this my remarks will be confined.

The letter which is now to be examined may be regarded either as the work of an individual or as the work of the government. I shall regard it in the latter light alone. Its personal bearings are of no moment. No individual will enter my thoughts in this discussion. I regard the letter as issuing from the cabinet, as an executive document, as laying down the principles to which the public policy is in danger of being conformed, as fitted to draw the whole country into support of an institution which the free States abhor. With the opinions of an individual I have nothing to do. Corrupt principles adopted by the government, — these, and these alone, it will be my object to expose.

There is a difficulty lying at the threshold of such a discussion, which I should be glad to remove. A Northern man writing on slavery is supposed to write as a Northern man, to be swayed by state feelings and local biases; and the distrust thus engendered is a bar to the conviction which he might otherwise produce. But the prejudices which grow out of the spot where we live are far from being necessary or universal. There are persons whose peculiarity, perhaps whose infirmity it is to be exceedingly alive to evils in their neighborhood, to defects in the state of society in which they live, whilst their imaginations are apt to cast rosy hues over distant scenes. There are persons who, by living in retirement and holding intercourse with gifted minds in other regions, are even in danger of wanting a proper local attachment, and of being unjust to their own homes. There are also worthier causes which counteract the bigotry of provincial feelings. A man, then is not necessarily presumptuous in thinking himself free from local biases. In truth, slavery never presents itself to me as belonging to one or another part of the country. It does not come to me in its foreign relations I regard it simply and nakedly in itself, and on this account feel that I have a right to discuss it

May I be allowed one more preliminary remark? The subject of slavery is separated in my mind not only from local considerations but from all thought of the individuals by whom it is sustained. I speak against this institution freely, earnestly, some may think vehemently; but I have no thought of attaching the same reproach to all who uphold it: and this I say, not to propitiate the slave holder, who cannot easily forgive the irreconcilable enemy of his wrong-doing, but to meet the prepossessions of not a few among ourselves, who from esteem towards the slaveholder, repel what seems to them to involve an assault on his character. I do, indeed, use, and cannot but use, strong language against slavery. No greater wrong, no grosser insult on humanity can well be conceived; nor can it be softened by the customary plea of the slave-holder's kindness. The first and most essential exercise of love towards a human being is to respect his rights. It is idle to talk of kindness to a human being whose rights we habitually trample under foot. "Be just before you are generous." A human being is not to be loved as a horse or a dog, but as a being having rights; and his first grand right is that of free action; the right to use and expand his powers; to improve and obey his higher faculties; to seek his own and others' good; to better his lot; to make himself a home; to enjoy inviolate the relations of husband and parent: to live the life of a man. An institution denying to a being this right, and virtually all rights, which degrades him into a chattel and puts him beneath the level of his race, is more shocking to a calm, enlightened philanthropy than most of the atrocities which we shudder at in history: and this for a plain reason. These atrocities, such as the

burning of heretics, and the immolation of the Indian woman on the funeral pile of her husband, have generally some foundation in ideas of duty and religion. The inquisitor murders to do God service; and the Hindoo widow is often fortified against the flames by motives of inviolable constancy and generous self-sacrifice. The Indian in our wilderness, when he tortures his captives, thinks of making an offering, of making compensation, to his own tortured friends. But in slavery, man seizes his brother, subjects him to brute force, robs him of all his rights, for purely selfish ends, — as selfishly as the robber fastens on his prey. No generous affections, no ideas of religion and self-sacrifice, throw a gleam of light over its horrors. As such I must speak of slavery, when regarded in its own nature, and especially when regarded in its origin. But when I look on a community among whom this evil exists, but who did not originate it; who grew up in the midst of it; who connect it with parents and friends; who see it intimately entwined with the whole system of domestic, social, industrial, and political life; who are blinded by long habit to its evils and abuses; and who are alarmed by the possible evils of the mighty change involved in its abolition; I shrink from passing on such a community the sentence which is due to the guilty institution. All history furnishes instances of vast wrongs inflicted, of cruel institutions upheld, by nations or individuals who in other relations manifest respect for duty. That slavery has a blighting moral influence where it exists, is, indeed, unquestionable; but in that bad atmosphere so much that is good and pure may and does grow up as to forbid us to deny esteem and respect to a man simply because he is a slave-holder. I offer these remarks because I wish that the subject may be approached without the association of it with individuals, parties, or local divisions, which blind the mind to the truth.

I now return to the executive document with which I began. I am first to consider its doctrines, to show their moral unsoundness and inhumanity; and then I shall consider the bearing of these doctrines on the free States in general, and the interest which the free States have at this critical moment in the subject of slavery. Thus my work divides itself into two parts, the first of which is now offered to the public.

In regard to the reasonings and doctrines of the document, it is a happy circumstance that they come within the comprehension of the mass of the people. The case of the "Creole" is a simple one, which requires no extensive legal study to be understood. A man who has had little connection with public affairs is as able to decide on it as the bulk of politicians. The elements of the case are so few, and the principles on which its determination rests are so obvious, that nothing but a sound moral judgment is necessary to the discussion. Nothing can darken it but legal subtlety. None can easily doubt it, but those who surrender conscience and reason to arbitrary rules.

The question between the American and English governments turns mainly on one point. The English government does not recognize within its bounds any property in man. It maintains that slavery rests wholly on local, municipal legislation; that it is an institution not sustained and enforced by the law of nature, and, still more, that it is repugnant to this law; and that, of course, no man who enters the territory or is placed under the jurisdiction of England can be regarded as a slave, but must be treated as free. The law creating slavery, it is maintained, has and can have no force beyond the state which creates it. No other nation can be bound by it. Whatever validity this ordinance, which deprives a man of all his rights, may have within the jurisdiction of the community in which it had its birth, it can have no validity anywhere else. This is the principle on which the English government founds itself.

This principle is so plain that it has been established and is acted upon among ourselves, and in the neighboring British provinces. When a slave is brought by his master into Massachusetts, he is pronounced free, on the ground that the law of slavery has no force beyond the State which ordains it, and that the right of every man to liberty is recognized as one of the fundamental laws of the Commonwealth. A slave flying from his master to this Commonwealth is, indeed, restored, but not on account of the validity of the legislation

of the South on this point, but solely on the ground of a positive provision of the Constitution of the United States: and he is delivered, not as a slave, but as a "person held to service by law in another state." We should not think, for a moment, of restoring a slave flying to us from Cuba or Turkey. We recognize no right of a foreign master on this soil. The moment he brings his slave here his claim vanishes into air; and this takes place because we recognize freedom as the right of every human being.

By the provision of the Constitution, as we have said, the fugitive slave from the South is restored by us, or, at least, his master's claim is not annulled. But we have proof at our door that this exception rests on positive, not natural law. Suppose the fugitive to pass through our territory undiscovered, and to reach the soil of Canada. The moment he touches it he is free. The master finds there an equal in his slave. The British authority extends the same protection over both. Accordingly, a colony of fugitive slaves is growing up securely, beyond our border, in the enjoyment of all the rights of British subjects. And this good work has been going on for years, without any complaint against England as violating national law, and without any claim for compensation. These are plain facts. We ourselves construe the law of nature and nations as England does.

But the question is not to be settled on the narrow ground of precedent alone. Let us view it in the light of eternal, universal truth. A grand principle is involved in the case, or rather lies at its very foundation, and to this I ask particular attention. This principle is, that a man, as a man, has rights, has claims on his race, which are in no degree touched or impaired on account of the manner in which he may be regarded or treated by a particular clan, tribe, or nation of his fellow-creatures. A man, by his very nature, as an intelligent, moral creature of God, has claims to aid and kind regard from all other men. There is a grand law of humanity more comprehensive than all others, and under which every man should find shelter. He has not only a right, but is bound, to use freely and improve the powers which God has given him; and other men, instead of obstructing, are bound to assist their development and exertion. These claims a man does not derive from the family or tribe in which he began his being. They are not the growth of a particular soil: they are not ripened under a peculiar sky: they are not written on a particular complexion; they belong to human nature. The ground on which one man asserts them all men stand on, nor can they be denied to one without being denied to all. We have here a common interest. We must all stand or fall together. We all have claims on our race, claims of kindness and justice, claims grounded on our relation to our common Father, and on the inheritance of a common nature.

Because a number of men invade the rights of a fellow-creature, and pronounce him desitute of rights, his claims are not a whit touched by this. He is as much a man as before. Not a single gift of God on which his rights rest is taken away. His relations to the rest of his race are in no measure affected. He is as truly their brother as if his tribe had not pronounced him a brute. If, indeed, any change takes place, his claims are enhanced, on the ground that the suffering and injured are entitled to peculiar regard. If any rights should be singularly sacred in our sight, they are those which are denied and trodden in the dust.

It seems to be thought by some that a man derives all his rights from the nation to which he belongs. They are gifts of the state, and the state may take them away, if it will. A man, it is thought, has claims on other men, not as a man, but as an Englishman, an American, or a subject of some other state. He must produce his parchment of citzenship, before he binds other men to protect him, to respect his free agency, to leave him the use of his powers according to his own will. Local, municipal law is thus made the fountain and measure of rights. The stranger must tell us where he was born, what privileges he enjoyed at home, or no tie links us to one another.

In conformity to these views, it is thought that when one community declares a man to be a slave, other communities must respect this decree; that the duties of a foreign nation to an in-

dividual are to be determined by a brand set on him on his own shores; that his relations to the whole race may be affected by the local act of a community, no matter how small or how unjust.

This is a terrible doctrine. It strikes a blow at all the rights of human nature. It enables the political body to which we belong, no matter how wicked or weak to make each of us an outcast from his race. It makes a man nothing in himself. As a man he has no significance He is sacred only as far as some state has taken him under its care. Stripped of his nationality, he is at the mercy of all who may incline to lay hold on him. He may be seized imprisoned, sent to work in galleys or mines, unless some foreign state spreads its shield over him as one of its citizens.

This doctrine is as false as it is terrible. Man is not the mere creature of the state. Man is older than nations, and he is to survive nations. There is a law of humanity more primitive and divine than the law of the land. He has higher claims than those of a citizen. He has rights which date before all charters and communities; not conventional, not repealable, but as eternal as the powers and laws of his being.

This annihilation of the individual by merging him in the state lies at the foundation of despotism. The nation is too often the grave of the man. This is the more monstrous because the very end of the state — of the organization of the nation — is to secure the individual in all his rights, and especially to secure the rights of the weak. Here is the fundamental idea of political association. In an unorganized society, with no legislation, no tribunal, no empire, rights have no security. Force predominates over right. This is the grand evil of what is called the state of nature. To repress this to give right the ascendency over force, this is the grand idea and end of government of country, of political constitutions. And yet we are taught that it depends on the law of a man's country whether he shall have rights, and whether other states shall regard him as a man. When cast on a foreign shore, his country, and not his humanity, is to be inquired into, and the treatment he receives is to be proportioned to what he meets at home.

Men worship power, worship great organizations, and overlook the individual: and few things have depraved the moral sentiment of men more, or brought greater woes on the race. The state, or the ruler in whom the state is embodied, continues to be worshipped, notwithstanding the commission of crimes which would inspire horror in the private man. How insignificant are the robberies, murders piracies which the law makes capital, in comparison with an unjust or unnecessary war, dooming thousands, perhaps millions, of the innocent to the most torturing forms of death, or with the law of an autocrat or of a public body, depriving millions of all the rights of men! But these, because the acts of the state, escape the execrations of the world.

In consequence of this worship of governments it is thought that their relations to one another are alone important. A government is too great to look at a stranger, except as he is incorporated with some state. It can have nothing to do but with political organizations like itself. But the humble stranger has a claim on it as sacred as another state. Standing alone, he yet has rights, and to violate them is as criminal as to violate stipulations with a foreign power. In one view it is baser. It is as true of governments as of individuals, that it is base and unmanly to trample on the weak. He who invades the strong shows a courage which does something to redeem his violence; but to tread on the neck of a helpless, friendless fellow-creature, is to add meanness to wrong.

If the doctrine be true, that the character impressed on a man at home follows him abroad, and that he is to be regarded, not as a man, but as the local laws which he has left regard him, why shall not this apply to the peculiar advantages as well as disadvantages which a man enjoys in his own land? Why shall not he whom the laws invest with a right to universal homage at home receive the same tribute abroad? Why shall not he whose rank exempts him from the ordinary restraints of law on his own shores claim the same lawlessness elsewhere? Abroad these distinctions avail him nothing. The local law which makes him a kind of deity deserts him the moment he takes a step beyond his country's borders; and why shall

the disadvantages the terrible wrongs, which that law inflicts follow the poor sufferer to the end of the earth?

I repeat it (for the truth deserves reiteration), that all nations are bound to respect the rights of every human being. This is God's law, as old as the world. No local law can touch it. No ordinance of a particular state, degrading a set of men to chattels can absolve all nations from the obligation of regarding the injured beings as men or bind them to send back the injured to their chains. The character of a slave, attached to a man by a local government, is not and cannot be incorporated into his nature. It does not cling to him go where he will. The scar of slavery on his back does not reach his soul. The arbitrary relation between him and his master cannot suspend the primitive indestructible relation by which God binds him to his kind.

The idea, that a particular state may fix enduringly this stigma on a human being and can bind the most just and generous men to respect it, should be rejected with scorn and indignation. It reminds us of those horrible fictions in which some demon is described as stamping an indelible mark of hell on his helpless victims. It was the horrible peculiarity of the world in the reign of Tiberius, that it had become one vast prison. The unhappy man on whom the blighting suspicion of the tyrant had fallen could find no shelter or escape through the whole civilized regions of the globe. Everywhere his sentence followed him like fate. And can the law of a despot, or of a chamber of despots, extend now the same fearful doom to the ends of the earth? Can a little state at the South spread its web of cruel, wrongful legislation over both continents? Do all communities become spell bound by a law in a single country creating slavery? Must they become the slave's jailers? Must they be less merciful than the storm which drives off the bondman from the detested shore of servitude and casts him on the soil of freedom? Must even that soil become tainted by an ordinance passed perhaps in another hemisphere? Has oppression this terrible omnipresence? Must the whole earth register the slave-holder's decree? Then the earth is blighted indeed. Then, as some ancient sects taught, it is truly the empire of the principle of evil, of the power of darkness. Then God is dethroned here; for where injustice and oppression are omnipotent God has no empire.

I have thus stated the great principle on which the English authorities acted in the case of the "Creole," and on which all nations are bound to act. Slavery is the creature of a local law, having power not a hand-breadth beyond the jurisdiction of the country which ordains it. Other nations know nothing of it, — are bound to pay it no heed. I might add, that other nations are bound to tolerate it within the bounds of a particular state only on the grounds on which they suffer a particular state to establish bloody superstitions to use the rack in jurisprudence or to practise other enormities. They might much more justifiably put down slavery where it exists than enforce a foreign slave-code within their own bounds. Such is the impregnable principle which we of the free States should recognize and earnestly sustain *

This principle our government has not explicitly denied in its letter to our minister in London. The letter is chiefly employed in dilating on various particular circumstances which, it is said entitled the "Creole" to assistance from the British authorities in the prosecution of the voyage with her original freight and passengers. The strength of the document lies altogether in the skilful manner in which these circumstances are put together. I shall therefore proceed to consider them with some minuteness. They are briefly these. The vessel was engaged in a voyage "perfectly lawful." She was taken to a British port, "not voluntarily by those who had the lawful authority over her," but forcibly and violently, "against the master's will," without any agency or solicitation on the part of the great majority of the slaves, and, indeed, solely by the few "mutineers" who had gained possession of her by violence and bloodshed. The slaves were "still on board" the American vessel. They had not become "incorporated with the English population:" and from these facts it is argued that they had not changed their original character, that the vessel containing them ought to have been regarded as

* See Note A at end of this article.

"still on her voyage," and should have been aided to resume it, according to that law of comity and hospitality by which nations are bound to aid one another's vessels in distress.

It is encouraging to see in this reasoning of the letter a latent acknowledgment that, had the vessel been carried with the slaves into the British port by the free will of the captain, the slaves would have been entitled to liberty. The force and crime involved in the transaction form the strength of the case as stated by ourselves. The whole tone of the communication undesignedly recognizes important rights in a foreign state in regard to slaves carried voluntarily to their shores; and by this concession it virtually abandons the whole ground.

But let us look at the circumstances which, it is said, bound the British authorities to assist the captain in sending back the slaves to their chains; and one general remark immediately occurs. These circumstances do not touch, in the slightest degree, the great principle on which the authorities were bound by British and natural law to act. This principle, as we have stated, is, that a nation is bound by the law of nature to respect the rights of every human being; that every man within its jurisdiction is entitled to its protection as long as he obeys its laws; that the private individual may appeal to the broad law of humanity and claim hospitality as truly as a state.

Now, how did the peculiar circumstances of the "Creole" bear on this fundamental view of the case? Did the manner in which the slaves of the "Creole" were carried to Nassau in any measure affect their character as men? Did they cease to be men because the ship was seized by violence, the captain imprisoned, and the vessel turned from its original destination? Did the shifting of the vessel's course by a few points of the compass, or did the government of the helm by a "mutineer" transmute a hundred or more men into chattels? To the eye of the British officer, the slaves looked precisely as they would have done had they been brought to the island by any other means. He could see nothing but human beings; and no circumstances, leaving this character on them, could have authorized him to deny them human rights. It mattered nothing to him how they came to the island; for this did not touch at all the ground of their claim to protection.

A case, indeed, is imagined in the document, in which it is said that the manner of transportation of slaves to a foreign port must determine the character in which they shall be viewed. "Suppose an American vessel with slaves lawfully on board were to be captured by a British cruiser, as belonging to some belligerent, while the United States were at peace; suppose such prize carried into England, and the neutrality of the vessel fully made out in the proceedings in Admiralty, and a restoration consequently decreed; in such case must not the slaves be restored exactly in the condition in which they were when the capture was made? Would any one contend that the fact of their having been carried into England by force set them free?" I reply, undoubtedly they would be free the moment they should enter English jurisdiction. A writ of *habeas corpus* could and would and must be granted them, if demanded by themselves or their friends, and no court would dare to remit them to their chains; and this is not only English law, but in the spirit of universal law. In this case, however, compensation would undoubtedly be made by the captors for the slaves, not on the ground of any claim in the slave-holder, but because of the original wrong by the captors, and of their consequent obligation to replace the vessel, as much as possible, in the condition in which she was found at the moment of being seized on the open ocean, where she was captured on groundless suspicion, where she had a right to prosecute her voyage without obstruction, and whence she ought not to have been brought by the capturing state within its jurisdiction and made subject to its laws.

Let us now consider particularly the circumstances on which the United States maintain that the British authorities were bound to replace the slaves under the master of the "Creole," and violated their duty in setting them free.

It is insisted, first, that "the 'Creole' was passing from one port to another in a voyage *perfectly lawful*." We cannot

but lament that, to sustain this point of the *lawfulness* of the voyage, it is affirmed that "slaves are recognized as property by the Constitution of the United States in those States in which slavery exists." Were this true, it is one of those truths which respect for our country should prevent our intruding on the notice of strangers. A child should throw a mantle over the nakedness of his parent. But the language seems to me stronger than the truth. The Constitution was intended not to interfere with the laws of property in the States where slaves had been held. But the recognition of a moral right in the slaveholder is most carefully avoided in that instrument. Slaves are three times referred to, but always as *persons*, not as *property*. The free States are, indeed, bound to deliver up fugitive slaves; but these are to be surrendered, not as slaves, but as "persons held to service." The clause applies as much to fugitive apprentices from the North as to fugitive slaves from the South. The history of this clause is singular. In the first draught of the Constitution it stood thus: "No person, legally held to service or labor in one State, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of regulations subsisting therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up," &c. Mr. Madison tells us that "the term 'legally' was struck out, and the words, 'under the laws thereof,' inserted after the word 'State,' in compliance with the wish of some who thought the term *legal* equivocal, and favoring the idea that slavery was *legal in a moral view*." * It ought also to be added, that, in the debate in the Convention on that clause of the Constitution which conferred power on Congress to abolish the importation of slaves in 1808, "Mr. Madison thought it wrong to admit in the Constitution the idea that there could be property in men." † Most memorable testimony to the truth from this greatest constitutional authority! With the knowledge of these facts, our government had no apology for holding up the great national charter as recognizing property in man. The phraseology and history of the Constitution afford us some shelter, however insufficient, from the moral condemnation of the world; and we should not gratuitously cast it away.

Whilst, however, we censure this clause in the executive document, we rejoice that on one point it is explicit. It affirms that "slaves are recognized as property by the Constitution of the United States *in those States in which slavery exists*." Here we have the limit precisely defined within which the Constitution spreads its shield over slavery. These limits are, "the States in which slavery exists." Beyond these it recognizes no property in man, and, of course, beyond these it cannot take this property under its protection. The moment the slave leaves the States within which slavery exists, the Constitution knows nothing of him as property. Of consequence, the national government has no right to touch the case of the "Creole." As soon as that vessel passed beyond the jurisdiction of the State where she received her passengers, the slaves ceased to be property, in the eye of the Constitution. The national authorities were no longer bound to interfere with and to claim them as such. The nation's force was no longer pledged to subject them to their masters. Its relation to them had wholly ceased. On this point we are bound to adopt the strictest construction of the instrument. The free States should not suffer themselves to be carried a hair's breadth beyond the line within which they are pledged to the dishonorable office of protecting slavery.

But, leaving this clause, I return to the first consideration adduced to substantiate the claim of the "Creole" to the assistance of the British authorities. The voyage, we are told, was "perfectly lawful." Be it so. But this circumstance, according to the principles of the free States, involves no obligation of another community to enforce slavery, or to withhold from the slave the rights of a man. Suppose that the "Creole" had sailed to Massachusetts with her slaves. The voyage would have been "lawful;" but on entering the port of Boston her slaves would have been pronounced free. The "right of property" in them conferred by a slave State would have ceased. The lawfulness of the voyage, then, gives the slaveholder no claim on another government into the ports of which his slave may be carried.

* Madison Papers, p. 1589.
† Ibid. pp. 1429, 30.

Again, what is meant by the "perfect lawfulness" of the voyage? Does it mean that the "Creole" shipped the slaves under the law of nature or the law of Great Britain? Certainly not; but solely under the law of America; so that the old question recurs, Whether a local, municipal law, authorizing an American vessel to convey slaves, binds all nations, to whose territory these unhappy persons may be carried, to regard them as property, to treat them as the Parias of the human race. This is the simple question, and one not hard of solution.

"The voyage was perfectly lawful," we are told. So would be the voyage of a Turkish ship freighted with Christian slaves from Constantinople. Suppose such a vessel driven by storms or carried by force into a Christian port. Would any nation in Europe, or would America, feel itself bound to assist the Turkish slaver, to replace the chains on Christian captives whom the elements or their own courage had set free, to sacrifice to the comity and hospitality and usages of nations the law of humanity and Christian brotherhood?

"The voyage," we are told, "was perfectly lawful." Suppose, now, that a slave-holding country should pass a law ordaining and describing a chain as a badge of bondage, and authorizing the owner to carry about his slave fastened to himself by this sign of property. Suppose the master to go with slave and chain to a foreign country. His journey would be "lawful;" but would the foreign government be bound to respect this ordinance of the distant state? Would the authorized chain establish property in the slave over the whole earth? We know it would not: and why should the authorized vessel impose a more real obligation?

It seems to be supposed by some that there is a peculiar sacredness in a vessel, which exempts it from all control in the ports of other nations. A vessel is sometimes said to be "an extension of the territory" to which it belongs. The nation, we are told, is present in the vessel, and its honor and rights are involved in the treatment which its flag receives abroad. These ideas are in the main true in regard to ships on the high seas. The sea is the exclusive property of no nation. It is subject to none. It is the common and equal property of all. No state has jurisdiction over it. No state can write its laws on that restless surface. A ship at sea carries with her and represents the rights of her country — rights equal to those which any other enjoys. The slightest application of the laws of another nation to her is to be resisted. She is subjected to no law but that of her own country, and to the law of nations, which presses equally on all states. She may thus be called, with no violence to language, an extension of the territory to which she belongs. But suppose her to quit the open sea and enter a port. What a change is produced in her condition! At sea she sustained the same relations to all nations — those of an equal. Now she sustains a new and peculiar relation to the nation which she has entered. She passes at once under its jurisdiction. She is subject to its laws. She is entered by its officers. If a criminal flies to her for shelter, he may be pursued and apprehended. If her own men violate the laws of the land, they may be seized and punished. The nation is not present in her. She has left the open highway of the ocean, where all nations are equals, and entered a port where one nation alone is clothed with authority. What matters it that a vessel in the harbor of Nassau is owned in America? This does not change her locality. She has contracted new duties and obligations by being placed under a new jurisdiction. Her relations differ essentially from those which she sustained at home or on the open sea. These remarks apply, of course, to merchant vessels alone. A ship of war is "an extension of the territory" to which she belongs not only when she is on the ocean but in a foreign port. In this respect she resembles an army marching by consent through a neutral country. Neither ship of war nor army falls under the jurisdiction of foreign states. Merchant vessels resemble individuals. Both become subject to the laws of the land which they enter.

We are now prepared to consider the next circumstance on which much stress is laid to substantiate the claim of our government. "The vessel was taken to a British port, not voluntarily, by those who had the lawful authority over her.

but forcibly and violently, against the master's will, by mutineers and murderers" &c.

To this various replies are contained in the preceding remarks. The first is, that the local laws of one country are not transported to another, and do not become of force there, because a vessel of the former is carried by violence into the ports of the latter. Another is that a vessel entering the harbor of a foreign state, through mutiny or violence, is not on this account exempted from its jurisdiction or laws. She may not set its authorities at defiance because brought within its waters against her own will. There may, indeed, be local laws intended to exclude foreigners which it would be manifestly unjust and inhuman to enforce on such as may be driven to the excluding state against their own consent. But as to the laws of a country founded on the universal principles of justice and humanity, these are binding on foreign vessels under whatever circumstances they may be brought within its jurisdiction. There is still another view of this subject which I have already urged, but which is so important as to deserve repetition. The right of the slaves of the "Creole" to liberation was not at all touched by the mode in which they were brought to Nassau. No matter how they got there, whether by sea, land or air, whether by help of saint or sinner. A man's right to freedom is derived from none of these accidents, but inheres in him as a man and nothing which does not touch his humanity can impair it. The slaves of the "Creole" were not a whit the less men because "mutiny" had changed their course on the ocean. They stood up in the port of Nassau with all the attributes of men, and the government could not without wrong have denied their character and corresponding claims.

We are now prepared for the consideration of another circumstance in the case of the "Creole" on which stress is laid. We are told by our government that they were "still in the ship" when they were declared free, and on this account their American character, that is, the character of slavery, adhered to them. This is a view of the case more fitted perhaps than any other to impress the inconsiderate. The slaves had not changed their position,—had not touched the shore. The vessel was American. They trod on American planks; they slept within American walls. They of course belonged to America, and were to be viewed only in their American character. To this reasoning the principles already laid down furnish an easy answer. It is true that the slaves were in an American ship; but there is another truth still more pregnant; they were also in another country, where American law has no power. The vessel had not carried America to the port of Nassau. The slaves had changed countries. What though they were there in an American ship? They were therefore not the less within English territory and English jurisdiction. The two or three inches of plank which separated them from the waves had no miraculous power to prevent them from being where they were. The water which embosomed the vessel was English. The air they breathed was English. The laws under which they had passed were English. One would think, from the reasoning to which I am replying, that the space occupied by a vessel in a foreign port is separated for a time from the country to which it formerly belonged; that it takes the character of the vessel, and falls under the laws of the land to which she appertains: that the authorities which have controlled it for ages must not enter it, whilst the foreign planks are floating in it to repress crime or enforce justice. But this is all a fiction. The slaves, whilst in the ship, were in a foreign country as truly as if they had plunged into the waves or set foot on shore.

We will now consider another circumstance to which importance is attached in the document of our executive. We are told that "the slaves could not be regarded as having become mixed up or incorporated with the British population, or as having changed character at all, either in regard to country or personal condition." To this it is replied, that no one pretends that the slaves had become Englishmen, or had formed a special relation to Great Britain, on account of which she was compelled to liberate them. It was not as a part of the British population that they were declared free. Had the authorities at Nassau taken this ground, they might have been open to the complaints of

our government. The slaves were pronounced free, not because of any national character which they sustained, but because they were men, and because Great Britain held itself bound to respect the law of nature with regard to men. It was not necessary for them to be incorporated with the British population in order to acquire the common rights of human beings. One great error in the document is, that a government is supposed to owe nothing to a human being who lands on its shores, any farther than his nation may require. It is thought to have nothing to do but to inquire into his nationality and to fulfil the obligations which this imposes. He has no rights to set up, unless his own government stand by him. Thus the fundamental principles of the law of nature are set at naught. Thus all rights are resolved into benefactions of the state, and man is nothing, unless incorporated, mixed up, with a population of a particular country. This doctrine is too monstrous to be openly avowed, but it lies at the foundation of most of the reasonings of the document. The man, I repeat it, is older and more sacred than the citizen. The slave of the "Creole" had no other name to take. His own country had declared him not to be a citizen. He had been scornfully refused a place among the American people. He was only a man; and was that a low title on which to stand up among men? Nature knows no higher on earth. English law knows no higher. Shall we find fault with a country because an outcast man landing on its shore is declared free without the formality of becoming incorporated with its population?

The slaves, we are told in the argument which we are considering, as they had no claim to be considered as mixed up with the British population, had not, therefore, changed their character either in regard to "country or condition." The old sophistry reigns here. It is taken for granted that a man has no character but that of country and condition. In other words, he must be regarded by foreign states as belonging to a particular nation, and treated according to this view, and no other. Now the truth is, that there is a primitive, indelible "character" fastened on a man, far more important than that of "country or condition;" and, looking at this, I joyfully accord with our cabinet in saying that the slaves of the "Creole" did not "change their character" by touching British soil. There they stood with the character which God impressed on them, and which man can never efface. The British authorities gave them no new character, but simply recognized that which they had worn from the day of their birth, — the only one which cannot pass away.

I have now considered all the circumstances stated in the document as grounds of complaint, with one exception, and this I have deferred on account of its uncertainty, and in the hope of obtaining more satisfactory information. The circumstance is this, "that the slaves were liberated by the interference of the colonial authorities;" that these "not only gave no aid, but did actually interfere to set free the slaves, and to enable them to disperse themselves beyond the reach of the master of the vessel or their owners." This statement is taken from the protest of the captain and crew made at New Orleans, which, indeed, uses much stronger language, and charges on the British authorities much more exceptionable interference. This, as I have said, is to be suspected of exaggeration or unjust coloring, not on the ground of any peculiar falseness in the men who signed it, but because of the tendency of passion and interest to misconstrue the offensive conduct of others. But admitting the correctness of the protest, we cannot attach importance to the complaint of the document. This insists that the English authorities "interfered to set free the slaves." I reply that the authorities did not and could not set the colored men free, and for the plain reason, that they were in no sense slaves in the British port. The authorities found them in the first instance both legally and actually free. How, then, could they be liberated? They stood before the magistrates free at the first moment. They had passed beyond the legislation of the state which had imposed their chains. They had come under a jurisdiction which knew nothing of property in man, nothing of the relation of master and slave. As soon as they entered the British waters the legal power of the captain over

them, whatever it might have been, ceased. They were virtually "beyond his reach," even whilst on board. Of course, no act of the authorities was needed for their liberation.

But this is not all. The colored men were not only legally free on entering the British port, they were so actually and as a matter of fact. The British authorities had not the merit of exerting the least physical power to secure to them their right to liberty. The slaves had liberated themselves. They had imprisoned the captain. They had taken the command of the vessel. The British authorities interfered to liberate, not the colored people, but the captain; not to uphold, but arrest "the mutineers." Their action was friendly to the officers and crew. In all this action, however, they did nothing, of course, to reduce the slaves a second time to bondage. Had they, in restoring the vessel to the captain, replaced, directly or indirectly, the liberated slaves under the yoke, they would have done so at their peril. How, then, could they free those whom they knew only as free? They simply declared them free, — declared a matter of fact which could not be gainsaid. If they persuaded them to leave the ship, they plainly acted in this as counsellors and friends, and exerted no official power.

It is said, indeed, in the protest, that the magistrates "commanded" the slaves to go on shore. If this be true, and if the command were accompanied with any force, they indeed committed a wrong; but one, I fear, for which our government will be slow to seek redress. They wronged the liberated slaves. These were free, and owed no obedience to such a command. They had a right to stay where they were, a right to return to America; and in being compelled to go on shore they received an injury for which our government, if so disposed, may make complaint. But the slaves alone were the injured party. The right of the owner was not violated, for he had no right. His claim was a nullity in the British port. He was not known there. The law on which he stood in his own country was there a dead letter. Who can found on it a complaint against the British government?

It is said that the "comity of nations" forbade this interference. But this comity is a vague, unsettled law, and ought not to come into competition with the obligations of a state to injured men thrown on its protection, and whose lives and liberties are at stake.* We must wait, however, for farther light from Nassau, to comprehend the whole case. It is not impossible that the authorities at that port exerted an undue influence, and took on themselves an undue responsibility. Among the liberated slaves there were undoubtedly not a few so ignorant and helpless as to be poorly fitted to seek their fortune in the West Indies, among strangers little disposed to sympathize with their sufferings or aid their inexperience. These ought to have been assured of their liberty; but they should have been left to follow, without any kind of resistance, their shrinking from an unknown shore, and their desire to return to the land of their birth, whenever these feelings were expressed.

I know not that I have overlooked any of the considerations which are urged in the executive document in support of our complaints against Great Britain in the case of the "Creole." I have labored to understand and meet their full force. I am sorry to have been obliged to enter into these so minutely, and to repeat what I deem true principles so often. But the necessity was laid on me. The document does not lay down explicitly any great principle with which our claim must stand or fall. Its strength lies in the skilful suggestion of various circumstances which strike the common reader, and which must successively be examined, to show their insufficiency to the end for which they are adduced. It is possible, however, to give something of a general form to the opinions expressed in it, and to detect under these a general principle. This I shall proceed to do, as necessary to the full comprehension of this paper. The opinions scattered through the document may be thus expressed: — "Slaves, pronounced to be property by American law, and shipped as such, ought to be so regarded by a foreign government on whose shores they may be thrown. This government is bound to regard the national stamp set on them. It has

* See Note B at end of this article.

no right to inquire into the condition of these persons. It cannot give to them the character or privileges of the country to which they are carried. Suppose a government to have declared opium a thing in which no property can lawfully exist or be asserted. Would it, therefore, have a right to take the character of property from opium, when driven in a foreign ship into its ports, and to cast it into the sea? Certainly not. Neither, because it declares that men cannot be property, can it take this character from slaves, when they are driven into its ports from a country which makes them property by its laws. They still belong to the distant claimant: his right must not be questioned or disturbed; and he must be aided in holding them in bondage, if his power over them is endangered by distress or mutiny." Such are the opinions of the document, in a condensed form, and they involve one great principle, namely, this: that property is an arbitrary thing, created by governments; that a government may make any thing property at its will; and that what its subjects or citizens hold as property, under this sanction, must be regarded as such, without inquiry, by the civilized world. According to the document, a nation may attach the character of property to whatever it pleases; may attach it alike to men and women, beef and pork, cotton and rice; and other nations, into whose ports its vessels may pass, are bound to respect its laws in these particulars, and in case of distress to assist in enforcing them. Let our country, through its established government, declare our fathers or mothers, sons or daughters, to be property, and they become such, and the right of the master must not be questioned at home or abroad.

Now this doctrine, stated in plain language, needs no labored refutation; it is disproved by the immediate testimony of conscience and common-sense. Property is not an arbitrary thing, dependent wholly on man's will. It has its foundation and great laws in nature, and these cannot be violated without crime. It is plainly the intention of Providence that certain things should be owned, — should be held as property. They fulfil their end only by such appropriation. The material world was plainly made to be subjected to human labor, and its products to be moulded by skill to human use. He who wins them by honest toil has a right to them, and is wronged when others seize and consume them. The document supposes a government to declare that opium is an article in which property cannot exist or be asserted, and on this ground to wrest it from the owner and throw it into the sea; and this it considers a parallel case to the declaration that property in man cannot exist. But who does not see that the parallel is absurd? The poppy, which contains the opium, is by its nature fitted and designed to be held as property. The man who rears it by his capital, industry, and skill thus establishes a right to it, and is injured if it be torn from him, except in the special case where some higher right supersedes that of property. The poppy is not wronged by being owned and consumed. It has no intelligence, no conscience for its own direction, no destiny to fulfil by the wise use and culture of its powers. It has therefore no rights. By being appropriated to an individual it does good, it suffers no wrong.

Here are the grounds of property. They are found in the nature of the articles so used; and where these grounds are wholly wanting, as in the case of human beings, it cannot exist or be asserted. A man was made to be an owner, not to be owned: to acquire, not to become property. He has faculties for the government of himself. He has a great destiny. He sustains tender and sacred relations, especially those of parent and husband, and with the duties and blessings of these no one must interfere. As such a being, he has rights. These belong to his very nature. They belong to every one who partakes it; all here are equal. He therefore may be wronged, and is most grievously wronged, when forcibly seized by a fellow-creature, who has no other nature and rights than his own, and seized by such an one to live for his pleasure, to be bowed to his absolute will, to be placed under his lash, to be sold, driven from home, and torn from parent, wife, and child, for another's gain. Does any parallel exist between such a being and opium? Can we help seeing a distinction between the nature of a plant and a man which forbids their being con-

founded under the same character of property? Is not the distinction recognized by us in the administration of our laws? When a man from the South brings hither his watch and trunk, is his right to them deemed a whit the less sacred because the laws of his State cease to protect them? Do we not recognize them as his, as intuitively and cheerfully as if they belonged to a citizen of our own State? Are they not his, here and everywhere? Do we not feel that he would be wronged were they torn from him? But when he brings a slave, we do not recognize his property in our fellow-creature. We pronounce the slave free. Whose reason and conscience do not intuitively pronounce this distinction between a man and a watch to be just?

It may be urged, however, that this is a distinction for moralists, not for governments; that, if a government establishes property, however unjustly, in human beings, this is its own concern, and the concern of no other: and that articles on board its vessels must be recognized by other nations as what it declares them to be, without any question as to the morality or fitness of its measures. One nation, we are told, is not to interfere with another. I need not repeat, in reply, what I have so often said, that a government has solemn duties towards every human being entering its ports — duties which no local law about property in another country can in any degree impair. I would only say, that a government is not bound in all possible cases to respect the stamp put by another government on articles transported in the vessels of the latter. The comity of nations supposes that in all such transactions respect is paid to common sense and common justice. Suppose a government to declare cotton to be horses, to write "Horse" on all the bales within its limits, and to set these down as horses in its custom-house papers: and suppose a cargo of these to enter a port where the importation of cotton is forbidden. Will the comity of nations forbid the foreign nation to question the character which has been affixed by law to the bales in the country to which they belong? Can a law change the nature of things, in the intercourse of nations? Must officers be stone-blind through "comity"? Would it avail any thing to say, that, by an old domestic institution in the exporting country, cotton was pronounced horse, and that such institution must not be interfered with by foreigners? Now, in the estimation of England and of sound morality, it is as hard to turn man into property as horses into cotton, and this estimation England has embodied in its laws. Can we expect such a country to reverence the stamp of property on men, because attached to them by a foreign land?

The executive document not only maintains the obligation of the English authorities to respect what the South had stamped on the slave, but maintains earnestly that "the English authorities had no right to *inquire* into the cargo of the vessel, or the condition of persons on board." Now, it is unnecessary to dispute about this right; for the British authorities did not exercise it, — did not need it. The truth of the case, and the whole truth, they could not help seeing, even had they wished to remain blind. Master, crew, passengers, colored people, declared with one voice that the latter were shipped as slaves. Their character was thus forced on the government, which of course had no liberty of action in the case. By the laws of England, slavery could not be recognized within its jurisdiction. No human being could be recognized as property. The authorities had but one question to ask: Are these poor creatures men? and to solve this question no right of search was needed. It solved itself. A single glance settled the point. Of course we have no ground to complain of a busy intermeddling with cargo and persons, to determine their character, by British authorities.

I have thus finished my examination of the document, and shall conclude with some general remarks. And first, I cannot but express my sorrow at the tone of inhumanity which pervades it. I have said at the beginning that I should make no personal strictures; and I have no thought of charging on our cabinet any singular want of human feeling. The document bears witness, not to individual hardness of heart, but to the callousness, the cruel insensibility, which has seized the community at large. Our contact with slavery has seared in

a measure almost all hearts. Were there a healthy tone of feeling among us, certain passages in this document would call forth a burst of displeasure. For example, what an outrage is offered to humanity in instituting a comparison between man and opium, in treating these as having equal rights and equal sanctity, in degrading an immortal child of God to the level of a drug, in placing both equally at the mercy of selfish legislators! To an unsophisticated man there is not only inhumanity, but irreligion, in thus treating a being made in the image of God and infinitely dear to the Universal Father.

In the same tone, the slaves, who regained their freedom by a struggle which cost the life of a white man, and by which one of their own number perished, are set down as "mutineers and murderers." Be it granted that their violence is condemned by the Christian law. Be it granted that the assertion of our rights must not be stained with cruelty; that it is better for us to die slaves than to inflict death on our oppressor. But is there a man, having a manly spirit, who can withhold all sympathy and admiration from men who, having grown up under the blighting influence of slavery, yet had the courage to put life to hazard for liberty? Are freemen slow to comprehend and honor the impulse which stirs men to break an unjust and degrading chain? Would the laws of any free state pronounce the taking of life in such a case "murder"? Because a man, under coercion, whilst on his way to a new yoke, and in the act of being carried by force from wife and children and home, sheds blood to escape his oppressor, is he to be confounded with the vilest criminals? Does a republic, whose heroic age was the Revolution of 1776, and whose illustrious men earned their glory in a sanguinary conflict for rights, find no mitigation of this bloodshed in the greater wrongs to which the slave is subjected? This letter would have lost nothing of its force — it would at least have shown better taste — had it consulted humanity enough to be silent about "opium" and "murder."

I cannot refrain from another view of the document. This declaration of national principles cannot be too much lamented and disapproved for the dishonor it has brought on our country. It openly arrays us, as a people, against the cause of human freedom. It throws us in the way of the progress of liberal principles through the earth. The grand distinction of our Revolution was, that it not only secured the independence of a single nation, but asserted the rights of mankind. It gave to the spirit of freedom an impulse which, notwithstanding the dishonor cast on the cause by the excesses of France, is still acting deeply and broadly on the civilized world. Since that period a new consciousness of what is due to a human being has been working its way. It has penetrated into despotic states. Even in countries where the individual has no constitutional means of controlling government, personal liberty has a sacredness and protection never known before. Among the triumphs of this spirit of freedom and humanity, one of the most signal is the desire to put an end to slavery. The cry for emancipation swells and spreads from land to land. And whence comes the opposing cry? From St. Petersburg? From Constantinople? From the gloomy, jealous cabinets of despotism? No; but from republican America! from that country whose Declaration of Independence was an era in human history! The nations of the earth are beginning to proclaim that slaves shall not breathe their air, that whoever touches their soil shall be free. Republican America protests against this reverence for right and humanity, and summons the nations to enforce her laws against the slave. O my country! hailed once as the asylum of the oppressed, once consecrated to liberty, once a name pronounced with tears of joy and hope! now a by-word among the nations, the scorn of the very subjects of despotism! How art thou fallen, morning-star of freedom! And has it come to this? Must thy children blush to pronounce thy name? Must we cower in the presence of the Christian world? Must we be degraded to the lowest place among Christian nations? Is the sword which wrought out our liberties to be unsheathed now to enforce the claims of slavery on foreign states? Can we bear this burning shame? Are the free States prepared to incur this infamy and crime?

"Slaves cannot breathe in England."

I learned this line when I was a boy, and in imagination I took flight to the soil which could never be tainted by slaves. Through the spirit which spoke in that line England has decreed that slaves cannot breathe in her islands. Ought we not to rejoice in this new conquest of humanity? Ought not the tidings of it to have been received with beaming eyes and beating hearts? Instead of this, we demand that humanity shall retrace her steps, and liberty resign her trophies. We call on a great nation to abandon its solemnly pronounced conviction of duty, its solemnly pledged respect for human rights, and to do what it believes to be unjust, inhuman, and base. Is there nothing of insult in such a demand? This case is no common one. It is not a question of policy, not an ordinary diplomatic concern. A whole people, from no thought of policy, but planting itself on the ground of justice and of Christianity, sweeps slavery from its soil, and declares that no slave shall tread there. This profound religious conviction, in which all Christian nations are joining her, we come in conflict with, openly and without shame. Is this an enviable position for a country which would respect itself or be respected by the world? It is idle, and worse than idle, to say, as is sometimes said, that England has no motive but policy in her movements about slavery. He who says so talks ignorantly or recklessly. I have studied abolitionism in England enough to assure those who have neglected it that it was the act, not of the politician, but of the people. In this respect it stands alone in history. It was a disinterested movement of a Christian nation in behalf of oppressed strangers, beginning with Christians, carried through by Christians. The government resisted it for years. The government was compelled to yield to the voice of the people. No act of the English nation was ever so national, so truly the people's act, as this. And can we hope to conquer the conscience as well as the now solemnly adopted policy of a great nation? Were England to concede this point, she would prove herself false to known, acknowledged truth and duty. Her freshest, proudest laurel would wither. The toils and prayers of her Wilberforces, Clarksons, and a host of holy men, which now invoke God's blessings on her, would be turned to her reproach and shame, and call down the vengeance of heaven.

In bearing this testimony to the spirit of the English people in the abolition of the slave-trade and of slavery, nothing is farther from my mind than a disposition to defend the public policy or institutions of tnat country. In this case, as in most others, the people are better than their rulers. England is one of the last countries of which I am ready to become a partisan. There must be something radically wrong in the policy, institutions, and spirit of a nation which all other nations regard with jealousy and dislike. Great Britain, with all her progress in the arts, has not learned the art of inspiring confidence and love. She sends forth her bounty over the earth, but, politically considered, has made the world her foe. Her Chinese war, and her wild extension of dominion over vast regions which she cannot rule well or retain, give reason to fear that she is falling a prey to the disease under which great nations have so often perished.

To a man who looks with sympathy and brotherly regard on the mass of the people, who is chiefly interested in the "lower classes," England must present much which is repulsive. Though a monarchy in name, she is an aristocracy in fact; and an aristocratical caste, however adorned by private virtue, can hardly help sinking an infinite chasm between itself and the multitude of men. A privileged order, possessing the chief power of the state, cannot but rule in the spirit of an order, cannot respect the mass of the people cannot feel that for *them* government chiefly exists and ought to be administered, and that for *them* the nobleman holds his rank as a trust. The condition of the lower orders at the present moment is a mournful commentary on English institutions and civilization. The multitude are depressed in that country to a degree of ignorance, want, and misery which must touch every heart not made of stone. In the civilized world there are few sadder spectacles than the contrast, now presented in Great Britain, of unbounded wealth and luxury with the starvation of thousands and ten thousands, crowded into cellars and dens without ventilation or light, compared with which the wig-

wam of the Indian is a palace. Misery, famine, brutal degradation, in the neighborhood and presence of stately mansions which ring with gayety and dazzle with pomp and unbounded profusion, shock us as no other wretchedness does; and this is not an accidental, but an almost necessary effect of the spirit of aristocracy and the spirit of trade acting intensely together. It is a striking fact that the private charity of England, though almost incredible, makes little impression on this mass of misery; thus teaching the rich and titled to be "just before being generous," and not to look to private munificence as a remedy for the evils of selfish institutions.

Notwithstanding my admiration of the course of England in reference to slavery, I see as plainly as any the wrongs and miseries under which her lower classes groan. I do not on this account, however, subscribe to a doctrine very common in this country, that the poor Chartists of England are more to be pitied than our slaves. Ah, no! Misery is not slavery; and, were it greater than it is, it would afford the slave-holder no warrant for trampling on the rights and the souls of his fellow-creatures. The Chartist, depressed as he is, is not a slave. The blood would rush to his cheek, and the spirit of a man swell his emaciated form, at the suggestion of relieving his misery by reducing him to bondage; and this sensibility shows the immeasurable distance between him and the slave. He has rights, and knows them. He pleads his own cause, and just and good men plead it for him. According to the best testimony, intelligence is spreading among the Chartists; so is temperance; so is self-restraint. They feel themselves to be men. Their wives and children do not belong to another. They meet together for free discussion, and their speeches are not wanting in strong sense and strong expression. Not a few among them have seized on the idea of the elevation of their class by a new, intellectual and moral culture, and here is a living seed, the promise of immeasurable good. Shall such men, who aspire after a better lot, and among whom strong and generous spirits are springing up, be confounded with slaves, whose lot admits no change, who must not speak of wrongs or think of redress, whom it is a crime to teach to read, to whom even the Bible is a sealed book, who have no future, no hope on this side death?

I have spoken freely of England; yet I do not forget our debt or the debt of the world to her. She was the mother of our freedom. She has been the bulwark of Protestantism. What nation has been more fruitful in great men, in men of genius? What nation can compare with her in munificence? What nation but must now acknowledge her unrivalled greatness? That little island sways a wider empire than the Roman, and has a power of blessing mankind never before conferred on a people. Would to God she could learn — what nation never yet learned — so to use power as to inspire confidence, not fear, so as to awaken the world's gratitude, not its jealousy and revenge!

But whatever be the claims of England or of any other state, I must cling to my own country with strong preference, and cling to it even now, in this dark day, this day of her humiliation, when she stands before the world branded, beyond the truth, with dishonesty, and, too truly, with the crime of resisting the progress of freedom on the earth. After all, she has her glory. After all, in these free States a man is still a man. He knows his rights, he respects himself, and acknowledges the equal claim of his brother. We have order without the display of force. We have government without soldiers, spies, or the constant presence of coercion. The rights of thought, of speech, of the press, of conscience, of worship, are enjoyed to the full without violence or dangerous excess. We are even distinguished by kindliness and good temper amidst this unbounded freedom. The individual is not lost in the mass, but has a consciousness of self-subsistence, and stands erect. That character which we call manliness is stamped on the multitude here as nowhere else. No aristocracy interferes with the natural relations of men to one another. No hierarchy weighs down the intellect, and makes the church a prison to the soul, from which it ought to break every chain. I make no boast of my country's progress, marvellous as it has been. I feel deeply her defects. But, in the language of Cowper, I can say to her, —

"Yet, being free, I love thee; for the sake
Of that one feature can be well content,
Disgraced as thou hast been, poor as thou art,
To seek no sublunary rest beside."

Our country is free; this is its glory. How deeply to be lamented is it that this glory is obscured by the presence of slavery in any part of our territory! The distant foreigner, to whom America is a point, and who communicates the taint of a part to the whole, hears with derision our boast of liberty, and points with a sneer to our ministers in London not ashamed to plead the rights of slavery before the civilized world. He ought to learn that America, which shrinks in his mind into a narrow unity, is a league of sovereignties stretching from the Bay of Fundy to the Gulf of Mexico, and destined, unless disunited, to spread from ocean to ocean; that a great majority of its citizens hold no slaves; that a vast proportion of its wealth, commerce, manufactures, and arts belongs to the wide region not blighted by this evil; that we of the free States cannot touch slavery, where it exists, with one of our fingers; that it exists without and against our will; and that our necessity is not our choice and crime.* Still the cloud hangs over us as a people, — the only dark and menacing cloud. Can it not be dispersed? Will not the South, so alive to honor, so ardent and fearless, and containing so many elements of greatness, resolve on the destruction of what does not profit and cannot but degrade it! Must slavery still continue to exist, a firebrand at home and our shame abroad? Can we of the free States brook that it should be thrust perpetually by our diplomacy on the notice of a reproving world? that it should become our distinction among the nations? that it should place us behind all? Can we endure that it should control our public councils, that it should threaten war, should threaten to assert its claims in the thunder of our artillery? Can we endure that our peace should be broken, our country exposed to invasion, our cities stormed, our fields ravaged, our prosperity withered, our progress arrested, our sons slain, our homes turned into deserts, not for rights, not for liberty, not for a cause which humanity smiles on and God will bless, but to rivet chains on fellow-creatures, to extend the law of slavery throughout the earth? These are great questions for the free States. I must defer the answer of them to another time. The duties of the free States in relation to slavery deserve the most serious regard. Let us implore Him who was the God of our fathers, and who has shielded us in so many perils, to open our minds and hearts to what is true and just and good, to continue our union at home and our peace abroad, and to make our country a living witness to the blessings of freedom, of reverence for right on our own shores and in our intercourse with all nations.

* See Note C at end of this article.

PART II.

THE first part of this tract was devoted to an examination of the affair of the "Creole." Its object, however, as the reader may easily discern, was not so much to determine the merits of a particular case as to set forth general principles of justice and humanity which have been too much overlooked in the intercourse of individuals and nations. I shall keep the same object in view in this second part of my remarks, which will have no reference to the "Creole," but be devoted to the consideration of the duties of the free States. My great aim in what I have written and now write on matters of public interest is, to reunite politics and morality; to bring into harmony the law of the land and the law of God. Among the chief causes of the miseries of nations is the divorce which has taken place between politics and morality; nor can we hope for a better day till this breach be healed. Men intrusted with government have always been disposed to regard themselves as absolved from the laws of justice and humanity. Falsehoods and frauds are allowed them for their country or their party. To maintain themselves against their opponents, they may even involve nations in war; and the murders and robberies which follow this crime are not visited on their heads by human justice. In all times government has been the grand robber, the grand murderer, and has yet escaped the deep reprobation which breaks forth against private guilt. Such profligacy pervades the sphere of political action, that the confi-

dence of the people is well-nigh withdrawn from public men; and a virtuous statesman is involved in the suspicions which his unprincipled associates have drawn upon his vocation. Public life is thought to release men not only from the obligations of justice, but from the restraints of good manners; and accordingly the debates of Congress are too often polluted by vulgar abuse, threats, and brawls. So low is the standard of political life, that a man is smiled at for his simplicity who talks of introducing religion into the conduct of public affairs. Religion it is thought, belongs to Sabbaths and churches, and would be as much out of place in cabinets or halls of legislation as a delicate lady on a field of battle. A stranger might be tempted to think that the sergeant-at-arms was stationed at the doors of legislative chambers to forbid entrance to the everlasting law of God, and that nothing but man's impotence prevents the exclusion of Him whose holy presence fills the universe.

Nothing is so needed as to revive, in citizens and rulers, the conviction of the supremacy of the moral, Christian law. Could this be done, the earth would cease to be what in a measure it now is, the image of hell, and would begin to grow green again with the plants of paradise. Religion, the only true guide of life, the guardian and inspirer of all the virtues, should especially reign over the deliberations of governments, by which the weal and woe of nations, the solemn questions of peace and war, of life and death, are determined. On this account every man who has studied human duty, human perfection, human happiness, has a right and is bound to speak on matters of public concern, though his judgment may be contemned by hackneyed politicians. It seems, indeed, to be thought by some that politics are mysteries, which only the initiated must deal with. But in this country they belong to the people. Public questions are and ought to be subjected to the moral judgment of the community. They ought to be referred to the religion which we profess. Christianity was meant to be brought into actual life. The high and the low, private and public men, are alike to bow before it. To remove any sphere of human action from its cognizance is virtually to deny its divinity, and to absolve all men from its control. Under these impressions I shall speak of the duties of the free States. Duties rank higher than interests, and deserve the first regard. It is my particular object to consider the obligations of the free States in regard to slavery; but I shall not stop at these. Other obligations need to be pressed. It is not, indeed, easy to confine one's self within rigid bounds, when the subject of duty is discussed; and accordingly I shall add remarks on a few topics not intimately connected with slavery, though, in truth, this subject will be found to insinuate itself into all.

I am to speak of the duty of the free States; but it is important to observe that I mean by these, not merely communities represented in legislatures, but, much more, the individuals, the people, who compose them. I shall speak, not of what we are bound to do as sovereignties, but as men as Christians. I shall speak not merely of the action of government, but of the influence which every man is bound to exert in the sphere in which Providence has placed him; of the obligations of the individual to bring public opinion and public affairs, as far as he may, to the standard of truth and rectitude.

I insist on this, because the feeling of individual responsibility is very much lost, in consequence of the excessive deference of the private man to the government under which he lives. On the subject of slavery in particular, the responsibility both at the North and South is shifted very much from the individual to the state. The private conscience is merged in the public. What the government determines, the multitude of men are apt to think right. We do not exercise our moral judgment because it has been forestalled by the Constitution and by the laws. We are members of a community, and this relation triumphs over all others.

Now, the truth is, that no decision of the state absolves us from the moral law, from the authority of conscience. It is no excuse for our wrong-doing that the artificial organization called society has done wrong. It is of the highest moment that the prevalent notions of a man's relation to the state should be rectified. The idea of this relation is

so exaggerated and perverted as to impair the force of every other. A man's country is more thought of than his nature. His connection with a particular community is more respected than his connection with God. His alliance with his race is reduced to a nullity by his alliance with the state. He must be ready to give up his race, to sacrifice all its rights and interests, that the little spot where he was born may triumph or prosper. The history of nations is very much the history of the immolation of the individual to the country. His nationality stands out before all his other attributes. The nation, represented by one or a few individuals, has arrogated to itself the dignity of being the fountain of all his rights. It has made his religion for him. Its will, called law, has taken place of all other laws. It has seized on the individual as its tool, and doomed him to live and die for its most selfish purposes. The sacredness of the individual is even yet so little understood that the freest country on earth is talking of war because a local law, enslaving the individual, is not recognized by the whole earth. But the nation is not every thing. The nation is not the fountain of right. Our first duties are not to our country. Our first allegiance is not due to its laws. We belong first to God, and next to our race. We were, indeed made for partial, domestic, and national ties and affections, and these are essential means of our education and happiness in this first stage of our being; but all these are to be kept in subjection to the laws of universal justice and humanity. They are intended to train us up to these. In these consists our likeness to the Divinity. From these considerations it will be seen that the following remarks are not addressed to bodies politic so much as to individuals.

The duty of the free States in regard to slavery may be classed under two heads. First, these States are bound to construe with the utmost strictness all the articles of the Constitution which in any way touch on slavery, so that they may do nothing in aid of this institution but what is undeniably demanded by that instrument; and secondly, they are bound to seek earnestly such amendments of the Constitution as will remove this subject wholly from the cognizance of the general government; such as will be just alike to the North and South: such as will release the North from all obligation whatever to support or sanction slavery, and as will insure the South from all attempts by the free States to stir up the slaves.

First; the free States are bound to confine all action in regard to slavery to the narrowest limits which will satisfy the Constitution. Under this head, our attention is naturally drawn first to the chief, and I may say the only express, provision of the instrument relating to this subject. I refer to the clause requiring that a slave escaping into the free States shall be delivered up, on the claim of his master. This provision may seem clear; but the execution of it in such a manner as to accomplish its end, and yet to prevent the encroachments of slavery on the free States, is not easy. The provision was designed to give authority to the master to claim the fugitive slave. But, in doing this, a far higher good than the recovery of a thousand slaves flying from the South is put in peril, and that is, the freedom of the colored population of the North; and we are bound to insist that this freedom shall be placed beyond the reach of peril. This danger is not imaginary. Kidnapping in the free States is one of the evils which have grown out of our connection with slavery, and it has been carried on with circumstances of great barbarity. Thus slavery has been recruited from the North.

The law of Congress framed to carry into effect the constitutional provision to which we have referred almost seems to have been designed to give shelter to this crime. No care has been taken to shield the colored man at the North. The slave-holder or slave-hunter may carry him before a justice of the peace as a fugitive, and may himself be a witness in the case, and this tribunal may send the accused to perpetual bondage. We all know how and by whom a commission of justice of the peace is often obtained. We know that a claim of more than twenty dollars is not left to the decision of a justice's court. We know the advantage which may be enjoyed before such a magistrate by the rich slave-holder over a poor, perhaps friendless, laborer. And yet to this tribunal it is given to pass a sentence on a human being as terrible as death.

An officer not trusted with the adjudication of property exceeding twenty dollars is allowed to make a man a slave for life.

To repair this great injustice, to prevent the transportation of our citizens to slavery, some of the State legislatures have held themselves bound to supply the deficiencies of the law of Congress, and for this end have referred the suspected slave to a higher tribunal, and given him the benefit of trial by jury. To our great sorrow, this State legislation has been pronounced unconstitutional by a recent decree of the Supreme Court of the United States; so that the colored man is driven back to the court to which he had been unjustly doomed before. On this decree it becomes me not to pass sentence; but one thing is clear, that the free States are now bound to the most earnest efforts to protect that portion of their citizens exposed to the peril of being carried into bondage.

The grand principle to be laid down is, that it is infinitely more important to preserve a free citizen from being made a slave than to send back a fugitive slave to his chain. This idea is to rule over and determine all the legislation on this subject. Let the fugitive be delivered up, but by such processes as will prevent a freeman from being delivered up also. For this end full provision must be made. On this point the Constitution, and a still higher law, that of nature and God, speak the same language; and we must insist that these high authorities shall be revered.

The Constitution opens with these memorable words: "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure *the blessings of liberty* to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America." It is understood and conceded that this preamble does not confer on the national government any powers but such as are specified in the subsequent articles of the instrument; but it teaches, and was designed to teach, the spirit in which these powers are to be interpreted and brought into action. "To secure the blessings of liberty" is enumerated among the purposes of the national compact; and whoever knows the history of the Constitution knows that this was the grand purpose for which the powers of the Constitution were conferred. That the liberty of each man, of the obscurest man, should be inviolate, — this was the master-thought in the authors of this immortal charter. According to these views, we have a right to demand of Congress, as their highest constitutional duty, to carry into the enactment of every law a reverence for the freedom of each and all. A law palpably exposing the freeman to be made a slave, and even rendering his subjection to this cruel doom nearly sure, is one of the most unconstitutional acts, if the spirit of the Constitution be regarded, which the national legislature can commit. The Constitution is violated, not only by the assumption of powers not conceded, but equally by using conceded powers to the frustration of the end for which they were conferred. In the law regulating the delivery of supposed fugitives, the great end of the national charter is sacrificed to an accidental provision. This Constitution was not established to send back slaves to chains. The article requiring this act of the free States was forced on them by the circumstances of the times, and submitted to as a hard necessity. It did not enter into the essence of the instrument; whilst the security of freedom was its great, living, all-pervading idea. We see the tendency of slavery to warp the Constitution to its purposes in the law for restoring the flying bondman. Under this not a few, having not only the same natural but legal rights with ourselves, have been subjected to the lash of the overseer.

But a higher law than the Constitution protests against the act of Congress on this point. According to the law of nature, no greater crime against a human being can be committed than to make him a slave. This is to strike a blow at the very heart and centre of all his rights as a man; to put him beneath his race. On the ground of the immutable law of nature, our government has pronounced the act of making a man a slave on the coast of Africa to be piracy, — a capital crime. And shall the same government enact or sustain a law which exposes the freeman here to be reduced to slavery, which gives facilities to the

unprincipled for accomplishing this infinite wrong? And what is the end for which the freeman is so exposed? It is that a man flying from an unjust yoke may be forced back to bondage, — an end against which natural and divine justice protests; so that, to confirm and perpetuate one violation of the moral law, another still greater is left open and made easy to the kidnapper.

There seems no need of enlarging on this point. Every man who enjoys liberty can understand what it is to be made a slave, to be held and treated as property, to be subjected to arbitrary will to arbitrary punishment, to the loss of wife and child, at another's pleasure. Every man knows what he would feel at having a son or a daughter torn from him and sent to slavery. And liberty is not a whit dearer to us than it is to a human brother whose only misfortune it is to wear a darker skin. We are bound to extend to him the same protection of law as to our own child.

To condemn a man to perpetual slavery is as solemn a sentence as to condemn him to death. Before being thus doomed he has a right to all the means of defence which are granted to a man who is tried for his life. All the rules, forms, solemnities by which innocence is secured from being confounded with guilt he has a right to demand. In the present case the principle is eminently applicable, that many guilty should escape rather than that one innocent man should suffer; because the guilt of running away from an "owner" is of too faint a color to be seen by some of the best eyes, whilst that of enslaving the free is of the darkest hue.

The Constitution provides that no man shall "be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law." A man delivered up as a slave is deprived of all property, all liberty, and placed in a condition where life and limb are held at another's pleasure. Does he enjoy the benefits of "a due process of law," when a common justice of the peace, selected by the master, and receiving the master as a witness, passes sentence on him without jury and without appeal?

It is of great importance that a new and satisfactory law on this subject should be passed by Congress. It is a serious evil to perpetuate legislation against which the moral sense of the community protests. In this country public opinion is the strength of the laws, is the grand force with which the public authorities must surround themselves. The present law for the recovery of fugitive slaves is reprobated, not by the passions, but by the deliberate moral judgments of large portions of the free States; and such being the case, it cannot be executed. There are a thousand ways of evading it without force. In some parts of the country, I fear, it might be resisted by force, should its execution be urged; and although a law demanded by justice should never be yielded to the fear of tumult; though we ought to encounter violence rather than make a sacrifice of duty; yet, on the other hand, it is most unwise to uphold a palpably unrighteous law, which by its unrighteousness endangers the public peace. In such a case the chief responsibility for the danger rests on the obstinacy of the legislator. The appointed guardian of social order proves its foe

A trial by jury ought to be granted to the suspected fugitive, as being the most effectual provision for innocence known to our laws. It is said that, under such a process, the slave will not be restored to his master. Undoubtedly the jury is an imperfect tribunal, and may often fail of a wise and just administration of the laws. But, as we have seen, the first question to be asked is, How shall the freeman be preserved from being sentenced to slavery? This is an infinitely greater evil than the escape of the fugitive; and, to avert this, a trial by jury should be granted, unless some other process as safe and effectual can be devised.

In these remarks I would not intimate that the slave-holders as a body desire a loose law, which will place the innocent at their mercy, in order to be kidnappers. The South is as incapable of this baseness as the North. But in both regions there are too many men profligate enough to use such a law for the perpetration of the greatest crime. We know that the existing law has been so used that the facilities and temptations which it ministers to the grossest violation of right have whetted cupidity and instigated to cruelty. Then it must be changed.

The slave-holder must not say that a

change will annul his claim on the flying slave. He ought to consider that, in insisting on processes for enforcing his claim which cannot but result in enslaving the free, he virtually enrols himself among kidnappers. Still more, he should understand that his only chance of asserting his claim rests on the establishment of such a law as will secure the rights of the colored man of the free States. There is a jealousy on this point among us, which, as it is righteous, must be respected. It is a spreading jealousy, and will obstruct more and more the operation of the existing law. It must not be spoken of as a fever which has reached its height. It is a sign of returning moral health, and its progress will be aided by perseverance in immoral means of reclaiming the flying slave.

Having shown how the free States are bound to construe the clause of the Constitution relating to fugitive slaves, or, rather, "persons held to service in other States," I proceed, in the second place, to show the strict construction which should be given to those parts of the Constitution under which the general government has been led to take slavery into its protection, *in its intercourse with foreign nations*. This agency is believed to be wholly without warrant; and it threatens so to extend itself, and to disturb so much our relations with foreign states, that we are bound, not only by considerations of morality, but of our essential interests, to reduce it within the precise limits of the Constitution.

By this instrument the powers of declaring war, appointing ambassadors, raising armies, and making treaties are conferred on the national government. The protection of our rights against foreign powers was undoubtedly a principal end of the Union. Every part of the country expects and requires it "to provide for the common defence." But it is plain that this duty of the national government, to watch over our rights abroad, cannot go beyond those rights. It cannot seek redress but for wrongs inflicted by foreign powers. To insist on groundless, unreasonable claims is an unwarrantable abuse of power; and to put in peril our national peace by assertion of these is to violate at once the national charter, and the higher law of universal justice and good-will.

The grand principle to be adopted by the North is this, that, because certain States of this Union see fit to pronounce certain human beings within their territory to be property, foreign nations are not bound to regard and treat these persons as property, when brought within their jurisdiction. Of consequence, the national government has no claim on foreign governments in regard to slaves carried beyond the limits of the South and found in other countries. The master has no authority over them in a foreign land. They appear there as men. They have rights there as real, as sacred, as the country has from which they came, and these must on no account be sported with.

The rights of the individual lie at the very foundation of civil society; and society, truly constituted, confirms, instead of taking them away. The simple idea of a nation is, that it is the union of a multitude to establish and enforce laws for the protection of every right. A nation is not to depart from this, its true idea, its primitive end, and deny to human beings entering its borders the common rights of humanity, because these men have been seized in another part of the world and reduced to the condition of chattels or brutes. One injustice does not induce the necessity of another. Because a man is wronged in one place, it does not follow that he must be wronged everywhere. A particular state cannot by its form of legislation bind the whole earth to become partakers with it in a crime. It would seem as if the fact of a man's having been injured on one spot were rather a reason for his enjoying peculiar protection elsewhere.

The local, municipal law which ordains slavery in a state does not make it just, does not make man rightful property, even in the particular country where it is established. This law, however, is to be respected in a certain sense by foreign nations. These must not enter the slave-holding country to enforce emancipation. But, in thus restraining themselves, they acknowledge no moral right in the master, no moral validity in the law declaring man property. They act simply on the principle, that one nation is not to intermeddle with the legislation of another, be it wise or foolish, just or unjust. Foreign nations are

not to touch a law creating slavery in a particular country, because they touch none of the laws there. If that country choose to ordain polygamy, as in the Eastern world, or stealing, as in Sparta, or prostitution, as in some established religions of antiquity, no other nations can interfere to repeal these ordinances. But, because unmolested in the place of their birth, are these institutions to be carried beyond it, to be regarded as sacred by other governments, and not only to be allowed, but to be enforced in foreign regions? Shall a Mahometan country hold itself wronged and declare war, because one of its subjects, carrying with him a hundred wives, cannot set up a harem in a Christian country, or cannot receive the aid and succor of the authorities of a foreign port in recovering fifty of his women who had found their way to the shore? Are the tribunals of a country to lend themselves to the execution of foreign laws which are opposed to its own, and which not only its policy but its religion and moral sense condemn?

The sum of these remarks is, that slavery is not to be spoken of as recognized in any sense whatever by nations which disclaim it; that to them it does not exist as a right anywhere; that in their own jurisdiction it cannot exist as a fact; and from these views it follows that no nation, allowing or ordaining slavery within its limits, has a right to demand any recognition of it in any shape or degree beyond its own borders. To attempt to protect it or to require protection for it in the ports of another country is to set up not merely a groundless, but an iniquitous claim. To charge another country with wrong-doing for not aiding us to retain this property is to do wrong ourselves, and to offer an insult to a more righteous community.

The Constitution, then, which commits to the national authorities the maintenance of our rights abroad, is transcended, its powers are unwarrantably stretched, when the government goes abroad to claim respect in any form or degree to the slave-laws of a part of this country, or when it introduces slavery at all as a matter of controversy into our discussions with foreign powers. To these slavery does not exist. In their own sphere they do not become accountable to us by utter disregard of the slave-laws of the South, or by refusing to see any thing but men in the slaves of that region, when carried by any means whatever within their bounds. Slavery is a word which should never be uttered between us and foreign states. It is as local a matter as the licensing of gambling-houses at New Orleans, and can with no more fitness be made a matter of diplomacy. It is we who are guilty of encroachment, when we deny the right of other nations to follow their own laws, rather than ours, within their own limits, and to regard as men all human beings who enter their ports.

When we look into the Constitution, we see not one express obligation imposed in regard to slavery. "Persons held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof," and who escape from it, are to be restored. This language, as we have seen in the first part of this tract, was adopted to exclude the recognition of the lawfulness of slavery "in a moral point of view." The Constitution, in requiring the surrender of slaves in one case only, leaves them in all other cases to come under the operation of the laws of the free States, when found within the limits of the same. Does not the Constitution, then, plainly expect that slaves from the South, if carried into foreign ports, will fall under the operation of the laws established there?

There is still another view. Slavery is limited in this country to one region. In the rest of the country it does not exist; and, still more, it is regarded as a violation of the law of nature and of God. Now the general government, when it calls on foreign nations to respect the claims of the slave-holder, speaks in the name, not merely of the slave States, but of the free, — in the name of the whole people. And ought the whole people to be thus committed to the cause of slavery, unless an undoubted, unequivocal obligation is imposed on them by the Constitution to assume its defence? unless a clear case can be made out against the free States? The Constitution is to be explained in part by the known views of its authors. We have seen how slow they were to recognize a moral right in slavery. Did they intend that we should assert its claims to the ends of the earth?

It is true, the national government has interfered to claim slaves thrown on a foreign shore, and this consideration is of weight. But, in so grave an affair, it does not decide the constitutional question. That the administration of the national government has been unduly swayed by the slave-holding portion of the country we of the North believe. That under this influence an unwarrantable extension of constitutional powers has taken place is very conceivable. False interpretations of such an instrument, which favor the interests of one part of the people without apparently touching the rest of the community, easily steal into the public policy. Time alone exposes them, and time ought not to be alleged as a reason for their continuance.

In interpreting the Constitution, it is not only necessary to consult the history of the period of its formation, but to apply to it the principles of universal justice. Its authors honored these, and did not intend to establish a government in hostility to them. They acted in the spirit of reverence for human rights. This is eminently the spirit of the Constitution, and by this it should be construed. Doubtful articles should receive an interpretation which will bring them into harmony with the immutable laws of duty. Any other construction virtually falls to the ground. It is of no force, for it cannot shake the authority of God. On these principles we maintain that the Constitution does not and cannot bind the government to demand from the whole human race respect to the municipal law of Southern slavery.

This topic is not a merely speculative one, but of great practical importance. Our honor as a people is involved in the construction of the Constitution now pleaded for. This is not the day for setting up pretensions in favor of slavery, for demanding from the whole civilized world succor and countenance in enforcing our property in man. We disgrace ourselves in sending abroad ministers on such a message. We should regard our character too much to thrust the deformity and stench of slavery into the eyes and nostrils of the world. We should regard too much the reputation of honorable men, who represent us in foreign countries, to employ them in this low work. An American, alive to his country's honor, cannot easily bear this humiliation abroad. It is enough that, in our private intercourse with foreigners, we are set down as citizens of a slave-holding country. But we need not and ought not to hold up our shame in the blaze of courts, in the high places of the world. We ought not industriously to invite men everywhere to inspect our wounds and ulcers. Let us keep our dishonor at home. The free States especially should shrink from this exposure. They should insist that slavery shall be a State interest, not a national concern; that this brand shall not be fixed on our diplomacy, on our foreign policy; that the name of American shall not become synonymous everywhere with oppression.

But something more than dishonor is to be feared, if our government shall persevere in its efforts for maintaining the claims of slave-holders in foreign countries. Such claims, if asserted in earnest, must issue in war, for they cannot be acceded to. England has taken her ground on this matter; so ought the free States. On this point we ought to speak plainly, unconditionally, without softening language. We ought to say to the South, to Congress, to the world; "We *will not* fight for slavery. We can die for truth, for justice, for rights. We will not die, or inflict death, in support of wrongs." In truth, this spirit, this determination, exists now so extensively in the free States that it is utterly impossible for a war to be carried on in behalf of slavery; and, such being the fact, all diplomacy in its behalf becomes a mockery. It is a disgraceful show for no possible benefit. Even could war be declared for this end, the deep moral feeling of a large part of the community would rob it of all energy, and would insure defeat and shame. Bad as we think men, they cannot fight against their consciences. The physical nature finds its strength in the moral. The rudest soldiers are sustained by the idea of acting under some lawful authority; and on this account have an advantage over pirates, who either cower, or abandon themselves to a desperation which, by robbing them of a guiding intelligence, makes them an easier prey. In proportion as a people become enlightened, and especially in proportion as they recognize the principles of Christianity, it is

harder to drive them into a war. The moral sense, which in an ignorant age or community is easily blinded, cannot in their case be imposed on without much skilful sophistry. They take the justice of a war less and less on trust. They must see that they have right on their side, or they are no match for a foe. This country has the best materials for an army in a righteous cause, and the worst in a wicked one. No martial law could drive us to battle for the slaveholder's claim to the aid or countenance of foreign powers. We could not fight in such a quarrel. Our "hands would hang down" as truly as if loaded with material chains. To fight for a cause at which we blush! for a cause which conscience protests against! for a cause on which we dare not ask the blessing of God! The thing is impossible. Our moral sympathies would desert to our foe. We should honor him for not suffering a slave to tread his soil. God keep us from being plunged into a war of any kind! But if the evil is to be borne, let us have, at least, the consolation that our blood is shed for undoubted rights; that we have truth, justice, honor on our side; that religion, freedom, and humanity are not leagued with our foe.

"Thrice is he armed who hath his quarrel just,
And he but naked, though locked up in steel,
Whose conscience with injustice is corrupted."

I proceed, in the third place, to another topic, which will complete my remarks on the duties of the free States in relation to slavery under the present provisions of the Constitution. These States are bound to insist on *the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia*. Their power in this regard is unquestionable. To Congress is committed exclusively the government of the District, and it is committed without any restrictions. In this sphere of its action the general government has no limitations, but those which are found in the principles of the Constitution and of universal justice. The power of abolishing slavery in the District is a rightful one, and must be lodged somewhere, and can be exercised by Congress alone. And this authority ought not to sleep.

Slavery in the District of Columbia is not Southern slavery. It has no local character. It is the slavery of the United States! It belongs equally to the free and to the slave-holding portion of the country. It is *our* institution as truly as if it were planted in the midst of us; for this District is the common ground of the nation. Its institutions exist solely by authority of the nation. They are as truly expressions of the national will as any acts of Congress whatever. We all uphold the slave-code under which men are bought and sold and whipped at their masters' pleasure. Every slave-auction in the District is held under our legislation. We are even told that the prison of the District is used for the safe-keeping of the slaves who are brought there for sale. In the former part of these remarks I said that the free States had no participation in this evil. I forgot the District of Columbia. There we sustain it as truly as we support the navy or army. It ought, then, to be abolished at once. And in urging this action we express no hostility towards Southern institutions. We do not think of the South. We see within a spot under our jurisdiction a great wrong sustained by law. For this law we are responsible. For all its fruits we must give account. We owe, then, to God, to conscience, to rectitude, our best efforts for its abolition. We have no thought of limiting Southern institutions. It is our own unjust, unhallowed institution which we resolve no longer to maintain. Can the free States consent to continue their partnership in this wrong? They have not even the poor consolation of profiting by the crime. The handful of slaves in the District may be of some worth to a few masters, but are utterly insignificant in their relation to the country. They might be bought by the government and set free at less expense than is incurred in passing many an act of Congress.

Emancipation in the present case is opposed by the South, not on account of any harm to be endured by the District or the country, but simply because this measure would be a public, formal utterance of the moral conviction of the free States on the subject of slavery. Our case is a hard one indeed. We are required to support what we abhor, because by withdrawing our support we shall express our abhorrence of it. We must go on sinning, lest we become witnesses against sin. Could we root

slavery out of the District without declaring it to be evil, emancipation would be comparatively easy; but we are required to sustain it because we think it evil, and must not show our thoughts. We must cling to a wrong because our associates at the South will not consent to the reproof implied in our desertion of it. And can it be that we are so wanting in moral principle and force as to yield to these passionate partners? Is not our path clear? Can any thing authorize us to sanction slavery by solemn acts of legislation? Are any violations of right so iniquitous as those which are perpetrated by law, by that function of sovereignty which has the maintenance of right for its foundation and end? Can it be that the free States send their most illustrious men to Congress to set their seal to slavery? that the national government, intended to be the centre of what is most august and imposing in our land, should be turned into a legislature of a slave-district, and should put forth its vast powers in sustaining a barbarous slave-code? If this must be, then does it not seem fit that the national eagle should add the whip of the overseer to the arrows and olive-branch which he now grasps in his talons?

But this is not all. The District of Columbia is not only tainted with slavery, but it is a great — I believe the greatest — slave-market in our country. To this human beings are driven as cattle; driven sometimes, if not often, in chains. It is even reported that the slave-coffle is sometimes headed by the flag of the United States. To this spot — the metropolis of our nation — are brought multitudes of our fellow-creatures, torn from their homes by force and for others' gain, and heart-stricken by the thought of birthplace and friends to be seen no more. Here women are widowed and children made orphans, whilst the husband and the parent still live. A more cruel minister than death has been at work in their forsaken huts. These wronged fellow-beings are then set up for sale, and women, as well as men, are subjected to an examination like that which draught-horses undergo at an auction. That the seat of the national government should be made a mart for this shameful traffic is not to be endured. On this point some deference is due to the free States and the character of the country. The spot on which we all meet as equals, and which is equally under the jurisdiction of all, ought to be kept clean from a trade which the majority think inhuman and a disgrace to the land. On this point there can be no doubt as to the constitutional power of Congress. That body may certainly remove a nuisance from a spot which is subject to its unrestricted authority. A common township may abate nuisances. In many of the States the municipal authorities may prohibit, if they see fit, the sale of ardent spirits within their limits. Congress may certainly say, that the "ten-miles square" ceded to the United States shall not be a market for slaves. Washington holds a peculiar relation to the country. Foreigners repair to it as the spot in which to observe our institutions. That slavery, our chief stain, should be exposed most ostentatiously at the seat of government is a violation of national decency, a sign of moral obtuseness, of insensibility to the moral judgment of mankind, which ought immediately to cease.

I have now spoken of the duties of the free States under the Constitution as it now exists. I proceed to a still higher duty incumbent on them, which is, to seek earnestly and resolutely for such amendments of the Constitution as shall entirely release them from the obligation of yielding support in any way or degree to slavery, and shall so determine the relation between the free and slaves States as to put an end to all collision on this subject.

This I have said is a duty, and as such it should be constantly regarded. The free States should act in it with the calmness and inflexibleness of principle, avoiding on the one hand passionateness, vehemence, invective, and on the other a spirit of expediency. It is a question, not of interest, but of rights, and consequently above expediency. Happily, interest and duty go together in this matter; and were it not so, our first homage should be paid to the right. The free States should say, calmly, but firmly, to the South: "We cannot participate in slavery. It is yours, wholly and exclusively. On you alone the responsibility rests. You must maintain and defend it by your own

arms. As respects slavery we are distinct communities, as truly as in respect to institutions for the support of the poor or for the education of our children. Your slavery is no national concern, The nation must know nothing of it, — must do nothing in reference to it. We will not touch your slaves, to free or restore them. Our powers in the state or national governments shall not be used to destroy or to uphold your peculiar institutions. We only ask such modifications of the national charter as shall set us free from all obligation to uphold what we condemn. In regard to slavery, the line between the slave and the free States is a great gulf. You must not pass it to enforce your supposed rights as slave-holders, nor will we cross it to annul or violate the laws on which this evil system rests."

The reasons for thus modifying the Constitution are numerous. The first has been again and again intimated. The moral sentiment of the North demands it. Since the adoption of the Constitution a new state of mind in regard to slavery has spread through the civilized world. It is not of American growth only, but subsists and acts more powerfully abroad than at home. Slavery, regarded formerly as a question of great interest, is now a question of conscience. Vast numbers in the free States cannot without self-reproach give it sanction or aid. From many family altars the prayer rises to God for our brethren in bonds. The antislavery principle finds utterance in our churches, by our firesides, and in our public meetings. Now the Constitution ought to be brought into harmony with the moral convictions of the people. A government resisting these deprives itself of its chief support. If we were to call on the South for a modification of the Constitution, under the influence of any private motives, any interests, any passions, we ought not to be heard. But the slave-holders, as men of principle and of honor, should shrink from asking us to do what we deliberately and conscientiously condemn. Allow it, that our moral sense is too scrupulous. We must still reverence and obey it. We have no higher law than our conviction of duty. We ought especially not to be asked to resist it in a case like the present, when our conscience is in unison with the conscience of the civilized world. Christendom responds to our reprobation of slavery; and can we be expected to surrender our principles to a handful of men personally interested in the evil? We say to the South: "We are willing to be joined with you as a nation for weal or for woe. We reach to you the hand of fellowship. We ask but one thing; do not require us to surrender what is dearer than life or nation, our sense of duty, our loyalty to conscience and God." Will an honorable people demand this sacrifice from us? Great deference is due to the moral sense of a community. This should take rank above political considerations. To ask a people to trifle with and slight it is to invite them to self-degradation. No profit can repay their loss, no accession of power can hide their shame.

Another reason for modifying the Constitution, so that slavery shall be wholly excluded from the class of national objects, is found in the fact that this interest, if allowed to sustain itself by the national arm, will intertwine itself more and more with public measures, and will color our whole policy, so that the free States will be more and more compelled to link themselves with its support. Could the agency of the government in regard to this subject be rigidly defined, the evil would be more tolerable. But it is natural that the slave-holding States should seek to make the national power as far as possible a buttress of their "peculiar institution." It is as slave-holders, rather than as Americans, that they stand in Congress; slavery must be secured, whatever befall other interests of the country. The people of the North little understand what the national government has done for the "peculiar institution" of the South. It has been, and is, the friend of the slave-holder, and the enemy of the slave. The national government authorizes not only the apprehension and imprisonment in the District of Columbia of a colored man suspected of being a runaway, but the sale of him as a slave, if within a certain time he cannot prove his freedom. The national government has endeavored to obtain by negotiation the restoration of fugitive slaves, who had sought and found freedom in Canada,

and has offered in return to restore fugitives from the West Indies. It has disgraced itself in the view of all Europe by claiming, as property, slaves who have been shipwrecked on the British islands, and who, by touching British soil, had become free. It has instructed its representative at Madrid to announce to the Spanish Court "that the emancipation of the slave population of Cuba would be very severely felt in the adjacent shores of the United States." It has purchased a vast unsettled territory which it has given up to be overrun with slavery. Are we willing that the national power, in which all the States have a common interest and share, and for the use of which we are all responsible, should be so employed?

How far slavery does and will sway the national government may be judged from the fact that it is a bond of union to all who participate in it; that the South is prepared by it for a co-operation unknown at the North; and that, of consequence, it gives to the South, in no small degree, the control of the country. The jealousies of the slaveholder never sleep. They mix with and determine our public policy in matters which we might think least open to this pernicious influence. Of late one of the most distinguished men in the country,* the citizen of a free State, was nominated as minister to the English Court. He had one qualification, perhaps, above any man who could have been selected for the office, — that is, a thorough acquaintance with our controversy with Great Britain as to the northern boundary. His large intellectual culture, his literary eminence his admirable powers, and his experience in public affairs, fitted him to represent the United States in the metropolis of Europe, where a man of narrow education and ordinary powers would dishonor his country. But the nomination of this gentleman was resisted vehemently in the Senate, on the ground that he had expressed his moral opposition to slavery; and that he would not, therefore, plead the cause of slavery at the Court of St. James. For a time his appointment was despaired of, and it was confirmed at last only by a firmness of remonstrance which the South could not safely oppose.

* Edward Everett.

The action of the slave-holders on this subject, though not carried through, does not the less manifest their spirit and policy. They have virtually expressed their purpose to exclude from all places of trust and honor every man from the North who expresses his moral feelings against slavery. And as these feelings are spreading among us and gaining strength, the slave-holder has virtually passed a sentence of proscription on the North. If possible, the door of the cabinet is to be shut in our faces. The executive power must be lodged in other hands. Our most enlightened and virtuous citizens must not represent the country abroad. This rejection of a man on the ground of a moral conviction which pervades the North is equivalent to a general disfranchisement. A new test for office, never dreamed of before, is to exclude us from the service of the country in those high public trusts which are the chief instruments of public influence. And can we consent to become a proscribed race? Shall our adherence to great principles be punished by civil degradation? Can we renounce all kindred with our fathers, and suffer our very love of freedom and justice to be a brand of disqualification for offices which by the Constitution are thrown equally open to all?

The nomination of our minister to England was all but rejected, and in this we see how slavery has complicated itself with our most important national affairs; how it determines the weightiest acts of the general government; how it taints our foreign as well as domestic policy. The North cannot hope to escape with lending a helping hand now and then to Southern institutions. We must put our shoulders to the wheel. We must be governed throughout with reference to slavery. Were this the place, it would be easy to show how the South, by a skilful management of the parties of the North, has bent and may continue to bend the general government to its purposes; how slavery has been made a means of concentrating power into the hands of those who uphold it. This institution is not a narrow interest, seldom intruding itself, too trifling to quarrel about; but a poisonous element, acting subtly on public affairs when it seems to be quiet, and sometimes breaking out into

violences dishonorable to our national councils and menacing to the Union. Its influences are not concealed; and the time has come for solemn, earnest effort to sever it from the government which it would usurp.

I proceed to offer another reason for so modifying the Constitution as to exclude slavery from its objects, which is akin to the last, but so important as to deserve distinct consideration. The slave-power in Congress not only mixes with and controls public measures, but it threatens our dearest rights and liberties. It is natural for every power to act and manifest itself according to its peculiar character. We ought not, then, to wonder that slavery should set at nought all rights with which it comes in conflict. And yet that it should be so bold, so audacious as it has proved itself, awakens some astonishment. We believed that the Constitution had placed some rights above the reach of any party or power; yet on these especially slavery has laid its hand. The right of petition is one of the last we might suppose to be denied to a people. It has such a foundation in nature that it is respected where other rights are trodden down. The despot opens his ears to the petitions of his subjects. But in the Congress of a free people petitions and memorials from large numbers of citizens, and even from public bodies, have been treated with indignity, and refused a hearing. But this is not all. The slave-power has, if possible, taken a more daring step. A member of the House of Representatives * has been censured by that body for presenting a series of grave resolutions asserting the relation of the government to slavery, and denying the extension of its powers to slaves removed beyond our jurisdiction

Liberty of speech has been secured to us by an express provision of the Constitution; and if this right is especially inviolable in any person it is in the representative of the people standing up in Congress to utter his own views and those of his constituents on great questions of public policy. That such a man should be put to silence, should be subjected to censure for expressing his conviction in the calmest style, is a stretch of power, an excess of tyranny, which would have been pronounced impossible a few years since. This is to invade liberty in her holiest place, her last refuge. It was not the individual who was wronged, but the constituents in whose name he spoke; the State from which he came; the whole nation, who can only be heard through its representatives.

This act stands alone, we conceive, in representative bodies. I have inquired, and cannot learn that the English Parliament, omnipotent as it declares itself, ever offered this outrage to freedom, this insult to the people. Until this moment the liberty of speech in Congress has been held so sacred that the representative in debate has been left to violate without reproof good manners and the decencies of social life; to bring dishonor on himself and his country by coarseness and ribaldry; to consume hour after hour, perhaps the day, in declamations which have owed their inspiration less to wisdom than to wine. During this very session we have witnessed the spectacle of members of the House of Representatives denouncing and insulting the President of the United States, a co-ordinate power of the government, and entitled to peculiar respect, as embodying and representing the nation to foreign countries; and this indecorum has been submitted to lest the freedom of speech in that chamber should be encroached on. But because a representative of high character has thought fit to express in the most unexciting style, his deliberate convictions on a solemn question which threatens the country with war, he has been subjected to the indignity of a public rebuke. And why is he selected above all others for punishment? Because he has so interpreted the Constitution as to deny both the right and the obligation of the government to protect slavery beyond the limit of the United States. For this sound exposition of the national charter he is denied an immunity extended to the brawler and traducer. Can a precedent more fatal to freedom be conceived? Where is this tyranny to stop? Is there any doctrine, any construction of the Constitution, any vindication of the rights of his constituents, that may chance to be unpopular, for which a representative may not incur this public

* Joshua R. Giddings.

rebuke? Is the tameness of the free States under this usurpation the way to suppress it? If even in Congress unpopular truth may not be spoken, what pledge have we that it may be uttered anywhere else? A blow has been struck at freedom of speech in all its forms; and in regard to no other right should we be so jealous as in regard to this. As long as we retain this we retain the means of defending all our other rights, of redressing all wrongs. Take this away, and we have no redress but in force.

By the Constitution each house of Congress has power to punish a member for disorderly behavior. In England, too, members may be punished for "contempt of the house." But in these cases it is not intended to lay the least restraint on the discussion of public measures. In these cases the sacredness of the representative character is not violated. On the contrary, the individual is punished for insulting the representative body, the honor of which is, indeed, his own. It is to preserve the house from disorders which would infringe its privilege of free discussion that this power over its members is chiefly required. The act of punishing a member for speaking his mind on general topics, on the principles of the Constitution, is an unprecedented tyranny, which ought to have raised a burst of indignation from one end of the country to the other. What right may not be invaded next? If the freedom of the press, if the right of worshipping God, shall be thought to come in conflict with slavery, what reason have we to hope that these, or any other of our liberties, will escape violation? Nothing is more common in life than to see men who are accustomed to one outrage on rights emboldened to maintain this by others and more flagrant. This experience of the usurpations of the slave-power should teach us to avoid all contact with it, to exclude it from our national government. On this point, of slavery, the two sections of the country should be separate nations. They should hold no communion.

These remarks suggest another reason for so modifying the Constitution as to release the free States from all action on slavery. It is almost too plain a reason to be named, and yet too important to be overlooked. Until such modification be made, the country can know no peace. The free and slave-holding States will meet in Congress, not to maintain peace, not to provide for the common liberty, the common welfare, the common defence, but for war. Subjects of public interest will not be looked at simply, nakedly, according to their own merits, but through the medium of jealousy and hatred, and according to their apparent bearing on slavery. The "peculiar institution" of the South is peculiarly sensitive and irritable. It detects signs and menaces of danger in harmless movements, and does not weigh its words in resenting supposed injury. With this root of bitterness in our government, we must expect distracted public councils; we must witness fiery passions in the place of wise deliberations. The different sections of the country will become hostile camps.

It is painful to advert to the style of debate which the subject of slavery almost always excites in Congress, because it can hardly be spoken of without stirring up unpleasant feeling. On this subject the fiery temperament of the South disdains control. The North, it is true, has the comfort of knowing that it is better to be insulted than to insult; and yet it is a position not very favorable to the temper or to self-respect, to be compelled to listen to such language as Northern men hear on the floor of Congress. The consequences are inevitable. Forbearance has limits; and reproach awakens reaction. Already a venerable representative from a free State,* whose moral courage, in union with his great powers, places him at the head of the public men of the country, has presented a front of stern opposition to the violence of the South. We thank him for his magnanimity. It is, perhaps, the greatest public service ever rendered in Congress to the North; for no man serves his country like him who exalts its spirit. Still, we must allow that the eloquence of this illustrious statesman has not tended to heal the wounds of the nation; and, as friends of the Union, we must earnestly desire to banish from our public councils the irritating subject which has given birth to the conflicts in which he has borne so distinguished a part. No remedy short of this will meet the evil, nor can the

* John Quincy Adams.

remedy be applied too suddenly. The breach is widening every day. The unwillingness of the North to participate in slavery grows stronger every day. The love of the Union has suppressed as yet the free utterance of this feeling; but the restraints of prudence are continually giving way. Slavery will not much longer have the floor of the Senate to itself, or rule the House with an iron hand. Freedom will find tongues there. The open advocates of human rights, as yet a small, heroic band, will spring up as a host. Is it not the part of wisdom to put an end to these deadly feuds? Is the Union to become a name? Is its chief good, concord, to be given up in despair? And must not concord be despaired of as long as slavery shall enter into the discussions of Congress? The dissensions growing out of slavery throw a fearful uncertainty over the fortunes of this country. Let us end them at once by dissolving wholly the connection between slavery and our national concerns.

There is one consideration which should reconcile the South to such an arrangement. The Constitution, if not so modified, can render little service to slavery. In this country no law, no constitution, can prevail against the moral convictions of the people. These are stronger than parchments, statutes, or tribunals. There is a feeling in regard to slavery, spreading rapidly, which cannot be withstood. It is not a fanaticism, a fever, but a calm, moral, religious persuasion; and whatever in our institutions opposes this will be a dead letter. No violence is needed to annul a law which the moral feelings of a free community condemn. The simple abstinence of the people from action in favor of an unrighteous law, and the displeasure with which they visit such as are officious in its support, will avail more than armies. The South, then, in admitting such changes of the Constitution as are proposed, will make no great sacrifice. Slavery must at any rate cease to look Northward for aid. Let it, then, consent to retire within its own bounds. Let it not mix itself with our national affairs. Let the word slavery no longer be named within the walls of Congress. Such is the good now to be sought. The North should be stirred up to demand it with one voice. Petitions, memorials, directed to this end, should be poured in upon Congress as a flood. The free States should employ political action in regard to slavery for one purpose alone, and that is, to prevent all future political action on the subject; to sever it wholly from the government; to save the country from its disturbing influence.

Such seems to me to be the urgent duty of the free States. But it is not their whole duty. They are not to think of themselves only in the changes which are to be made. The South has claims as well as ourselves. Whilst we say we cannot give aid in holding the slaves in bondage, we are bound to pledge ourselves to abstain from all action on the slaves to set them free. We must not use the Union as a means of access to that part of the Southern population. We must regard them as belonging to foreign states, and must interfere with them no more than with the serfs of Russia or the bondmen of Turkey. On this point we should consent to enter into strict terms with the South. The best human feelings have tendencies to excess. The hostility to slavery at the North may pass its due bounds, and adopt modes of action which the South has a right to repel; and from these we should bind ourselves to abstain. For example; we have heard of men who have entered the Southern States to incite and aid the slave to take flight. We have also seen a convention at the North of highly respected men preparing and publishing an address to the slaves, in which they are exhorted to fly from bondage, and to feel no scruple in seizing and using horse or boat which may facilitate their escape. All such interference with the slave is wrong, and should cease. It gives some countenance to the predictions of cautious men as to the issues of the antislavery movement. It is a sign that the enemies of slavery are losing their patience, calmness, and self-controlling wisdom; that they cannot wait for the blessing of Providence on holy efforts; that the grandeur of the end is in danger of blinding them as to the character of the means.

We are bound to abstain from all such action on the slaves, not because the master has a rightful property in them, but on the plain ground that a

slave-holding State is a body politic, a civil community, the peace and order of which must not be invaded by the members of a foreign state. It is plain, that, if the action of a foreign community on the slave begin and be allowed, no limits to it can be prescribed, and insurrection and massacre are its almost necessary effects. I certainly wish the slave to flee, if he can do it without bloodshed and violence, and can find a shelter for his rights without exposing his character to overwhelming temptation. But were the free States to incite the whole mass of slaves to fly; were one united, thrilling, exasperating cry from the North to ring through the South, and to possess the millions who are in bondage with the passion for escape; would not society be convulsed to its centre? and who of us could avert the terrible crimes which would be perpetrated in the name of liberty? No. Earnestly as I oppose slavery, I deprecate all interference with the slave within the jurisdiction of the slave-holding States. I will plead his cause with whatever strength God has given me. But I can do no more. God forbid that I should work out his deliverance by force and blood!

These remarks are the more important because there seem to be growing up among us looser ideas than formerly prevailed on the subject of inciting the slaves to vindicate their rights. The common language leads to error. We are told, and told truly, that the slaveholder has no property in the man whom he oppresses; that the slave has a right to immediate freedom; and the inference which some make is, that the slave is authorized to use, without regard to consequences, the means of emancipation. The next inference is, that he is to be urged and aided to break his chain. But these views are too sweeping, and need important modifications.

The slave has a right to liberty; but a right does not imply that it may be asserted by any and every means. There is a great law of humanity to which all are subject, the bond as well as the free, and which we must never lose sight of in redressing wrongs, or in claiming and insisting on our due. The slave cannot innocently adopt any and every expedient for vindicating his liberty. He is bound to waive his right, if in maintaining it he is to violate the law of humanity, and to spread general ruin. Were I confined unjustly to a house, I should have no right to free myself by setting it on fire, if thereby a family should be destroyed. An impressed seaman cannot innocently withhold his service in a storm, and would be bound to work even in ordinary weather, if this were needed to save the ship from foundering. We owe a debt of humanity even to him who wrongs us, and especially to those who are linked with him, and who must suffer, perhaps perish with him, if we seek to redress our wrong.

The slave is not property. He owes nothing, as a slave, to his master. On the contrary, the debt is on his master's side. But, though owing nothing as a slave, he owes much as a man. He must not, for the sake of his own liberty, involve a household in destruction. He must not combine with fellow-slaves and expose a community of men, women, children, to brutal outrage and massacre. When the chain can be broken only by inhumanity, he has no right to break it. A higher duty than that of asserting personal rights is laid on him. He is bound by Divine authority, by the Christian law, by enlightened conscience, to submit to his hard fate.

The slave's right to liberty, then, is a qualified one; qualified, not in the slightest degree by any right of property in his master, but solely by the great law of humanity. He is a man, under all the obligations of a member of the human family, and therefore bound at all times to unite a regard for others with a regard to himself. His master, indeed, denies his humanity, and treats him as a brute; and were he what his master deems him, he might innocently at any moment cut the throats of his master and master's wife and child. But his human nature, though trampled on, endures, and lays on him obligation to refrain from cruelty. From these views we learn that the right of the slave to free himself is not to be urged on him without reserve.

In these remarks I do not mean to say that I should blame the slave for rising at any moment against his master. In so doing he would incur no guilt; for in his ignorance he cannot comprehend why he should forbear. He would vindicate an undoubted right. His rude conscience would acquit him; and far be it from me to condemn! But we,

who are more enlightened, who know the consequences of revolt, should beware of rousing that wild mass of degraded men to the assertion of their rights. Such consequences humanity commands us to respect. Were it not for these, I would summon that mass as loudly as any to escape. Could I by my words so awaken and guide the millions of slaves that without violence and bloodshed they could reach safely a land of freedom and order, I would shout in thunder-tones, "Fly! Fly!" But it is not given us thus to act in human affairs It is not given us to enter and revolutionize a state, to subvert old institutions and plant new, without carrying with us strife, tumult, bloodshed, horrible crimes. The law of humanity, then restrains us from this direct agency on other states. It restrains us from abandoning ourselves to our zeal for the oppressed. It restrains us from kindling the passions of the slave. It commands us to teach him patience and love.

May I here be allowed a moment's digression, which, indeed, has important connections with the whole subject? The principle now laid down helps us to comprehend the language of the New Testament on the subject of slavery. The slave is again and again commanded by the Apostle to obey, and forbidden to purloin, or to answer rudely; and from such passages it has been argued that Christianity sanctions slavery. But the great question is, On what grounds, for what reasons, do the Scriptures enjoin obedience on the slave? Do they do so on the ground of any right of property in the master? This is the single question. Not an intimation to this effect is found in the Scriptures. They teach the slave to obey, not because he is a chattel, not because he is bound by human laws of property, but because he is bound by the Christian law of humanity and love; because he is bound everywhere to manifest a spirit of mildness and charity, and in this way to express the divine, elevating influences of his new religion.

At the introduction of Christianity slavery was an unutterable abomination, more horrible than what exists now. Good and great men, refined women, were then liable to be reduced to bondage. On the conquest of a country, not only were prisoners of war sold as slaves without regard to rank or character but, as in the case of Judea, the mass of the peaceful population were doomed to the yoke. To suppose that the Apostles of Christ intended to sanction this infernal system is an insult to those generous men, and a blasphemy against our pure and merciful faith. But slavery was then so inwoven into the institutions of society, the dangers and horrors of a servile war were so great, the consequences of a proclamation of universal liberty would have been so terrible, the perils to the cause of Christianity, had it been so taught, would have been so imminent, and the motives for manifesting Christianity, at its birth, as a spirit of unbounded meekness and love, were so urgent, that the Apostles inculcated on the slaves an obedience free from every taint of dishonesty, wrath, or revenge. Their great motive, as they stated it, was, that Christianity might not be spoken against, that it might be seen breathing love and uprightness into men whose circumstances were peculiarly fitted to goad them to anger and revenge.

To suppose that the Apostles recognized the right of the master, because they taught mildness and patience to the slave, is to show a strange ignorance of the New Testament. Our religion, in its hostility to a spirit of retaliation, violence, and revenge, enforces submission and patience as strongly on the free as on the slave. It says to us: "If a man smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. If he take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also. And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain." Is this a recognition of our neighbor's right to smite us, to take our coat, and compel us to go a mile for his convenience?

Christianity has extended the law of humanity to a degree never dreamed of in earlier times, and but faintly comprehended now. It requires us all to love and serve our enemies, and to submit to unjust government, in language so strong and unqualified as to furnish an objection to its opposers; and in all these requisitions it has but one end, which is, to inspire the sufferer with forbearance and humanity, not to assert a right in the wrong-doer.

When I consider the tenderness which

Christianity enjoins towards the injurious, I cannot but shrink from the lightness with which some speak of insurrection at the South. Were I to visit the slave, I should in every way discourage the spirit of violence and revenge. I should say: "Resist not evil; obey your master; forgive your enemies; put off wrath and hatred; put on meekness and love; do not lie or steal; govern your passions; be kind to one another; by your example and counsels lift up the degraded around you; be true to your wives, and loving to your children. And do not deem your lot in every view the worst on earth; the time is coming when it will be found better to have been a slave than a master; better to have borne the yoke than to have laid it on another. God regards you with mercy; he offers you his best blessings; 'He resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble.'"

From all these views I am bound to discourage all action on the slaves on the part of those who reside in other States. When the individual slave flees to us, let us rejoice in his safe and innocent flight. But with the millions of slaves in the land of bondage we cannot intermeddle without incurring imminent peril. The evil is too vast, rooted, complicated, terrible, for strangers to deal with, except by that moral influence which we are authorized and bound to oppose firmly and fearlessly to all oppression. We may and ought to mourn over the chain which weighs down millions of our brethren, and to rouse the sympathies and convictions of the world in aid of their violated rights. Our moral power we must not cease to oppose to the master's claim; but the free States must not touch this evil by legislation or physical power, or by any direct agency on the servile population. God has marked out our sphere of duty; and no passionate sense of injustice, no burning desire to redress wrong, must carry us beyond it. Having fully done the work given us to do, we must leave the evil to the control of Him who has infinite means of controlling it, whose almighty justice can shiver the chain of adamant as a wreath of mist is scattered by the whirlwind.

I have thus set forth what seem to me the chief duties of the free States in regard to slavery. First, they must insist on such constructions of the Constitution as will save our own citizens from the grasp of this institution, as will prevent the extension of the powers of the government for its support beyond our own shores, and as will bring to an end slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia; and secondly, we must insist on such modifications of the Constitution as will exempt us from every obligation to sustain and strengthen slavery, whilst at the same time we give every pledge not to use our relation to the slave-holder as a means of acting on the slave. These are solemn duties, not to the slaves only or chiefly, but to ourselves also. They involve our peace at home and abroad. They touch alike our rights and interests. On our performance of these depend the perpetuity of the Union and our rank among nations. Slavery, if it shall continue to be a national concern, and to insinuate itself into our domestic policy, will prove more and more a firebrand, a torch of the Furies. The agitation which it has produced is but the beginning of evils. Nothing but the separation of it from our federal system can give us peace.

The immediate purpose of these remarks has been answered. But the topic of the duties of the free States in relation to slavery has started various thoughts, and brought to view other duties more or less connected with my primary object; and as I have no desire to communicate again my thoughts on public affairs, I shall be glad to use this opportunity of disburdening my mind. My thoughts will arrange themselves under three heads, which, however imperfectly treated, deserve serious attention.

In the first place, the free States are especially called to uphold the great ideas or principles which distinguish our country, and on which our Constitution rests. This may be said to be our highest political duty. Every country is characterized by certain great ideas which pervade the people and the government, and by these chiefly its rank is determined. When one idea predominates strongly above all others, it is a key to a nation's history. The great idea of Rome — that which the child drank in with his mother's milk — was dominion. The great idea of

France is glory. In despotisms, the idea of the king or the church possesses itself of the minds of the people, and a superstitious loyalty or piety becomes the badge of the inhabitants. The most interesting view of this country is the grandeur of the idea which has determined its history, and which is expressed in all its institutions. Take away this, and we have nothing to distinguish us. In the refined arts, in manners, in works of genius, we are as yet surpassed. From our youth and insulated position, our history has no dazzling brilliancy. But one distinction belongs to us. A great idea from the beginning has been working in the minds of this people, and it broke forth with peculiar energy in our Revolution. This is the idea of human rights. In our Revolution liberty was our watchword; but not a lawless liberty, not freedom from all restraint, but a moral freedom. Liberty was always regarded as each man's right, imposing on every other man a moral obligation to abstain from doing it violence. Liberty and law were always united in our minds. By government we understood the concentration of the power of the whole community to protect the rights of each and all its members. This was the grand idea on which all our institutions were built. We believed that the rights of the people were safest, and alone safe in their own keeping, and therefore we adopted popular forms. We looked, indeed, to government for the promotion of the public welfare, as well as for the defence of rights. But we felt that the former was included in the latter; that, in securing to every man the largest liberty, the right to exercise and improve all his powers, to elevate himself and his condition, and to govern himself, subject only to the limitation which the equal freedom of others imposes, we were providing most effectually for the common good. It was felt that under this moral freedom men's powers would expand, and would secure to them immeasurably greater good than could be conferred by a government intermeddling perpetually with the subject and imposing minute restraints.

These views of human rights, which pervade and light up our history, may be expressed in one word. They are summed up in respect for the individual man. In all other countries the man has been obscured, overpowered by rulers, merged in the state, made a means or tool. Here every man has been recognized as having rights on which no one can trench without crime. The nation has recognized something greater than the nation's prosperity, than outward, material interests; and that is, individual right. In our Revolution a dignity was seen in human nature; a generous confidence was placed in men. It was believed that they would attain to greater nobleness by being left to govern themselves; that they would attain to greater piety by being left to worship God according to their own convictions; that they would attain to greater energy of intellect, and to higher truths, by being left to freedom of thought and utterance, than by the wisest forms of arbitrary rule. It was believed that a universal expansion of the higher faculties was to be secured by increasing men's responsibilities, by giving them higher interests to watch over, by throwing them very much on themselves. Such is the grand idea which lies at the root of our institutions; such the fundamental doctrines of the political creed into which we have all been baptized.

It is to the free States that the guardianship of this true faith peculiarly belongs. Their institutions are most in harmony with it; and they need to be reminded of this duty, because, under the happiest circumstances, the idea of human rights is easily obscured; because there is always a tendency to exalt worldly, material interests above it. The recent history of the country shows the worship of wealth taking the place of reverence for liberty and universal justice. The free States are called to watch against this peril, to regard government, not as a machine for creating wealth, for subserving individual cupidity, for furnishing facilities of boundless speculation, but as a moral institution, designed to secure universal right, to protect every man in the liberties and immunities through which he is to work out his highest good.

It must not, however, be imagined that the great idea of our country is to be wrought out or realized by government alone. This is, indeed, an important instrument, but it does not cover

the whole field of human rights. The most precious of these it can hardly touch. Government is, after all, a coarse machine, very narrow in its operations, doing little for human advancement in comparison with other influences. A man has other rights than those of property and person, which the government takes under its protection. He has a right to be regarded and treated as a man, as a being who has excellent powers and a high destiny. He has a right to sympathy and deference, a right to be helped in the improvement of his nature, a right to share in the intelligence of the community, a right to the means, not only of bodily, but of spiritual well-being. These rights a government can do little to protect or aid. Yet on these human progress chiefly rests. To bring these into clear light, to incorporate a reverential feeling for these, not only into government, but into manners and social life, — this is the grand work to which our country is called.

In this country the passion for wealth is a mighty force, acting in hostility to the great idea which rules in our institutions. Property continually tends to become a more vivid idea than right. In the struggle for private accumulation the worth of every human being is overlooked, the importance of every man's progress is forgotten. We must contend for this great idea. They who hold it must spread it around them. The truth must be sounded in the ears of men, that the grand end of society is, to place within reach of all its members the means of improvement, of elevation, of the true happiness of man. There is a higher duty than to build almshouses for the poor, and that is, to save men from being degraded to the blighting influence of an almshouse. Man has a right to something more than bread to keep him from starving. He has a right to the aids and encouragements and culture by which he may fulfil the destiny of a man; and until society is brought to recognize and reverence this, it will continue to groan under its present miseries.

Let me repeat, that government alone cannot realize the great idea of this country; that is, cannot secure to every man all his rights. Legislation has its limits. It is a power to be wielded against a few evils only. It acts by physical force, and all the higher improvements of human beings come from truth and love. Government does little more than place society in a condition which favors the action of higher powers than its own. A great idea may be stamped on the government, and be contradicted in common life It is very possible under popular forms that a spirit of exclusiveness and of contempt for the multitude, that impassable social barriers, and the degradation of large masses, may continue as truly as under aristocratic forms. The spirit of society, not an outward institution, is the mighty power by which the hard lot of man is to be meliorated. The great idea, that every human being has a right to the means of exercising and improving his highest powers, must pass from a cold speculation into a living conviction, and then society will begin in earnest to accomplish its end. This great idea exists as yet only as a germ, in the most advanced communities, and is working faintly. But it cannot die. We hear, indeed, much desponding language about society. The cant of the day is the cant of indifference or despair. But let it not discourage us. It is, indeed, possible that this country may sink beneath the work imposed on it by Providence, and instead of bringing the world into its debt, may throw new darkness over human hope. But great ideas, once brought to light, do not die. The multitude of men through the civilized world are catching some glimpses, however indistinct, of a higher lot; are waking up to something higher than animal good. There is springing up an aspiration among them, which, however dreaded as a dangerous restlessness, is the natural working of the human spirit, whenever it emerges from gross ignorance, and seizes on some vague idea of its rights. Thank God! it is natural for man to aspire: and this aspiration ceases to be dangerous just in proportion as the intelligent members of society interpret it aright, and respond to it, and give themselves to the work of raising their brethren. If, through self-indulgence or pride, they decline this work, the aspiration will not cease; but, growing up under resistance or contempt, it may become a spirit of hostility, conflict, revenge.

The fate of this country depends on nothing so much as on the growth or decline of the great idea which lies at the foundation of all our institutions, — the idea of the sacredness of every man's right, the respect due to every human being. This exists among us. It has stamped itself on government. It is now to stamp itself on manners and common life, — a far harder work. It will then create a society such as men have not anticipated, but which is not to be despaired of if Christianity be divine, or if the highest aspirations of the soul be true. It is only in the free States that the great idea of which I have spoken can be followed out. It is denied openly, flagrantly, where slavery exists. To be true to it is our first political, social duty.

I proceed to another important topic, and that is, the duty of the free States in relation to the Union. They and the slave-holding States constitute one people. Is this tie to continue, or to be dissolved? It cannot be disguised that this subject is growing into importance. The South has talked recklessly about disunion. The more quiet North has said little, but thought more: and there are now not a few who speak of the Union as doomed to dissolution whilst a few seem disposed to hasten the evil day. Some approach the subject, not as politicians, but as religious men, bound first to inquire into the moral fitness of political arrangements; and they have come to the conclusion that a union with States sustaining slavery is unjust, and ought to be renounced at whatever cost. That the Union is in danger is not to be admitted. Its strength would be made manifest by the attempt to dissolve it. But any thing which menaces it deserves attention. So great a good should be exposed to no hazard which can be shunned.

The Union is an inestimable good. It is to be prized for its own sake, — to be prized not merely or chiefly for its commercial benefits or any pecuniary advantages but simply as union, simply as a pacific relation between communities which without this tie would be exposed to ruinous collisions. To secure this boon we should willingly make great sacrifices. So full of crime and misery are hostile relations between neighboring rival states that a degree of misgovernment should be preferred to the danger of conflict. Disunion would not only embroil us with one another, but with foreign nations; for these States, once divided, would connect themselves with foreign powers, which would profit by our jealousies, and involve our whole policy in inextricable confusion.

There are some among us who are unwilling to be connected with States sustaining so great a wrong as slavery. But if the North can be exempted from obligation to sustain it, we ought not to make its existence at the South a ground of separation. The doctrine, that intimate political connection is not to be maintained with men practising a great wrong, would lead to the dissolution of all government, and of civil society. Every nation, great or small, contains multitudes who practise wrongs; nor is it possible to exclude such from political power. Injustice, if not the ruling element in human affairs, has yet a fearful influence. In popular governments the ambitious and intriguing often bear sway. Men who are ready to sacrifice quiet and domestic comforts and all other interests to political place and promotion, will snatch the prize from uncompromising, modest virtue. In our present low civilization a community has no pledge of being governed by its virtue. In free governments parties are the means of power, and a country can fall under few more immoral influences than party spirit. Without a deep moral revolution in society, we must continue to be ruled very imperfectly. In truth, among the darkest mysteries of Providence are the crimes and woes flowing from the organization of men into states, from our subjection to human rule. The very vices of men which make government needful unfit them to govern. Government is only to be endured on account of the greater evils of anarchy which it prevents. It is no sufficient reason, then, for breaking from the slave-holding States, that they practise a great wrong.

Besides, are not the purposes of Providence often accomplished by the association of the good with the comparatively bad? Is the evil man, or the evil community, to be excluded from brotherly feeling, to be treated as an outcast by the more innocent? Would not this argue a want of faith and love, rather

than a just abhorrence of wrong? Undoubtedly the good are to free themselves from participation in crime; but they are not therefore to sever human ties, or renounce the means of moral influence.

With whom can we associate, if we will have no fellowship with wrongdoing? Can a new confederacy be formed which will exclude selfishness, jealousy, intrigue? Do not all confederacies provoke among their members keen competitions for power, and induce unjust means of securing it? On the whole, has not our present Union been singularly free from the collisions which naturally spring from such close political connection? Would a smaller number of States be more likely to agree? Do we not owe to the extent of the Union the singular fact, that no State has inspired jealousy by disproportionate influence or power?

The South, indeed, is wedded to an unjust institution. But the South is not, therefore, another name for injustice. Slave-holding is not the only relation of its inhabitants. They are bound together by the various and most interesting ties of life. They are parents and children, husbands and wives, friends, neighbors, members of the state, members of the Christian body; and in all these relations there may be found models of purity and virtue. How many among ourselves, who must at any rate form part of a political body, and fill the highest places in the state, fall short of multitudes at the South in moral and religious principle! *

Form what confederacy we may, it will often pledge us to the wrong side. Its powers will often be perverted. The majority will be seduced again and again into crime; and incorruptible men, politically weak, will be compelled to content themselves with what will seem wasted remonstrance. No paradise opens itself, if we leave our union with the corrupt South. A corrupt North will be leagued together to act out the evil, as well as the good, which is at work in its members. A mournful amount of moral evil is to be found through this part of the country. The spirit of commerce, which is the spirit of the North, has lately revealed the tendencies to guilt which it involves. We are taught that, however covered up with the name of honor, however restrained by considerations of reputation and policy, trade may undermine integrity to an extent which shakes the confidence of the unthinking in all human virtue.

The fiery passions which have broken out at the South since the agitation of the slavery question have alienated many among us from that part of the country. But these prove no singular perverseness or corruption. What else could have been expected? Was it to be imagined that a proud, fiery people could hear patiently one of their oldest and most rooted institutions set down among the greatest wrongs and oppressions? that men holding the highest rank would consent to bear the reproach of trampling right and humanity in the dust? Do men at the North, good or bad, abandon without a struggle advantages confirmed to them by long prescription? Do they easily relinquish gainful vocations on which the moral sentiment of the community begins to frown? Is it easy to bring down the exalted from the chief seats in society? to overcome the pride of caste? to disarm the prejudices of a sect? Is human nature among ourselves easily dispossessed of early prepossessions, and open to rebuke? That the South should react with violence against antislavery doctrines was the most natural thing in the world; and the very persons whose consciences were the most reconciled to the evil, who least suspected wrong in the institution, were likely to feel themselves most aggrieved. The exasperated jealousies of the South in regard to the North are such as spring up universally towards communities of different habits, principles, and feelings, which have got the start of their neighbors, and take the liberty to reprove them. Allow the South to be passionate. Passion is not the worst vice on the earth, nor are a fiery people the greatest offenders. Such evils are not the most enduring. Conflagrations in communities, as in the forest, die out sooner or later.

Perhaps we have not felt enough how tender are the points which the antislavery movement has touched at the South. The slave is property; and to how many men everywhere is property dearer than life! Nor is this all. The

*. See Note E at end of this article.

slave is not only the object of cupidity, but of a stronger passion, — the passion for power. The slave-holder is not only an owner, but a master. He rules, he wields an absolute sceptre; and when have men yielded empire without conflict? Would the North make such a sacrifice more cheerfully than the South?

To judge justly of the violence of the South, another consideration must not be overlooked. It must be acknowledged that abundant fuel has been ministered to the passions of the slave-holder by the vehemence with which his domestic institutions were assailed at the North. No deference was paid to his sensitiveness, his dignity. The newly-awakened sympathy with the slave not only denied the rights, but set at nought all the feelings of the master. That a gentle or more courteous approach would have softened him is not said; but that the whole truth might have been spoken in tones less offensive cannot be questioned; so that we who have opposed slavery are responsible in part for the violence which has offended us.

No! the spirit of the South furnishes no argument for dissolving the Union. That States less prosperous than ourselves should be jealous of movements directed from this quarter against their institutions is not strange. We must imagine ourselves in the position of the South, to judge of the severity of the trial. We must not forget that, to the multitude there, slavery seems, if not right in itself, yet an irremediable evil. They look at it in the light of habit, and of opinions which prevailed in times of darkness and despotism. With such prepossessions, how could they but repel the zeal of Northern reformers?

It seems to be thought by some that the diversities of character between the South and North unfit them for political union. That diversities exist is true; but they are such as by mutual action and modification may ultimately form a greater people. It is by the fusion of various attributes that rich and noble characters are formed. The different sections of our country need to be modified by one another's influence. The South is ardent; the North calmer and more foreseeing. The South has quicker sympathies; the North does more good. The South commits the individual more to his own arm of defence; at the North the idea of law has greater sanctity. The South has a freer and more graceful bearing, and a higher aptitude for genial, social intercourse; the North has its compensation in superior domestic virtues and enjoyments. The courage of the South is more impetuous; of the North more stubborn. The South has more of the self-glorifying spirit of the French; the North, like England, is at once too proud and too diffident to boast. We of the North are a more awkward, shy, stiff, and steady race, with a liberal intermixture of enthusiasm, enterprise, reflection, and quiet heroism; whilst the South is franker, bolder, more fervent, more brilliant, and of course more attractive to strangers, and more fitted for social influence.

Such comparisons must, indeed, be made with large allowances. The exceptions to the common character are numerous at the North and the South, and the shades of distinction are growing fainter. But climate, that mysterious agent on the spirit, will never suffer these diversities wholly to disappear; nor is it best that they should be lost. A nation with these different elements will have a richer history, and is more likely to adopt a wise and liberal policy that will do justice to our whole nature. The diversities between the two sections of the community are inducements, rather than objections, to union; for narrow and homogeneous communities are apt to injure and degrade themselves by stubborn prejudices, and by a short-sighted, selfish concern for their special interests; and it is well for them to form connections which will help or force them to look far and wide, to make compromises and sacrifices, and to seek a larger good.

We have a strong argument for continued union in the almost insuperable difficulties which would follow its dissolution. To the young and inexperienced the formation of new confederacies and new governments passes for an easy task. It seems to be thought that a political union may be got up as easily as a marriage. But love is the magician which levels all the mountains of difficulty in the latter case; and no love, too often nothing but selfishness, acts in the former.

Let the Union be dissolved, and new

federal governments must be framed; and we have little reason to anticipate better than we now enjoy. Not that our present Constitution is, what it is sometimes called, the perfection of political skill. It is the first experiment of a purely representative system; and first experiments are almost necessarily imperfect. Future ages may smile at our blameless model of government. A more skilful machinery, more effectual checks, wiser distributions and modifications of power, are probably to be taught the world by our experience. But our experience has as yet been too short to bring us this wisdom, whilst the circumstances of the present moment are any thing but propitious to an improvement on the work of our fathers.

The work of framing a government, even in favorable circumstances, is one of the most arduous committed to man. The construction of the simplest form of polity, or of institutions for a single community in rude stages of society, demands rare wisdom; and accordingly the renown of legislators transcends all other fame in history. But to construct a government for a confederacy of states, of nations, in a highly complex and artificial state of society, is a Herculean task. The federal Constitution was a higher achievement than the assertion of our independence in the field of battle. If we can point to any portion of our history as indicating a special Divine Providence, it was the consent of so many communities to a frame of government combining such provisions for human rights and happiness as we now enjoy.

Break up this Union, reduce these States, now doubled in number, to a fragmentary form, and who can hope to live long enough to see a harmonious reconstruction of them into new confederacies? We know how the present Constitution was obstructed by the jealousies and passions of States and individuals. But if these were so formidable at the end of a struggle against a common foe which had knit all hearts, what is not to be dreaded from the distrusts which must follow the conflicts and exasperations of the last fifty years, and the agony of separation? It is no reproach on the people to say, that nearly fifty years of peace and trade and ambition and prosperity have not nourished as ardent a patriotism as the revolutionary struggle; for this is a necessary result of the principles of human nature. We should come to our work more selfishly than our fathers approached theirs. Our interests, too, are now more complicated, various, interfering, so that a compromise would be harder. We have lost much of the simplicity of a former time, and our public men are greater proficients in intrigue. Were there natural divisions of the country which would determine at once the new arrangements of power, the difficulty would be less; but the new confederacies would be sufficiently arbitrary to open a wide field to selfish plotters. Who that knows the obstacles which passion, selfishness, and corruption throw in the way of a settled government will desire to encounter the chances and perils of constructing a new system under all these disadvantages?

There is another circumstance which renders it undesirable now to break up the present order of things. The minds of men everywhere are at this moment more than usually unsettled. There is much questioning of the past and the established, and a disposition to push principles to extremes, without regard to the modifications which other principles and a large experience demand. There is a blind confidence in the power of man's will and wisdom over society, an overweening faith in legislation, a disposition to look to outward arrangements for that melioration of human affairs which can come only from the culture and progress of the soul, a hope of making by machinery what is and must be a slow, silent growth. Such a time is not the best for constructing governments and new confederacies.

We are, especially, passing through a stage of political speculation or opinion, which is, indeed, necessary under such institutions, and which may be expected to give place to higher wisdom, but which is not the most propitious for the formation of political institutions. I refer to false notions as to democracy, and as to its distinctive benefits, — notions which ought not to surprise us, because a people are slow to learn the true character and spirit of their institutions, and generally acquire this, as all other knowledge, by some painful experience.

It is a common notion here, as elsewhere, that it is a grand privilege to govern, to exercise political power; and that popular institutions have this special benefit, that they confer the honor and pleasure of sovereignty on the greatest number possible. The people are pleased at the thought of being rulers; and hence all obstructions to their immediate, palpable ruling are regarded with jealousy. It is a grand thing, they fancy, to have their share of kingship. Now this is wrong, — a pernicious error. It is no privilege to govern, but a fearful responsibility, and seldom assumed without guilt. The great good to be sought and hoped from popular institutions is, to be freed from unnecessary rule, to be governed with no reference to the glory or gratification of the sovereign power. The grand good of popular institutions is liberty, or the protection of every man's rights to the full, with the least possible restraint. Sovereignty, wherever lodged, is not a thing to be proud of, or to be stretched a hand's-breadth beyond need. If I am to be hedged in on every side, to be fretted by the perpetual presence of arbitrary will, to be denied the exercise of my powers, it matters nothing to me whether the chain is laid on me by one or many, by king or people. A despot is not more tolerable for his many heads.

Democracy, considered in itself, is the noblest form of government, and the only one to satisfy a man who respects himself and his fellow-creatures. But if its actual operation be regarded, we are compelled to say that it works very imperfectly. It is true of people, as it is of king and nobles, that they have no great capacity of government. They ought not to exult at the thought of being rulers, but to content themselves with swaying the sceptre within as narrow limits as the public safety may require. They should tremble at this function of government, should exercise it with self-distrust, and be humbled by the defects of their administration.

I am not impatient of law. One law I reverence — that divine, eternal law written on the rational soul, and revealed with a celestial brightness in the word and life of Jesus Christ. But human rulers, be they many or few, are apt to pay little heed to this law. They do not easily surrender to it their interests and ambition. It is dethroned in cabinets, and put to silence in halls of legislation. In the sphere of politics, even men generally good dispense unscrupulously with a pure morality, and of consequence we all have an interest in the limitation of political power.

Such views teach us that one of the first lessons to be taught to a people in a democracy is self-distrust. They should learn that to rule is the most difficult work on earth; that in all ages and countries men have sunk under the temptations and difficulties of the task; that no power is so corrupting as public power, and that none should be used with greater fear.

By democracy, we understand that a people governs itself; and the primary, fundamental act required of a people is, that it shall lay such restraints on its own powers as will give the best security against their abuse. This is the highest purpose of a popular constitution. A constitution is not merely a machinery for ascertaining and expressing a people's will, but much more a provision for keeping that will within righteous bounds. It is the act of a people imposing limits on itself, setting guard on its own passions, and throwing obstructions in the way of legislation, so as to compel itself to pause, to deliberate, to hear all remonstrances to weigh all rights and interests, before it acts. A constitution not framed on these principles must fail of its end. Now at the present moment these sound maxims have lost much of their authority. The people, flattered into blindness have forgotten their passionateness, and proneness to abuse power. The wholesome restraints laid by the present Constitution on popular impulse are losing their force, and we have reason to fear that new constitutions formed at the present moment would want, more than our present national charter the checks and balances on which safety depends.

A wise man knows himself to be weak, and lays down rules of life which meet his peculiar temptation. So should a people do. A people is in danger from fickleness and passion. The great evil to be feared in a popular government is instability, or the sacrifice of great principles to momentary impulses. A constitution which does not apply

checks and restraints to these perils cannot stand. Our present Constitution has many wise provisions of this character. The division of the legislature into two branches, and the forms which retard legislation, are of great value. But what constitutes the peculiar advantage of the distinction of legislative chambers is, that the Senate has so different a character from the House of Representatives; that it represents States, not individuals; that it is chosen by legislatures, not by primary assemblies; and that the term of a senator's service is three times the length of that of the popular branch. The Senate is one of the chief conservative powers in the government. It has two grand functions, — one to watch the rights of the several States, and the other, not less important, to resist the fluctuations of the popular branch. The Senate is a power raised for a time by the people above their own passions, that it may secure stability to the administration of affairs. Now this function of the Senate has been seriously impaired by the doctrine of "Instructions," — a doctrine destroying moral independence, and making the senator a passive recipient of momentary impulses which it may be his highest duty to withstand. This doctrine is in every view hurtful. A man in public life should as far as possible be placed under influences which give him dignity of mind, self-respect, and a deep feeling of responsibility. He should go to the nation's council with a mind open to all the light which is concentrated there, to study and promote the broad interests of the nation. He is not to work as a mere tool, to be an echo of the varying voices at a distance, but to do what seems to him right, and to answer to his constituents for his conduct at the appointed hour for yielding up his trust. Yet were new institutions to be framed at this moment, would not the people forget the restraint which they should impose on themselves, and the respect due to their delegates? and, from attaching a foolish self-importance to the act of governing, would they not give to their momentary feelings more and more the conduct of public affairs?

The Constitution contains another provision of wise self-distrust on the part of the people, in the power of the veto intrusted to the President. The President is the only representative of the people's unity. He is the head of the nation. He has nothing to do with Districts or States, but to look with an equal eye on the whole country. To him is intrusted a limited negative on the two chambers, — a negative not simply designed to guard his own power from encroachment, but to correct partial legislation, and to be a barrier against invasions of the Constitution by extensive combinations of interest or ambition. Every department should be a check on legislation; but this salutary power there is a disposition to wrest from the executive, and it would hardly find a place in a new confederacy.

The grand restraining, conservative power of the state remains to be mentioned; it is the judiciary. This is worth more to the people than any other department. The impartial administration of a good code of laws is the grand result, the paramount good, to which all political arrangements should be subordinate. The reign of justice, which is the reign of rights and liberty, is the great boon we should ask from the state. The judicial is the highest function. The chief justice should rank before king or president. The pomp of a palace may be dispensed with; but every imposing solemnity consistent with the simplicity of our manners should be combined in the hall where the laws which secure every man's rights are administered. To accomplish the great end of government, nothing is so important as to secure the impartiality and moral independence of judges; and for this end they should be appointed for life, subject to removal only for violation of duty. This is essential. A judge should not hang on the smiles of king or people. In him the people should erect a power above their own temporary will. There ought to be in the state something to represent the majesty of that stable, everlasting law to which all alike should bow; some power above the sordid interests, and aloof from the struggles and intrigues of ordinary public life. The dependence of the judge on the breath of party or the fleeting passions of the people is a deformity in the state, for which no other excellence in popular institutions can make compensation. The

grandest spectacle in this country is the judiciary power, raised by the people to independence of parties and temporary majorities, taking as its first guide the national charter, the fundamental law, which no parties can touch, which stands like a rock amidst the fluctuations of opinion, and determining by this the validity of the laws enacted by transient legislatures. Here is the conservative element of the country. Yet it is seriously proposed to destroy the independence of the judiciary power, to make the judge a pensioner on party, by making the office elective for a limited time; and it is not impossible that this pernicious feature might be impressed on new institutions which might spring up at the present time.

This language will not win me the name of Democrat. But I am not anxious to bear any name into which government enters as the great idea. I want as little government as consists with safety to the rights of all. I wish the people to govern no farther than they must. I wish them to place all checks on the legislature which consist with its efficiency. I honor the passion for power and rule as little in the people as in a king. It is a vicious principle, exist where it may. If by democracy be meant the exercise of sovereignty by the people under all those provisions and self-imposed restraints which tend most to secure equal laws and the rights of each and all, then I shall be proud to bear its name. But the unfettered multitude is not dearer to me than the unfettered king. And yet at the present moment there is a tendency to remove the restraints on which the wise and righteous exertion of the people's power depends.

The sum of what I have wished to say is, that the union of these States should, if possible, be kept inviolate, on the ground of the immense difficulty of constructing new confederacies and new governments. The present state of men's minds is not favorable to this most arduous task. Other considerations might be urged against disunion. But in all this I do not mean that union is to be held fast at whatever cost. Vast sacrifices should be made to it, but not the sacrifice of duty. For one, I do not wish it to continue, if, after earnest, faithful effort, the truth should be made clear, that the free States are not to be absolved from giving support to slavery. Better that we should part, than be the police of the slave-holder, than fight his battles, than wage war to uphold an oppressive institution.

So I say, let the Union be dissevered rather than receive Texas into the confederacy. This measure, besides entailing on us evils of all sorts, would have for its chief end to bring the whole country under the slave-power, to make the general government the agent of slavery; and this we are bound to resist at all hazards. The free States should declare that the very act of admitting Texas will be construed as a dissolution of the Union.

This act would be unconstitutional. The authors of the Constitution never dreamed of conferring a power on Congress to attach a foreign nation to the country, and so to destroy entirely the original balance of power. It is true that the people acquiesced in the admission of Louisiana to the Union by treaty; but the necessity of the case reconciled them to that dangerous precedent. It was understood that, by fair means or foul, by negotiation or war, the Western States *would* and *must* possess themselves of the Mississippi and New Orleans. This was regarded as a matter of life or death; and therefore the people allowed this great inroad to take place in the fundamental conditions of the union, without the appeal which ought to have been made to the several State sovereignties. But no such necessity now exists, and a like action of Congress ought to be repelled as gross usurpation.

We are always in danger of excessive jealousy in judging of the motives of other parts of the country, and this remark may apply to the present case. The South, if true to its own interests, would see in Texas a rival rather than an ally; but at the North it is suspected that political motives outweigh the economical. It is suspected that the desire of annexing Texas has been whetted by the disclosures of the last census as to the increase of population and wealth at the North. The South, it is said, means to balance the free States by adding a new empire to the confederacy. But on this point our slave-holding brethren need not be anxious. Without Texas,

the South will have very much its own way, and will continue to exert a disproportionate influence over public affairs. It has within itself elements of political power more efficient than ours. The South has abler politicians, and almost necessarily, because its most opulent class make politics the business of life. The North may send wiser statesmen to Congress, but not men to marshal and govern parties, not political leaders. The South surpasses us, not in true eloquence, which is little known anywhere, but in prompt, bold speech, a superiority due not only to greater ardor of feeling, but to a state of society encouraging the habit, and stimulating by constant action the faculty, of free and strong utterance on political subjects; and such eloquence is no mean power in popular bodies. The South has a bolder and more unscrupulous character, for which the caution and prudence of the North are not a match. Once more, it has union, common feeling, a peculiar bond in slavery, to which the divided North can make no adequate opposition. At the North politics occupy a second place in men's minds. Even in what we call seasons of public excitement the people think more of private business than of public affairs. We think more of property than of political power; and this, indeed, is the natural result of free institutions. Under these political power is not suffered to accumulate in a few hands, but is distributed in minute portions; and even when thus limited, it is not permitted to endure, but passes in quick rotation from man to man. Of consequence, it is an inferior good to property. Every wise man among us looks on property as a more sure and lasting possession to himself and his family, as conferring more ability to do good, to gratify generous and refined tastes, than the possession of political power. In the South an unnatural state of things turns men's thoughts to political ascendancy; but in the free States men think little of it. Property is the good for which they toil perseveringly from morning to night. Even the political partisan among us has an eye to property, and seeks office as the best, perhaps only way of subsistence. In this state of things, the South has little to fear from the North. For one thing we may contend, that is, for a tariff, for protection to our moneyed interests: but if we may be left to work and thrive, we shall not quarrel for power.

The little sensibility at the North to the present movements on the subject of Texas is the best commentary on the spirit of the free States. That the South should be suffered to think for a moment of adding a great country to the United States for the sake of strengthening slavery, demonstrates an absence of wise political jealousy at the North to which no parallel can be found in human history.

The union of Texas to us must be an unmixed evil. We do not need it on a single account. We are already too large. The machine of government hardly creeps on under the weight of so many diverse interests and such complex functions as burden it now. Our own natural increase is already too rapid. New States are springing up too fast: for in these there must exist, from the nature of the case, an excess of adventurous, daring spirits, whose influence over the government cannot but be perilous for a time; and it is madness to add to us a new nation to increase the wild impulses, the half-civilized forces, which now mingle with our national legislation.

To unite with Texas would be to identify ourselves with a mighty wrong; for such was the seizure of that province by a horde of adventurers. It would be to insure the predominance of the slave-power, to make slavery a chief national interest, and to pledge us to the continually increasing prostitution of the national power to its support. It would be to begin a career of encroachment on Mexico which would corrupt and dishonor us, would complicate and disturb the movements of government, would create a wasteful patronage, and enlarge our military establishments. It would be to plunge us into war, not only with Mexico, but with foreign powers, which will not quietly leave us to add the Gulf of Mexico to our vast stretch of territory along the Atlantic coast.

To unite Texas to ourselves would be to destroy our present unity as a people, to sow new seeds of jealousy. It would be to spread beyond bounds the space over which the national arm must be extended; to present new points of attack and new reasons for

assault, and at the same time to impair the energy to resist them. Can the free States consent to pour out their treasure and blood like water in order to defend against Mexico and her European protectors the slave-trodden fields of distant Texas? Would the South be prompt to exhaust itself for the annexation to this country of the vast British possessions of the North? Is it ready to pledge itself to carry the "star-spangled banner" to the pole, in exchange for our readiness to carry slavery to Darien? There must be some fixed limits to our country. We at the North do not ask for Canada. We would not, I hope, accept it as a gift; for we could not rule it well. And is the country to spread itself in one direction alone? Are we willing to place ourselves under the rule of adventurers whom a restless spirit or a dread of justice drives to Texas? What possible boon can we gain? The free States are not only wanting in common wisdom, but in those instincts by which other communities shrink from connections that diminish their importance and neutralize their power. We shall deserve to be put under guardianship, if we receive Texas to our embrace. Such suicidal policy would place us among those whom "God infatuates before he destroys."

I have now spoken of the national Union, and of the danger to which it is exposed. The duty of the free States is, to keep their attachment to it unimpaired by local partialities, jealousies, and dislikes, by supposed inequalities of benefits or burdens, or by the want of self restraint manifested in the other part of the country. They cannot, however, but see and feel one immense deduction from its blessings. They are bound by it to give a degree of sanction and support to slavery, and are threatened with the annexation of another country to our own for the purpose of strengthening this institution. Their duty is, to insist on release from all obligations, and on security against all connections, which do or may require them to uphold a system which they condemn. No blessings of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it can only continue through our participation in wrong-doing. To this conviction the free States are tending; and in this view their present subserviency to the interests of slavery is more endurable.

I proceed, in the last place, to offer a few remarks on the duties of the free States as to a subject of infinite importance, — the subject of war. To add to the distresses of the country, a war-cry is raised; and a person unaccustomed to the recklessness with which the passions of the moment break out among us in conversation and the newspapers would imagine that we were on the brink of a conflict with the most powerful nation on earth. That we are indeed to fight cannot easily be believed. That two nations of a common origin, having so many common interests, united by so many bonds, speaking one language, breathing the same free spirit, holding the same faith, to whom war can bring no good, and on whom it must inflict terrible evils; that such nations should expose themselves and the civilized world to the chances, crimes, and miseries of war, for the settlement of questions which may be adjusted honorably and speedily by arbitration; this implies such an absence of common-sense, as well as of moral and religious principle, that, bad as the world is, one can hardly believe, without actual vision, that such a result can take place. Yet the history of the world, made up of war, teaches us that we may be too secure; and no excitement of warlike feeling should pass without a word of warning.

In speaking of our duties on this subject I can use but one language, that of Christianity. I do believe that Christianity was meant to be a law for society, — meant to act on nations; and, however I may be smiled at for my ignorance of men and things, I can propose no standard of action to individuals or communities but the law of Christ, the law of eternal rectitude, the law, not only of this nation, but of all worlds.

The great duty of God's children is to love one another. This duty on earth takes the name and form of the law of humanity. We are to recognize all men as brethren, no matter where born, or under what sky or institution or religion they may live. Every man

belongs to the race, and owes a duty to mankind. Every nation belongs to the family of nations, and is to desire the good of all. Nations are to love one another. It is true that they usually adopt towards one another principles of undisguised selfishness, and glory in successful violence or fraud. But the great law of humanity is unrepealed. Men cannot vote this out of the universe by acclamation. The Christian precepts, "Do to others as you would they should do to you," "Love your neighbor as yourself," "Love your enemies," apply to nations as well as individuals. A nation renouncing them is a heathen, not a Christian nation. Men cannot, by combining themselves into narrower or larger societies, sever the sacred, blessed bond which joins them to their kind. An evil nation, like an evil man, may, indeed, be withstood, but not in hatred and revenge. The law of humanity must reign over the assertion of all human rights. The vindictive, unforgiving spirit which prevails in the earth must yield to the mild, impartial spirit of Jesus Christ.

I know that these principles will receive little hearty assent. Multitudes who profess to believe in Christ have no faith in the efficacy of his spirit, or in the accomplishment of that regenerating work which he came to accomplish. There is a worse scepticism than what passes under the name of infidelity, a scepticism as to the reality and the power of moral and Christian truth: and accordingly a man who calls on a nation to love the great family of which it is a part, to desire the weal and the progress of the race, to blend its own interests with the interests of all, to wish well to its foes, must pass for a visionary, — perhaps in war would be called a traitor. The first teacher of universal love was nailed to the cross for withstanding the national spirit, hopes, and prejudices of Judea. His followers, in these better days, escape with silent derision or neglect.

It is a painful thought, that our relations to foreign countries are determined chiefly by men who are signally wanting in reverence for the law of Christ, — the law of humanity. Should we repair to the seat of government, and listen to the debates of Congress, we should learn that the ascendant influence belongs to men who have no comprehension of the mild and generous spirit of our religion: who exult in what they are pleased to call a quick sense of honor, which means a promptness to resent, and a spirit of vengeance. And shall Christians imbrue their hands in the blood of their brethren at the bidding of such men?

At this moment our chief exposure to war arises from sensibility to what is called the honor of the nation. A nation cannot, indeed, be too jealous of its honor. But, unhappily, few communities know what this means. There is but one true honor for men or nations. This consists in impartial justice and generosity; in acting up fearlessly to a high standard of right. The multitude of men place it chiefly in courage: and in this, as in all popular delusions, there is a glimpse of truth. Courage is an essential element of true honor. A nation or an individual without it is nothing worth. Almost any thing is better than a craven spirit. Better be slaughtered than be cowardly and tame. What is the teaching of Christianity but that we must be ready at any moment to lay down life for truth, humanity, and virtue? All the virtues are naturally brave. The just and disinterested man dreads nothing that man can do to him. But courage standing alone, animal courage, the courage of the robber, pirate, or duellist, this has no honor. This only proves that bad passions are strong enough to conquer the passion of fear. Yet this low courage is that of which nations chiefly boast, and in which they make their honor to consist.

Were the spirit of justice and humanity to pervade this country, we could not be easily driven into war. England and Mexico, the countries with which we are in danger of being embroiled, have an interest in peace. The questions on which we are at issue touch no vital point, no essential interest or right, which we may not put to hazard: and consequently they are such as may and ought to be left to arbitration.

There has of late been a cry of war with Mexico: and yet, if the facts are correctly stated in the papers, a more unjust war cannot be conceived. It seems that a band of Texans entered the territory of Mexico during a state of war between the two countries. They

entered it armed. They were met and conquered by a Mexican force; and certain American citizens, found in the number, were seized and treated as prisoners of war. This is pronounced an injury which the nation is bound to resent. We are told that the band in which the Americans were found was engaged in a trading, not a military expedition. Such a statement is, of course, very suspicious; but allow it to be true. Must not the entrance of an armed band from one belligerent country into the other be regarded as a hostile invasion? Must not a citizen of a neutral state, if found in this armed company, be considered as a party to the invasion? Has he not, with eyes open, engaged in an expedition which cannot but be regarded as an act of war? That our nation should demand the restoration of such a person as a right, which must not be denied without the hazard of a war, would seem to show that we have studied international law in a new edition, revised and corrected for our special benefit. It is the weakness of Mexico which encourages these freedoms on our part. Yet their weakness is a claim on our compassion. We ought to look on that distracted country as an older brother on a wayward child, and should blush to make our strength a ground for aggression.

There is another ground, we are told, for war with Mexico. She has treated our citizens cruelly, as well as made them prisoners of war. She has condemned them to ignominious labor in the streets. This is not unlikely. Mexico sets up no pretension to signal humanity, nor has it been fostered by her history. Perhaps, however, she is only following, with some exaggerations, the example of Texas; for after the great victory of San Jacinto we were told that the Texans set their prisoners to work. At the worst, here is no cause for war. If an American choose to take part in the hostile movements of another nation, he must share the fate of its citizens. If Mexico indeed practices cruelties towards her prisoners, of whatever country, we are bound by the law of humanity to remonstrate against them; but we must not fight to reform her. The truth, however, is, that we can place no great reliance on what we hear of Mexican cruelty. The press of Texas and the South, in its anxiety to involve us in war with that country, does not speak under oath. In truth, no part of our country seems to think of Mexico as having the rights of a sovereign state. We hear the politician in high places exhorting us to take part in raising "the single Star of Texas" above the city of Montezuma, and to gorge ourselves with the plunder of her churches; and we see armed bands from the South hurrying in time of peace towards that devoted land, to realize these dreams of unprincipled cupidity. That Mexico is more sinned against than sinning, that she is as just as her foes, one can hardly help believing.

We proceed to consider our difficulties with Great Britain, which are numerous enough to alarm us, but which are all of a character to admit arbitration. The first is the North-east boundary question. This, indeed, may be said to be settled in the minds of the people. As a people, we have no doubt that the letter of the treaty marks out the line on which we insist. The great majority also believe that England insists on another, not from respect for the stipulations of the treaty, but because she needs it to secure a communication between her various provinces. The land, then, is legally ours, and ought not to be surrendered to any force. But in this, as in other cases, we are bound by the law of humanity to look beyond the letter of stipulations, to inquire, not for legal, but for moral right, and to act up to the principles of an enlarged justice and benevolence. The territory claimed by England is of great importance to her; of none, comparatively, to us; and we know that, when the treaty was framed, no thought existed on either side of carrying the line so far to the North as to obstruct the free and safe communication between her provinces. The country was then unexplored. The precise effect of the stipulation could not be foreseen. It was intended to secure a boundary advantageous to both parties. Under these circumstances, the law of equity and humanity demands that Great Britain be put in possession of the territory needed to connect her provinces together. Had nations risen at all to the idea of generosity in their mutual dealings, this country might be advised to present to England the land she needs. But prudence will stop at

the suggestion that we ought to offer it to her on terms which impartial men may pronounce just. And in doing this we should not merely consult equity and honor, but our best interest. It is the interest of a nation to establish, on all sides, boundaries which will be satisfactory alike to itself and its neighbors. This is almost essential to enduring peace. Wars have been waged without number for the purpose of uniting the scattered provinces of a country, of giving it compactness, unity, and the means of communication. A nation prizing peace should remove the irritations growing out of unnatural boundaries; and this we can do in the present case without a sacrifice.

According to these views, one of the most unwise measures ever adopted in this country was the rejection of the award of the King of the Netherlands. A better award could not have been given. It ceded for us what a wise policy teaches us to surrender, gave us a natural boundary, and gave us compensation for the territory to be surrendered. If now some friendly power would by its mediation effectually recommend to the two countries this award as the true interest of both, it would render signal service to justice and humanity.

Still, it is true that the territory that we claim is ours. The bargain made by England was a hard one; but an honest man does not on this account shrink from his contract; nor can England lay hands on what she unwisely surrendered, without breach of faith, without committing herself to an unrighteous war.

A way of compromise in a case like this is not difficult to honest and friendly nations. For example, let impartial and intelligent commissioners, agreed to by both countries, repair to the disputed territory with the treaty in their hands, and with the surveys made by the two governments; and let them go with full authority to determine the line which the treaty prescribes, to draw another line, if such shall seem to them required by principles of equity, or by the true interests of both countries, and to make ample compensation to the nation which shall relinquish part of its territory. It is believed that, generally speaking, men of distinguished honor, integrity, and ability would execute a trust of this nature more wisely, impartially, and speedily than a third government, and that the employment of such would facilitate the extension of arbitration to a greater variety of cases than can easily be comprehended under the present system. I have suggested one mode of compromise. Others and better may be devised, if the parties will approach the difficulty in a spirit of peace.

The case of the "Caroline" next presents itself. In this case our territory was undoubtedly violated by England. But the question arises, whether nothing justified or mitigated the violation. According to the law of nations, when a government is unable to restrain its subjects from continued acts of hostility towards a neighboring state, this state is authorized to take the defence of its rights into its own hands, and may enter the territory of the former power with such a force as may be required to secure itself against aggression. The question is, Did such a state of things exist on the Canadian frontier? That we Americans, if placed in the condition of the English, would have done as they did admits little doubt. This, indeed, is no justification of the act; for both nations in this condition would act more from impulse than reason. But it shows us that the question is a complicated one, — such a question as even well-disposed nations cannot easily settle by negotiation, and which may and ought to be committed to an impartial umpire.

I will advert to one more difficulty between this country and England, which is intimately connected with the subject of this tract. I refer to the question whether England may visit our vessels to ascertain their nationality, in cases where the American flag is suspected of being used by foreigners for the prosecution of the slave-trade. On this subject we have two duties to perform. One is to protect our commerce against claims on the part of other nations, which may silently be extended, and may expose it to interference and hindrance injurious alike to our honor and prosperity. The other, not less clear and urgent, is to afford effectual assistance to the great struggle of European nations for the suppression of the slave-trade, and especially to prevent our flag

from being made a cover for the nefarious traffic. These are two duties which we can and must reconcile. We must not say that the slave-trade is to be left to itself, and that we have no obligation to take part in its abolition. We cannot, without shame and guilt, stand neutral in this war. The slave-trade is an enormous crime, a terrible outrage on humanity, an accumulation of unparalleled wrongs and woes, and the civilized world is waking up to bring it to an end. Every nation is bound by the law of humanity to give its sympathies, prayers, and co-operation to this work. Even had our commerce no connection with this matter, we should be bound to lend a helping hand to the cause of the human race. But the fact is, that the flag of our country, prostituted by infamous foreigners, is a principal shelter to the slave-trade. Vile men wrap themselves up in our garments, and in this guise go forth to the work of robbery and murder. Shall we suffer this? Shall the nations of the earth, when about to seize these outlaws, be forbidden to touch them, because they wear the American garb? It is said, indeed, that foreign powers, if allowed to visit our vessels for such a purpose, will lay hands on our own citizens, and invade our commercial rights. But vague suspicions of this kind do not annul a plain obligation. Uncertain consequences do not set aside what we know; and one thing we know, that the slave-trade ought not to be left to live and grow under the American flag. We are bound some way or other to stay this evil. We ought to say to Europe: "We detest this trade as much as you. We will join heart and hand in its destruction. We will assent to the mutual visitation which you plead for, if arrangements can be made to secure it against abuse. We will make sacrifices for this end. We will shrink from no reasonable concession. Your efforts shall not be frustrated by the prostitution of our flag." If in good faith we follow up these words, it can hardly be doubted that a safe and honorable arrangement may be made with foreign powers.

Some of our politicians protest vehemently against the visitation of vessels bearing our flag for the purpose of determining their right to assume it. They admit that there are cases, such as suspicion of piracy, in which such visitation is authorized by the law of nations. But this right, they say, cannot be extended at pleasure by the union of several nations in treaties or conventions which can only be executed by visiting the vessels of other powers. This is undoubtedly true. Nations, by union for private advantage, have no right to subject the ships of other powers to inconvenience, or to the possibility of molestation, in order to compass their purpose. But when several nations join together to extirpate a widely extended and flagrant crime against the human race, to put down a public and most cruel wrong, they have a right to demand that their labors shall not be frustrated by the fraudulent assumption of the flags of foreign powers. Subjecting their own ships to visitation as a means of preventing this abuse of their flags, they are authorized to expect a like subjection from other states, on condition that they proffer every possible security against the abuse of the power. A state, in declining such visitation, virtually withdraws itself from the commonwealth of nations. Christian states may be said, without any figure, to form a commonwealth. They are bound together by a common faith, the first law of which is universal good-will. They recognize mutual obligations. They are united by interchange of material and intellectual products. Through their common religion and literature, and their frequent intercourse, they have attained to many moral sympathies; and when by these any portion of them are united in the execution of justice against open, fearful crime, they have a right to the good wishes of all other states; and especially a right to be unobstructed by them in their efforts. In the present case we have ourselves fixed the brand of piracy on the very crime which certain powers of Europe have joined to suppress. Ought we not to consent that vessels bearing our flag, but falling under just suspicion of assuming it for the perpetration of this piracy, should be visited, according to stipulated forms, that their nationality may be judged? Have we any right, by denying this claim, to give to acknowledged, flagrant crime an aid and facility under which it cannot but prevail? There seems no reason for apprehension that in assenting to visitation we shall expose ourselves to great

wrongs. From the nature of the case, strict and simple rules of judgment may be laid down, and the responsibility of the visiting officers may be made so serious as to give a moral certainty of caution. Undoubtedly injuries may chance to be inflicted, as is the case in the exercise of the clearest rights: but the chance is so small, whilst the effects of refusing visitation are so fatal and so sure, that our country, should it resist the claim, will take the attitude of hostility to the human race, and will deserve to be cut off from the fellowship of the Christian world.

It is customary, I know, to meet these remarks by saying that the crusade of England against this traffic is a mere show of philanthropy; that she is serving only her own ends; and that there is consequently no obligation to co-operate with her. This language might be expected from the South, where almost universal ignorance prevails in regard to the antislavery efforts of England; but it does little honor to the North, where the means of knowledge are possessed. That England is blending private views with the suppression of the slave-trade is a thing to be expected; for states, like individuals, seldom act from unmixed motives. But when we see a nation for fifty years keeping in sight a great object of humanity; when we see this enterprise, beginning with the peaceful Quaker, adopted by Christians of other names, and thus spreading through and moving the whole population; when we see the reluctant government compelled by the swelling sensibility of the people to lend itself to the cause, and to forward it by liberal expenditure and vast efforts on sea and land; can we help feeling that the moral sentiment of the nation is the basis and spring of this great and glorious effort? On this subject I may speak from knowledge. In England, many years ago, I met the patriarchs of the antislavery cause. I was present at a meeting of the abolition committee, — a body which has won an imperishable name in history. I saw men and women, eminent for virtue and genius, who had abstained from the products of slave-labor to compel the government to suppress the traffic in men. If ever Christian benevolence wrought a triumph, it was in that struggle; and the efforts of the nation from that day to this have been hallowed by the same generous feeling. Alas! the triumphs of humanity are not so numerous that we can afford to part with this. History records but one example of a nation fighting the battle of the oppressed with the sympathy, earnestness, and sacrifices of a generous individual; and we will not give up our faith in this. And now is our country prepared to throw itself in the way of these holy efforts? Shall our flag be stained with the infamy of defending the slave-trade against the humanity of other countries? Better that it should disappear from the ocean than be so profaned.

It must not be said that the slave-trade cannot be annihilated. The prospect grows brighter. One of its chief marts, Cuba, is now closed. The ports of Brazil, we trust, will next be shut against it; and these measures on land, aided by well-concerted operations at sea, will do much to free the world from this traffic. It must not find its last shelter under the American flag. We must not talk of difficulties. Let the nation's heart be opened to the cry of humanity, to the voice of religion, and difficulties will vanish. In every good work for the freedom and melioration of the world we ought to bear our part. We ought to be found in the front rank of the war against that hideous traffic which we first branded as piracy. God save us from suffering our flag to be spread as a screen between the felon, the pirate, the kidnapper, the murderer, and the ministers of justice, of humanity, sent forth to cut short his crimes!

We have thus considered the most important of our difficulties with Mexico and England which have been thought to threaten war. With a spirit of justice and peace, it seems impossible that we should be involved in hostilities. The duties of the free States, and of all the States, are plain. We should cherish a spirit of humanity towards all countries. We should resist the false notions of honor, the false pride, the vindictive feelings, which are easily excited by supposed injuries from foreign powers, and are apt to spread like a pestilence from breast to breast, till they burst forth at length in a fierce, uncontrollable passion for war.

I have now finished my task. I have considered the duties of the free States

in relation to slavery, and to other subjects of great and immediate concern. In this discussion I have constantly spoken of duties as more important than interests; but these in the end will be found to agree. The energy by which men prosper is fortified by nothing so much as by the lofty spirit which scorns to prosper through abandonment of duty.

I have been called by the subjects here discussed to speak much of the evils of the times and the dangers of the country; and in treating of these a writer is almost necessarily betrayed into what may seem a tone of despondence. His anxiety to save his country from crime or calamity leads him to use unconsciously a language of alarm which may excite the apprehension of inevitable misery. But I would not infuse such fears. I do not sympathize with the desponding tone of the day. It may be that there are fearful woes in store for this people; but there are many promises of good to give spring to hope and effort; and it is not wise to open our eyes and ears to ill omens alone. It is to be lamented that men who boast of courage in other trials should shrink so weakly from public difficulties and dangers, and should spend in unmanly reproaches or complaints the strength which they ought to give to their country's safety. But this ought not to surprise us in the present case; for our lot until of late has been singularly prosperous, and great prosperity enfeebles men's spirits, and prepares them to despond when it shall have passed away. The country, we are told, is "ruined." What! the country ruined, when the mass of the population have hardly retrenched a luxury? We are indeed paying, and we ought to pay, the penalty of reckless extravagance, of wild and criminal speculation, of general abandonment to the passion for sudden and enormous gains. But how are we ruined? Is the kind, nourishing earth about to become a cruel step-mother? Or is the teeming soil of this magnificent country sinking beneath our feet? Is the ocean dried up? Are our cities and villages, our schools and churches, in ruins? Are the stout muscles which have conquered sea and land palsied? Are the earnings of past years dissipated, and the skill which gathered them forgotten? I open my eyes on this ruined country, and I see around me fields fresh with verdure, and behold on all sides the intelligent countenance, the sinewy limb, the kindly look, the free and manly bearing, which indicate any thing but a fallen people. Undoubtedly we have much cause to humble ourselves for the vices which our recent prosperity warmed into being, or rather brought out from the depths of men's souls. But in the reprobation which these vices awaken have we no proof that the fountain of moral life in the nation's heart is not exhausted? In the progress of temperance, of education, and of religious sensibility in our land, have we no proof that there is among us an impulse towards improvement which no temporary crime or calamity can overpower?

I shall be pointed undoubtedly to our political corruptions, to the inefficiency and party passions which dishonor our present Congress, and to the infamy brought on the country by breach of faith and gross dishonesty in other legislatures. In sight of this an American must indeed "blush, and hang his head." Still it is true, and the truth should be told, that, in consequence of the long divorce between morality and politics, public men do not represent the character of the people; nor can we argue from profligacy in public affairs to a general want of private virtue. Besides, we all know that it is through errors, sins, and sufferings that the individual makes progress; and so does a people. A nation cannot learn to govern itself in a day. New institutions conferring great power on a people open a door to many and great abuses, from which nothing but the slow and painful discipline of experience can bring deliverance. After all, there is a growing intelligence in this community; there is much domestic virtue; there is a deep working of Christianity; there is going on a struggle of higher truths with narrow traditions, and of a wider benevolence with social evils: there is a spirit of freedom, a recognition of the equal rights of men: there are profound impulses received from our history, from the virtues of our fathers, and especially from our revolutionary conflict; and there is an indomitable energy, which, after rearing an empire in the wilderness,

is fresh for new achievements. Such a people are not ruined because Congress leaves the treasury bankrupt for weeks and months, and exposes itself to scorn by vulgar manners and ruffian abuse. In that very body how many men may be found of honor, integrity, and wisdom, who watch over their country with sorrow, but not despair, and who meet an answer to their patriotism in the breasts of thousands of their countrymen!

There is one duty of the free States of which I have not spoken; it is the duty of faith in the intellectual and moral energies of the country, in its high destiny, and in the good Providence which has guided it through so many trials and perils to its present greatness. We indeed suffer much, and deserve to suffer more. Many dark pages are to be written in our history. But generous seed is still sown in this nation's mind. Noble impulses are working here. We are called to be witnesses to the world of a freer, more equal, more humane, more enlightened social existence than has yet been known. May God raise us to a more thorough comprehension of our work! May he give us faith in the good which we are summoned to achieve! May he strengthen us to build up a prosperity not tainted by slavery, selfishness, or any wrong; but pure, innocent, righteous, and overflowing, through a just and generous intercourse, on all the nations of the earth!

NOTES.

Note A. — To the preceding remarks it is in vain to oppose "the comity of nations." England, in her public acts, having pronounced slavery unjust, pronounces also that "comity" cannot prevail against justice. And is not this right and true? Can a nation be bound by comity to recognize within its borders, and to carry into effect by its judicial or executive machinery, the laws of another country which it holds to be violations of the law of nature or of God? Would not our own courts indignantly refuse to enforce a contract or relation between foreigners here, which, however valid in their own land where it was made, is contrary to our own institutions, or to the acknowledged precepts of morality and religion?

Note B. — "It is said that this alleged interference by the British authorities was contrary to the comity of nations, and that therefore the British government is bound to indemnify the owners of the slaves. But indemnity for what? for their asserted property in these men? But that government does not recognize property in men. Suppose the slaves were dispersed by reason of its interference; yet the master and owners received no damage thereby, for they had no title to the slaves. Their property had ceased when these men came under the benign influence of English law."

Note C. — I have spoken of the great majority in our country who have no participation whatever in slavery. Indeed, it is little suspected at home, any more than abroad, how small is the number of slave-holders here. I learn from a judicious correspondent at the South that the slave-holders in that region cannot be rated at more than 300,000. Some make them less. Supposing each of them to be the head of a family, and each family to consist of five members; then there will be 1,500,000 having a direct interest in slaves as property. This is about *one-eleventh* of the population of the United States. The 300,000 actual slave-holders are about *a fifty-seventh part* of our whole population. These govern the South entirely, by acting in concert, and by the confinement of the best education to their ranks; and, still more, to a considerable extent they have governed the whole country. Their cry rises above all other sounds in the land. Few as they are, their voices well-nigh drown the quiet reasonings and remonstrances of the North in the House of Representatives.

Note D. — In the first part of these remarks I said that the freedom of speech and of the press was fully enjoyed in this country. I overlooked the persecutions to which the abolitionists have been exposed for expressing their opinions. That I should have forgotten this is the more strange, because my sympathy with these much-injured persons has been one motive to me for writing on slavery. The free States, as far as they have violated the rights of the abolitionists, have ceased to be fully free. They have acted as the tools of slavery, and have warred against free-

dom in its noblest form. No matter what other liberties are conceded, if liberty of speech and the press be denied us. We are robbed of our most precious right, of that without which all other rights are unprotected and insecure.

Note E. — Since the publication of the first edition of this tract, I have been sorry to learn that this paragraph has been considered by some as showing an insensibility to the depraving influences of slavery. My purpose was, to be just to the South; and I did not dream that in doing this I was throwing a veil over the deformity of its institutions. I feel deeply, what I have again and again said, that slavery does and must exert an exceedingly depraving influence. So wrongful an exercise of power cannot but injure the character. All who sustain the relation are the worse for it. But it is a plain fact, taught by all history and experience, that under depraving institutions much virtue may exist; and were not this the case, the condition of our race would be hopeless indeed, for everywhere such institutions are found. The character is not determined by a single relation or circumstance in our lot. Most of us believe that Roman Catholicism exerts many influences hostile to true Christianity, and yet how many sincere Christians have grown up under that system! In the midst of feudal barbarism, in the palaces of despotism, noble characters have been formed. Slavery, I believe, does incalculable harm to the slave-holders. It spreads licentiousness of manners to a fearful extent; and in the case of the good it obscures their perception of those most important teachings of Christianity which unfold the intimate relation of man to man, and which enjoin universal love. Still, it cannot be denied that, under all these disadvantages, God finds true worshippers within the bounds of slavery, that many deeds of Christian love are performed there, and that there are not wanting examples of eminent virtue. This is what I meant to say. I am bound, however, to add, that the more I become acquainted with the slave-holding States, the more I am impressed with the depraving influence of slavery; and I shall grieve if my desire to be just to the South, and my joy at witnessing virtue there, should be construed as a negative testimony in favor of this corrupting institution.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED AT LENOX,

On the First of August, 1842, being the Anniversary of Emancipation in the British West Indies.

Introductory Remarks.

I HAVE been encouraged to publish the following address by the strong expressions of sympathy with which it was received. I do not, indeed, suppose that those who listened to it with interest, and who have requested its publication, accorded with me in every opinion which it contains. Such entire agreement is not to be expected among intelligent men who judge for themselves. But I am sure that the spirit and substance of the address met a hearty response. Several paragraphs, which I wanted strength to deliver, are now published, and for these of course I am alone responsible.

I dedicate this address to the men and women of Berkshire. I have found so much to delight me in the magnificent scenery of this region, in its peaceful and prosperous villages, and in the rare intelligence and virtues of the friends whose hospitality I have here enjoyed, that I desire to connect this little work with this spot. I cannot soon forget the beautiful nature and the generous spirits with which I have been privileged to commune in the valley of the Housatonic. — LENOX, MASS., *Aug.* 9, 1842.

Address.

This day is the anniversary of one of the great events of modern times, — the

emancipation of the slaves in the British West India Islands. This emancipation began August 1st, 1834, but it was not completed until August 1st, 1838. The event, indeed, has excited little attention in our country, partly because we are too much absorbed in private interests and local excitements to be alive to the triumphs of humanity at a distance, partly because a moral contagion has spread from the South through the North, and deadened our sympathies with the oppressed. But West India emancipation, though received here so coldly, is yet an era in the annals of philanthropy. The greatest events do not always draw most attention at the moment. When the "Mayflower," in the dead of winter, landed a few pilgrims on the ice-bound, snow-buried rocks of Plymouth, the occurrence made no noise. Nobody took note of it, and yet how much has that landing done to change the face of the civilized world! Our fathers came to establish a pure church; they little thought of revolutionizing nations. The emancipation in the West Indies, whether viewed in itself, or in its immediate results, or in the spirit from which it grew, or in the light of hope which it sheds on the future, deserves to be commemorated. In some respects it stands alone in human history, I therefore invite to it your serious attention.

Perhaps I ought to begin with some apology for my appearance in this place; for I stand here unasked, uninvited. I can plead no earnest solicitation from few or many for the service I now render. I come to you simply from an impulse in my own breast; and, in truth, had I been solicited, I probably should not have consented to speak. Had I found here a general desire to celebrate this day, I should have felt that another speaker might be enlisted in the cause, and I should have held my peace. But finding that no other voice would be raised, I was impelled to lift up my own, though too feeble for any great exertion. I trust you will accept with candor what I have been obliged to prepare in haste, and what may have little merit but that of pure intention.

I have said that I speak only from the impulse of my own mind. I am the organ of no association, the representative of no feelings but my own. But I wish it to be understood that I speak from no sudden impulse, from no passionate zeal of a new convert, but from deliberate and long-cherished conviction. In truth, my attention was directed to slavery fifty years ago, — that is, before most of you were born: and the first impulse came from a venerable man, formerly of great reputation in this part of our country and in all our churches, the Rev. Dr. Hopkins, who removed more than a century ago from Great Barrington to my native town, and there bore open and strong testimony against the slave-trade, — a principal branch of the traffic of the place. I am reminded by the spot where I now stand of another incident which may show how long I have taken an interest in this subject. More than twenty years ago I had an earnest conversation with that noble-minded man and fervent philanthropist, Henry Sedgwick, so well and honorably known to most who hear me, on which occasion we deplored the insensibility of the North to the evils of slavery, and inquired by what means it might be removed. The circumstance which particularly gave my mind a direction to this subject was a winter's residence in a West Indian island more than eleven years ago. I lived there on a plantation. The piazza in which I sat and walked almost from morning to night overlooked the negro village belonging to the estate. A few steps placed me in the midst of their huts. Here was a volume on slavery opened always before my eyes, and how could I help learning some of its lessons? The gang on this estate (for such is the name given to a company of slaves) was the best on the island, and among the best in the West Indies. The proprietor had labored to collect the best materials for it. His gang had been his pride and boast. The fine proportions, the graceful and sometimes dignified bearing of these people, could hardly be overlooked. Unhappily, misfortune had reduced the owner to bankruptcy. The estate had been mortgaged to a stranger, who could not personally superintend it; and I found it under the care of a passionate and licentious manager, in whom the poor slaves found a sad contrast to the kindness of former days. They sometimes came to the house where I resided, with their mournful or indignant complaints; but were told that no redress could be found from

the hands of their late master. In this case of a plantation passing into strange hands, I saw that the mildest form of slavery might at any time be changed into the worst. On returning to this country I delivered a discourse on slavery, giving the main views which I have since communicated; and this was done before the cry of abolitionism was heard among us. I seem, then, to have a peculiar warrant for now addressing you. I am giving you, not the ebullitions of new, vehement feelings, but the results of long and patient reflection; not the thoughts of others, but my own independent judgments. I stand alone; I speak in the name of no party: I have no connection, but that of friendship and respect, with the opposers of slavery in this country or abroad. Do not mix me up with other men, good or bad; but listen to me as a separate witness, standing on my own ground, and desirous to express with all plainness what seems to be the truth.

On this day, a few years ago, eight hundred thousand human beings were set free from slavery; and to comprehend the greatness of the deliverance, a few words must first be said of the evil from which they were rescued. You must know slavery to know emancipation. But in a single discourse how can I set before you the wrongs and abominations of this detestable institution? I must pass over many of its features, and will select one which is at present vividly impressed on my mind. Different minds are impressed with different evils. Were I asked, what strikes me as the greatest evil inflicted by this system, I should say, it is the outrage offered by slavery to human nature. Slavery does all that lies in human power to unmake men, to rob them of their humanity, to degrade men into brutes; and this it does by declaring them to be property. Here is the master evil. Declare a man a chattel, something which you may own and may turn to your use, as a horse or a tool; strip him of all right over himself, of all right to use his own powers, except what you concede to him as a favor and deem consistent with your own profit; and you cease to look on him as a man. You may call him such; but he is not to you a brother, a fellow-being, a partaker of your nature, and your equal in the sight of God. You view him, you treat him, you speak to him, as infinitely beneath you, as belonging to another race. You have a tone and a look towards him which you never use towards a man. Your relation to him demands that you treat him as an inferior creature. You cannot, if you would, treat him as a man. That he may answer your end, that he may consent to be a slave, his spirit must be broken, his courage crushed; he must fear you. A feeling of his deep inferiority must be burnt into his soul. The idea of his rights must be quenched in him by the blood of his lashed and lacerated body. Here is the damning evil of slavery. It destroys the spirit, the consciousness of a man. I care little, in comparison, for his hard outward lot, his poverty, his unfurnished house, his coarse fare; the terrible thing in slavery is the spirit of a slave, the extinction of the spirit of a man. He feels himself owned, a chattel, a thing bought and sold, and held to sweat for another's pleasure, at another's will, under another's lash, just as an ox or horse. Treated thus as a brute, can he take a place among men? A slave! Is there a name so degraded on earth, a name which so separates a man from his kind? And to this condition millions of our race are condemned in this land of liberty.

In what is the slave treated as a man? The great right of a man is, to use, improve, expand his powers, for his own and others' good. The slave's powers belong to another, and are hemmed in, kept down, not cherished, or suffered to unfold. If there be an infernal system, one especially hostile to humanity, it is that which deliberately wars against the expansion of men's faculties; and this enters into the essence of slavery. The slave cannot be kept a slave, if helped or allowed to improve his intellect and higher nature. He must not be taught to read. The benevolent Christian, who tries, by giving him the use of letters, to open to him the word of God and other good books, is punished as a criminal. The slave is hedged round so that philanthropy cannot approach him to awaken in him the intelligence and feelings of a man. Thus his humanity is trodden under foot.

Again, a man has the right to form

and enjoy the relations of domestic life. The tie between the brute and his young endures but a few months. Man was made to have a home, to have a wife and children, to cleave to them for life, to sustain the domestic relations in constancy and purity, and through these holy ties to refine and exalt his nature. Such is the distinction of a man. But slavery violates the sanctity of home. It makes the young woman property, and gives her no protection from licentiousness. It either disallows marriage, or makes it a vain show. It sunders husband and wife, sells them into distant regions, and then compels them to break the sacred tie, and contract new alliances, in order to stock the plantation with human slaves. Scripture and nature say, "What God hath joined, let not man put asunder;" but slavery scorns God's voice in his word and in the human heart. Even the Christian church dares not remonstrate against the wrong, but sanctions it, and encourages the poor ignorant slave to form a new, adulterous connection, that he may minister to his master's gain. The slave-holder enters the hut of his bondsman to do the work which belongs only to death, and to do it with nothing of the consolatory, healing influences which Christianity sheds round death. He goes to tear the wife from the husband, the child from the mother, to exile them from one another, and to convey them to unknown masters. Is this to see a man in a slave? Is not this to place him beneath humanity?

Again, it is the right, privilege, and distinction of a man, not only to be connected with a family, but with his race. He is made for free communion with his fellow-creatures. One of the sorest evils of life is to be cut off from the mass of men, from the social body; to be treated by the multitude of our fellow-creatures as outcasts, as Parias, as a fallen race, unworthy to be approached, unworthy of the deference due to men; and this infinite wrong is done to the slave. A slave! that name severs all his ties except with beings as degraded as himself. He has no country, no pride or love of nation, no sympathy with the weal or woe of the land which gave him birth, no joy in its triumphs, no generous sorrow for its humiliation, no feeling of that strong unity with those around him which common laws, a common government, and a common history create. He is not allowed to go forth, as other men are, and to connect himself with strangers, to form new alliances by means of trade, business, conversation. Society is every where barred against him. An iron wall forbids his access to his race. The miscellaneous intercourse of man with man, which strengthens the feeling of our common humanity, and perhaps does more than all things to enlarge the intellect, is denied him. The world is nothing to him; he does not hear of it. The plantation is his world. To him the universe is narrowed down almost wholly to the hut where he sleeps, and the fields where he sweats for another's gain. Beyond these he must not step without leave: and even if allowed to wander, who has a respectful look or word for the slave? In that name he carries with him an atmosphere of repulsion. It drives men from him as if he were a leper. However gifted by God, however thirsting for some higher use of his powers, he must hope for no friend beyond the ignorant, half-brutalized caste with which bondage has united him. To him there is no race, as there is no country. In truth, so fallen is he beneath sympathy that multitudes will smile at hearing him compassionated for being bereft of these ties. Still, he suffers great wrong. Just in proportion as you sever a man from his country and race he ceases to be a man. The rudest savage, who has a tribe with which he sympathizes, and for which he is ready to die, is far exalted above the slave. How much more exalted is the poorest freeman in a civilized land, who feels his relation to a wide community; who lives under equal laws to which the greatest bow; whose social ties change and enlarge with the vicissitudes of life; whose mind and heart are open to the quickening, stirring influences of this various world! Poor slave! humanity's outcast and orphan! to whom no door is open, but that of the naked hut of thy degraded caste! Art thou, indeed, a man? Dost thou belong to the human brotherhood? What is thy whole life but continued insult? Thou meetest no look which does not express thy hopeless exclusion from human sympathies. Thou mayest, indeed, be pitied in sickness and pain; and so is the animal

The deference due to a man, and which keeps alive a man's spirit, is unknown to thee. The intercourse which makes the humblest individual in other spheres partaker more or less in the improvements of his race, thou must never hope for. May I not say, then, that nothing extinguishes humanity like slavery?

In reply to these and other representations of the wrongs and evils of this institution, we are told that slaves are well fed, well clothed, at least better than the peasantry and operatives in many other countries; and this is gravely adduced as a vindication of slavery. A man capable of offering it ought, if any one ought, to be reduced to bondage. A man who thinks food and raiment a compensation for liberty, who would counsel men to sell themselves, to become property, to give up all rights and power over themselves, for a daily mess of pottage, however savory, is a slave in heart. He has lost the spirit of a man; and would be less wronged than other men if a slave's collar were welded round his neck.

The domestic slave is well fed, we are told, and so are the domestic animals. A nobleman's horse in England is better lodged and more pampered than the operatives in Manchester. The grain which the horse consumes might support a starving family. How sleek and shining his coat! How gay and rich his caparison! But why is he thus curried and pampered and bedecked? To be bitted and curbed; and then to be mounted by his master, who arms himself with whip and spur to put the animal to his speed; and if any accident mar his strength or swiftness, he is sold from his luxuriant stall to be flayed, overworked, and hastened out of life by the merciless drayman. Suppose the nobleman should say to the half-starved, ragged operative of Manchester, "I will give up my horse, and feed and clothe you with like sumptuousness, on condition that I may mount you daily with lash and spurs, and sell you when I can make a profitable bargain." Would you have the operative, for the sake of good fare and clothes, take the lot of the brute? or, in other words, become a slave? What reply would the heart of an Old England or New England laborer make to such a proposal? And yet, if there be any soundness in the argument drawn from the slave's comforts, he ought to accept it thankfully and greedily.

Such arguments for slavery are insults. The man capable of using them ought to be rebuked as mean in spirit, hard of heart, and wanting all true sympathy with his race. I might reply, if I thought fit, to this account of the slave's blessings, that there is nothing very enviable in his food and wardrobe, that his comforts make no approach to those of the nobleman's horse, and that a laborer of New England would prefer the fare of many an almshouse at home. But I cannot stoop to such reasoning. Be the comforts of the slave what they may, they are no compensation for the degradation, insolence, indignities, ignorance, servility, scars, and violations of domestic rights to which he is exposed.

I have spoken of what seems to me the grand evil of slavery, — the outrage it offers to human nature. It would be easy to enlarge on other fatal tendencies and effects of this institution. But I forbear, not only for want of time, but because I feel no need of a minute exposition of its wrongs and miseries to make it odious. I cannot endure to go through a labored proof of its iniquitous and injurious nature. No man wants such proof. He carries the evidence in his own heart. I need nothing but the most general view of slavery to move my indignation towards it. I am more and more accustomed to throw out of sight its particular evils, its details of wrong and suffering, and to see in it simply an institution which deprives men of freedom; and when I thus view it, I am taught immediately, by an unerring instinct, that slavery is an intolerable wrong. Nature cries aloud for freedom as our proper good, our birthright and our end, and resents nothing so much as its loss. It is true that we are placed at first in subjection to others' wills, and spend childhood and youth under restraint. But we are governed at first that we may learn to govern ourselves; we begin with leading-strings that we may learn to go alone. The discipline of the parent is designed to train up his children to act for themselves, and from a principle of duty in their own breasts. The child is not subjected to his father to be a slave, but to grow up to the energy, responsi-

bility, relations, and authority of a man. Freedom, courage, moral force, efficiency, independence, the large, generous action of the soul, these are the blessings in store for us, the grand ends to which the restraints of education, of family, of school, and college are directed. Nature knows no such thing as a perpetual yoke. Nature bends no head to the dust, to look for ever downward. Nature makes no man a chattel. Nature has implanted in all souls the thirst, the passion for liberty. Nature stirs the heart of the child, and prompts it to throw out its little limbs in restlessness and joy, and to struggle against restraint. Nature impels the youth to leap, to run, to put forth all his powers, to look with impatience on prescribed bounds, to climb the steep, to dive into the ocean, to court danger, to spread himself through the new world which he was born to inherit. Nature's life, nature's impulse, nature's joy is freedom. A greater violence to nature cannot be conceived than to rob man of liberty.

What is the end and essence of life? It is to expand all our faculties and affections. It is to grow, to gain by exercise new energy, new intellect, new love. It is to hope, to strive, to bring out what is within us, to press towards what is above us. In other words, it is to be free. Slavery is thus at war with the true life of human nature. Undoubtedly there is a power in the soul which the loss of freedom cannot always subdue. There have been men doomed to perpetual bondage who have still thought and felt nobly, looked up to God with trust, and learned by experience that even bondage, like all other evils, may be made the occasion of high virtue. But these are exceptions. In the main, our nature is too weak to grow under the weight of chains.

To illustrate the supreme importance of freedom, I would offer a remark which may sound like a paradox, but will be found to be true. It is this, that even despotism is endurable only because it bestows a degree of freedom. Despotism, bad as it is, supplants a greater evil, and that is anarchy; and anarchy is worse, chiefly because it is more enslaving. In anarchy all restraint is plucked from the strong, who make a prey of the weak; subduing them by terror, seizing on their property, and treading every right under foot. When the laws are prostrated, arbitrary, passionate, lawless will, the will of the strongest, exasperated by opposition, must prevail; and under this the rights of person as well as property are cast down, and a palsying fear imposes on men's spirits a heavier chain than was ever forged by an organized despotism. In the whole history of tyranny in France, liberty was never so crushed as in the reign of terror in the Revolution, when mobs and lawless combinations usurped the power of the state. A despot, to be safe, must establish a degree of order, and this implies laws, tribunals, and some administration of justice, however rude; and, still more, he has an interest in protecting industry and property to some degree, in order that he may extort the more from his people's earnings under the name of revenue. Thus despotism is an advance towards liberty; and in this its strength very much lies; for the people have a secret consciousness that their rights suffer less under one than under many tyrants, under an organized absolutism than under wild, lawless, passionate force; and on this conviction, as truly as on armies, rests the despot's throne. Thus freedom and rights are ever cherished goods of human nature. Man keeps them in sight even when most crushed; and just in proportion as civilization and intelligence advance he secures them more and more. This is infallibly true, notwithstanding opposite appearances. The old forms of despotism may, indeed, continue in a progressive civilization, but their force declines: and public opinion, the will of the community, silently establishes a sway over what seems and is denominated absolute power. We have a striking example of this truth in Prussia, where the king seems unchecked, but where a code of wise and equal laws insures to every man his rights to a degree experienced in few other countries, and where the administration of justice cannot safely be obstructed by the will of the sovereign. Thus freedom, man's dearest birthright, is the good towards which civil institutions tend. It is at once the sign and the means, the cause and the effect of human progress. It exists in a measure under tyrannical

governments, and gives them their strength. Nowhere is it wholly broken down but under domestic slavery. Under this, man is made property. Here lies the damning taint, the accursed, blighting power, the infinite evil of bondage.

On this day, four years ago, eight hundred thousand human beings were set free from the terrible evil of which I have given a faint sketch. Eight hundred thousand of our brethren, who had lived in darkness and the shadow of death, were visited with the light of liberty. Instead of the tones of absolute, debasing command, a new voice broke on their ears, calling them to come forth to be free. They were undoubtedly too rude, too ignorant, to comprehend the greatness of the blessing conferred on them this day. Freedom to them undoubtedly seemed much what it is not. Children in intellect, they seized on it as a child on a holiday. But slavery had not wholly stifled in them the instincts, feelings, judgments of men. They felt on this day that the whip of the brutal overseer was broken; and was that no cause for exulting joy? They felt that wife and child could no longer be insulted or scourged in their sight, and they be denied the privilege of lifting up a voice in their behalf. Was that no boon? They felt that henceforth they were to work from their own wills, for their own good, that they might earn perhaps a hut, which they might call their own, and which the foot of a master could not profane, nor a master's interest lay waste. Can you not conceive how they stretched out their limbs, and looked on them with a new joy, saying, "These are our own"? Can you not conceive how they leaped with a new animation, exulting to put forth powers which were from that day to be "their own"? Can you not conceive how they looked round them on the fields and hills, and said to themselves, "We can go now where we will"? and how they continued to live in their huts with new content, because they could leave them if they would? Can you not conceive how dim ideas of a better lot dawned on their long-dormant minds; how the future, once a blank, began to brighten before them; how hope began to spread her unused pinions; how the faculties and feelings of men came to a new birth within them? The father and mother took their child to their arms and said, "Nobody can sell you from us now." Was not that enough to give them a new life? The husband and wife began to feel that there was an inviolable sanctity in marriage; and a glimpse, however faint, of a moral, spiritual bond began to take place of the loose sensual tie which had held them together. Still more, and what deserves special note, the colored man raised his eyes on this day to the white man, and saw the infinite chasm between himself and the white race growing narrower; saw and felt that he, too, was a man; that he, too, had rights; that he belonged to the common Father, not to a frail, selfish creature; that, under God, he was his own master. A rude feeling of dignity, in strange contrast with the abjectness of the slave, gave new courage to that look, gave a firmer tone, a manlier tread. This, had I been there, would have interested me especially. The tumult of joyful feeling bursting forth in the broken language which slavery had taught I should have sympathized with. But the sight of the slave rising into a man, looking on the white race with a steady eye, with the secret consciousness of a common nature, and beginning to comprehend his heaven-descended, inalienable rights, would have been the crowning joy.

It was natural to expect that the slaves, on the first of August, receiving the vast, incomprehensible gift of freedom, would have rushed into excess. It would not have surprised me had I heard of intemperance, tumult, violence. Liberty, that mighty boon, for which nations have shed rivers of their best blood, for which they have toiled and suffered for years, perhaps for ages, was given to these poor, ignorant creatures in a day, and given to them after lives of cruel bondage, immeasurably more cruel than any political oppression. Would it have been wonderful if they had been intoxicated by the sudden, vast transition? if they had put to shame the authors of their freedom by an immediate abuse of it? Happily, the poor negroes had enjoyed one privilege in their bondage. They had learned something of Christianity; very little indeed, yet enough to teach them that liberty was the gift of God. That mighty power, religion, had be-

gun a work within them. The African nature seems singularly susceptible of this principle. Benevolent missionaries, whom the antislavery spirit of England had sent into the colonies, had for some time been working on the degraded minds of the bondmen, and not wholly in vain. The slaves, whilst denied the rank of men by their race, had caught the idea of their relation to the Infinite Father. That great doctrine of the universal, impartial love of God, embracing the most obscure, dishonored, oppressed, had dawned on them. Their new freedom thus became associated with religion, the mightiest principle on earth, and by this it was not merely saved from excess, but made the spring of immediate elevation.

Little did I imagine that the emancipation of the slaves was to be invested with holiness and moral sublimity. Little did I expect that my heart was to be touched by it as by few events in history. But the emotions with which I first read the narrative of the great gift of liberty in Antigua are still fresh in my mind. Let me read to you the story; none, I think, can hear it unmoved. It is the testimony of trustworthy men, who visited the West Indies to observe the effects of emancipation: —

"To convey to the reader some account of the way in which the great crisis passed, we here give the substance of several accounts which were related to us in different parts of the island by those who witnessed them.

"The Wesleyans kept 'watch-night' in all their chapels on the night of the 31st July. One of the Wesleyan missionaries gave us an account of the watch-meeting at the chapel in St. John's. The spacious house was filled with the candidates for liberty. All was animation and eagerness. A mighty chorus of voices swelled the song of expectation and joy; and, as they united in prayer, the voice of the leader was drowned in the universal acclamation of thanksgiving and praise and blessing and honor and glory to God, who had come down for their deliverance. In such exercises the evening was spent until the hour of twelve approached. The missionary then proposed that, when the clock on the cathedral should begin to strike, the whole congregation should fall upon their knees, and receive the boon of freedom in silence. Accordingly, as the loud bell tolled its first note, the immense assembly fell prostrate on their knees. All was silence, save the quivering, half-stifled breath of the struggling spirit. The slow notes of the clock fell upon the multitude; peal on peal, peal on peal, rolled over the prostrate throng, in tones of angels' voices, thrilling among the desolate chords and weary heart-strings. Scarce had the clock sounded its last note, when the lightning flashed vividly around, and a loud peal of thunder roared along the sky, — God's pillar of fire, and trump of jubilee! A moment of profoundest silence passed, — then came the *burst*, — they broke forth in prayer; they shouted, they sung 'Glory!' 'Alleluia!' they clapped their hands, leaped up, fell down, clasped each other in their free arms, cried, laughed, and went to and fro, tossing upward their unfettered hands; but high above the whole there was a mighty sound which ever and anon swelled up; it was the utterings, in broken negro dialect, of gratitude to God.

"After this gush of excitement had spent itself, and the congregation became calm, the religious exercises were resumed, and the remainder of the night was occupied in singing and prayer, in reading the Bible, and in addresses from the missionaries, explaining the nature of the freedom just received, and exhorting the free people to be industrious, steady, obedient to the laws, and to show themselves in all things worthy of the high boon which God had conferred upon them.

"The first of August came on Friday, and a release was proclaimed from all work until the next Monday. The day was chiefly spent, by the great mass of negroes, in the churches and chapels. Thither they flocked in clouds, and as doves to their windows. The clergy and missionaries throughout the island were actively engaged, seizing the opportunity in order to enlighten the people on all the duties and responsibilities of their new situation, and, above all, urging them to the attainment of that higher liberty with which Christ maketh his children free. In every quarter we were assured that the day was like a Sabbath. Work had ceased; the hum of business was still; and noise and tumult were unheard in the streets. Tranquillity pervaded the towns and country. A Sabbath indeed! when the wicked ceased from troubling, and the weary were at rest, and the slave was freed from the master! The planters informed us that they went to the chapels where their own people were assembled, greeted them, shook hands with them, and exchanged most hearty good wishes."*

Such is the power of true religion on the rudest minds. Such the deep foun-

* See "Emancipation in the West Indies," by Thome and Kimball.

tain of feeling in the African soul. Such the race of men whom we are trampling in the dust. How few of our assemblies, with all our intelligence and refinement, offer to God this overflowing gratitude, this profound, tender, rapturous homage! True, the slaves poured out their joy with a child-like violence; but we see a childhood full of promise. And why do we place this race beneath us? Because nature has burnt on them a darker hue. But does the essence of humanity live in color? Is the black man less a man than the white? Has he not human powers, human rights? Does his color reach to his soul? Is reason in him a whit blacker than in us? Have his conscience and affections been dipped in an inky flood? To the eye of God are his pure thoughts and kind feelings less fair than our own? We are apt to think this prejudice of color founded in nature. But in the most enlightened countries in Europe the man of African descent is received into the society of the great and good as an equal and friend. It is here only that this prejudice reigns; and to this prejudice, strengthened by our subjection to Southern influence, must be ascribed our indifference to the progress of liberty in the West Indies. Ought not the emancipation of nearly a million of human beings, so capable of progress as the African race, to have sent a thrill of joy through a nation of freemen? But this great event was received in our country with indifference. Humanity, justice, Christian sympathy, the love of liberty, found but few voices here. Nearly a million of men, at no great distance from our land, passed from the most degrading bondage into the ranks of freedom with hardly a welcome from these shores.

Perhaps you will say that we are bound to wait for the fruits of emancipation, before we celebrate it as a great event in history. I think not so. We ought to rejoice immediately, without delay, whenever an act of justice is done, especially a grand public act, subverting the oppression of ages. We ought to triumph, when the right prospers, without waiting for consequences. We ought not to doubt about consequences, when men, in obedience to conscience, and in the exercise of their best wisdom, redress a mighty wrong. If God reigns, then the subversion of a vast crime, then the breaking of an unrighteous yoke, must in its final results be good. Undoubtedly an old abuse which has sent its roots through society cannot be removed without inconvenience or suffering. Indeed, no great social change, however beneficial, can occur without partial, temporary pain. But must abuses be sheltered without end, and human progress given up in despair, because some who have fattened on wrongs will cease to prosper at the expense of their brethren? Undoubtedly slavery cannot be broken up without deranging in a measure the old social order. Must, therefore, slavery be perpetual? Has the Creator laid on any portion of his children the necessity of everlasting bondage? Must wrong know no end? Has oppression a charter from God, which is never to grow old? What a libel on God, as well as on man, is the supposition that society cannot subsist without perpetuating the degradation of a large portion of the race! Is this, indeed, the law of the creation, that multitudes must be oppressed? that states can subsist and prosper only through crime? Then there is no God. Then an evil spirit reigns over the universe. It is an impious error to believe that injustice is a necessity under the government of the Most High. It is disloyalty to principle, treachery to virtue, to suppose that a righteous, generous work, conceived in a sense of duty, and carried on with deliberate forethought, can issue in misery, in ruin. To this want of faith in rectitude society owes its woes, owes the licensed frauds and crimes of statesmen, the licensed frauds of trade, the continuance of slavery. Once let men put faith in rectitude, let them feel that justice is strength, that disinterestedness is a sun and a shield, that selfishness and crime are weak and miserable, and the face of the earth would be changed, the groans of ages would cease. We ought to shout for joy, not shrink like cowards, when justice and humanity triumph over established wrongs.

The emancipation of the British Islands ought, then, to have called forth acclamation at its birth. Much more should we rejoice in it now, when time has taught us the folly of the fears and the suspicions which it awakened, and

taught us the safety of doing right. Emancipation has worked well. By this I do not mean that it has worked miracles. I have no glowing pictures to exhibit to you of the West Indian Islands. An act of the British parliament declaring them free has not changed them into a paradise. A few strokes of the pen cannot reverse the laws of nature, or conquer the almost omnipotent power of early and long-continued habit. Even in this country, where we breathe the air of freedom from our birth, and where we have grown up amidst churches and school-houses, and under wise and equal laws, even here we find no paradise. Here are crime and poverty and woe; and can you expect a poor ignorant race, born to bondage, scarred with the lash, uneducated, and unused to all the motives which stimulate industry, can you expect these to unlearn in a day the lessons of years, and to furnish all at once themes for eloquent description? Were you to visit those islands, you would find a slovenly agriculture, much ignorance, and more sloth than you see at home; and yet emancipation works well, — far better than could have been anticipated. To me it could hardly have worked otherwise than well. It banished slavery, that wrong and curse not to be borne. It gave freedom, the dear birthright of humanity; and had it done nothing more, I should have found in it cause for joy. Freedom, simple freedom, is "in my estimation just, far prized above all price." I do not stop to ask if the emancipated are better fed and clothed than formerly. They are free; and that one word contains a world of good, unknown to the most pampered slave.

But emancipation has brought more than naked liberty. The emancipated are making progress in intelligence, comforts, purity: and progress is the great good of life. No matter where men are at any given moment; the great question about them is, Are they going forward? do they improve? Slavery was immovable, hopeless degradation. It is the glory of liberty to favor progress, and this great blessing emancipation has bestowed. We were told, indeed, that emancipation was to turn the green islands of the West Indies into deserts; but they still rise from the tropical sea as blooming and verdant as before. We were told that the slaves, if set free, would break out in universal massacre; but since that event not a report has reached us of murder perpetrated by a colored man on the white population. We were told that crimes would multiply; but they are diminished in every emancipated island, and very greatly in most. We were told that the freed slave would abandon himself to idleness; and this I did anticipate, to a considerable degree, as the first result. Men on whom industry had been forced by the lash, and who had been taught to regard sloth as their master's chief good, were strongly tempted to surrender the first days of freedom to indolent indulgence. But in this respect the evil has been so small as to fill a reflecting man with admiration. In truth, no race but the African could have made the great transition with so little harm to themselves and others. In general, they resumed their work after a short burst of joy. The desire of property, of bettering their lot, at once sprang up within them in sufficient strength to counterbalance the love of ease. Some of them have become proprietors of the soil. New villages have grown up under their hands; their huts are more comfortable; their dress more decent, sometimes too expensive. When I tell you that the price of real estate in these islands has risen, and that the imports from the mother country, especially those for the laborer's use, have increased, you will judge whether the liberated slaves are living as drones. Undoubtedly the planter has sometimes wanted workmen, and the staple product of the islands, sugar, has decreased. But this can be explained without much reproach to the emancipated. The laborer, who in slavery was overtasked in the cane-field and sugar-mill, is anxious to buy or hire land sufficient for his support, and to work for himself, instead of hiring himself to another. A planter from British Guiana informed me, a few weeks ago, that a company of colored men had paid down seventy thousand dollars for a tract of land in the most valuable part of that colony. It is not sloth, so much as a spirit of manly independence, which has withdrawn the laborer from the plantation; and this evil, if so it must be called, has been increased by his un-

willingness to subject his wife and daughter to the toils of the field which they used to bear in the days of slavery. Undoubtedly the colored population might do more, but they do enough to earn a better lot than they ever enjoyed, and the work of improvement goes on among them.

I pass to a still brighter view. The spirit of education has sprung up among the people to an extent worthy of admiration. We despise them; and yet there is reason to believe that a more general desire to educate their children is to be found among them than exists among large portions of the white population in the slave States of the South. They have learned that their ignorance is the great barrier between them and the white men, and this they are in earnest to prostrate. It has been stated that, in one island, not a child above ten years of age was unable to read. Human history probably furnishes no parallel of an equal progress in a half-civilized community.

To this must be added their interest in religious institutions. Their expenditures for the support of these are such as should put to shame the backwardness of multitudes in countries calling themselves civilized. They do more than we, in proportion to their means. Some of them have even subscribed funds for the diffusion of the gospel in Africa, — an instance of their zeal, rather than their wisdom: for they undoubtedly need all they can spare for their own instruction. Their conceptions of religion are, of course, narrow and rude, but their hearts have been touched by its simpler truths; and love is the key to higher knowledge. To this let me add, that marriage is acquiring sanctity in their eyes, that domestic life is putting on a new refinement, and you will see that this people have all the elements of social progress. Property, marriage, and religion have been called the pillars of society, and of these the liberated slave has learned the value.

The result of all these various improvements is what every wise friend of humanity must rejoice in. Their social position is changed. They have taken rank among men. They are no longer degraded by being looked on as degraded. They no longer live under that withering curse, the contempt of their fellow-beings. The tone in which they are spoken to no longer expresses their infinite and hopeless depression. They are treated as men; some of them engage in lucrative pursuits; all the paths of honor as well as of gain are open to them; they are found in the legislatures; they fill civil offices; they have military appointments; and in all these conditions acquit themselves honorably. Their humanity is recognized; and without this recognition men pine and had better be left to perish.

I have no thought of painting these islands as Edens. That great ignorance prevails among the emancipated people, that they want our energy, that the degradation of slavery has not vanished all at once with the name, this I need not tell you. No miracle has been wrought on them. But their present lot, compared with slavery, is an immense good; and when we consider that as yet we have seen comparatively nothing of the blessed influences of freedom, we ought to thank God with something of their own fervor for the vast deliverance which he hath vouchsafed them.

We commemorate with transport the redemption of a nation from political bondage; but this is a light burden compared with personal slavery. The oppression which these United States threw off by our revolutionary struggle was the perfection of freedom, when placed by the side of the galling, crushing, intolerable yoke which bowed the African to the dust. Thank God, it is broken! Thank God, our most injured brethren have risen to the rank of men! Thank God, eight hundred thousand human beings have been made free!

These are the natural topics suggested by this day; but there are still higher views, to which I invite your attention. There are other grounds on which this first of August should be hailed with gratitude by the Christian. If I saw in the emancipation which we celebrate only the redemption of eight hundred thousand fellow-creatures from the greatest wrong on earth, I should, indeed, rejoice: but I know not that I should commemorate it by public solemnities. This particular result moves me less than other views, which, though less obvious, are far more significant and full of promise.

When I look at West Indian emanci-

pation, what strikes me most forcibly and most joyfully is, the spirit in which it had its origin. What broke the slaves' chain? Did a foreign invader summon them to his standard, and reward them with freedom for their help in conquering their masters? Or did they owe liberty to their own exasperated valor; to courage maddened by despair; to massacre and unsparing revenge? Or did calculations of the superior profit of free labor persuade the owner to emancipation, as a means of superior gain? No! West Indian emancipation was the fruit of Christian principle acting on the mind and heart of a great people. The liberator of those slaves was Jesus Christ. That voice which rebuked disease and death, and set their victims free, broke the heavier chain of slavery. The conflict against slavery began in England about fifty years ago. It began with Christians. It was at its birth a Christian enterprise. Its power was in the consciences and generous sympathy of men who had been trained in the school of Christ. It was resisted by prejudice, custom, interest, opulence, pride, and the civil power. Almost the whole weight of the commercial class was at first thrown into the opposite scale. The politician dreaded the effects of abolition on the wealth and revenue of the nation. The king did not disguise his hostility; and I need not tell you that it found little favor with the aristocracy. The titled and proud are not the first to sympathize with the abject. The cause had nothing to rely on but the spirit of the English people; and that people did respond to the reasonings, pleadings, rebukes of Christian philanthropy as nation never did before. The history of this warfare cannot be read without seeing that, once at least, a great nation was swayed by high and disinterested principles. Men of the world deride the notion of influencing human affairs by any but selfish motives; and it is a melancholy truth, that the movements of nations have done much to confirm the darkest views of human nature. What a track of crime, desolation, war, we are called by history to travel over! Still, history is lighted up by great names, by noble deeds, by patriots and martyrs; and especially in emancipation we see a great nation put-ng forth its power and making great sacrifices for a distant, degraded race of men, who had no claims but those of wronged and suffering humanity. Some, and not a few, have blamed as superfluous the compensation given by England to the planter for the slaves. On one account I rejoice at it. It is a testimony to the disinterested motives of the nation. A people groaning under a debt which would crush any other people borrowed twenty million pounds sterling, a hundred million of dollars, and paid it as the price of the slaves' freedom. This act stands alone in the page of history; and emancipation having such an origin deserves to be singled out for public commemoration.

What gave peculiar interest to this act was the fallen, abject state of the people on whom freedom was conferred at such a cost. They were not Englishmen. They had no claim founded on common descent, on common history, or any national bond. There was nothing in their lot to excite the imagination. They had done nothing to draw regard. They weighed nothing in human affairs. They belonged to no nation. They were hardly recognized as men. Humanity could hardly wear a more abject form. But under all this abjectness, under that black skin, under those scars of the lash, under those half-naked bodies put up at auction and sold as cattle, the people of England saw the lineaments of humanity, saw fellow-creatures, saw the capacities and rights and immortal destinies of men, and in the spirit of brotherhood, and from reverence for humanity, broke their chains.

When I look at this act, I do not stop at its immediate results, at the emancipation of eight hundred thousand human beings, nor do I look at the act as standing alone. I look at the spirit from which it sprung, and see here a grand and most cheering foundation of human hope. I see that Christianity has not come into the world in vain. I see that the blood of the cross was not shed in vain. I see that the prophecies in the Scriptures of a mighty change in human affairs were not idle words. It is true that Christianity has done little, compared with these predictions. The corruptions of our age who is so blind as not to see? But that a new principle, derived from Christianity and

destined to renovate the earth, is at work among these various elements; that, silently, a new spirit of humanity, a new respect for human nature, a new comprehension of human rights, a new feeling of brotherhood, and new ideas of a higher social state, have been and are unfolding themselves under the influences of Christian truth and Christian civilization, who can deny? Society is not what it once was. Amidst all the stir of selfish passion, the still voice of Christianity is heard; a diviner spirit mixes, however imperfectly, with the workings of worldliness; and we are beginning to learn the mighty revolution which a heavenly faith is to accomplish here on earth.

Christianity is the hope of the world, and we ought to regard every conspicuous manifestation of its spirit and power as an era in human history. We are dazzled by revolutions of empires; we hope much from the rise or fall of governments. But nothing but Christianity can regenerate the earth; and accordingly we should hail with joy every sign of a clearer comprehension and a deeper feeling of its truths. Christianity, truly understood, has a direct tendency to that renovation of the world which it foretells. It is not an abstract system, secluding the disciple from his kind; but it makes him one with his race, breaks down all barriers between him and his brethren, arms him with a martyr's spirit in the cause of humanity, sends him forth to be a saviour of the lost; and just as far as Christianity is thus viewed and felt by its followers, the redemption of the world draws nigh. These views of religion are making their way. They dawn upon us, not only in emancipation, but in many other movements of our age; not that they have ever been wholly obscured; but the rank which they hold in the Christian system, and the vast social changes which they involve, have not until the present day been dreamed of.

All the doctrines of Christianity are more and more seen to be bonds of close, spiritual, reverential union between man and man; and this is the most cheering view of our time. Christianity is a revelation of the infinite, universal parental love of God towards his human family, comprehending the most sinful, descending to the most fallen, and its aim is to breathe the same love into its disciples. It shows us Christ tasting death for every man, and it summons us to take his cross, or to participate of his sufferings, in the same cause. Its doctrine of immortality gives infinite worth to every human being; for every one is destined to this endless life. The doctrine of the "Word made flesh" shows us God uniting himself most intimately with our nature, manifesting himself in a human form, for the very end of making us partakers of his own perfection. The doctrine of grace, as it is termed, reveals the Infinite Father imparting his Holy Spirit — the best gift he can impart — to the humblest human being who implores it. Thus love and reverence for human nature — a love for man stronger than death — is the very spirit of Christianity. Undoubtedly this spirit is faintly comprehended by the best of us. Some of its most striking expressions are still derided in society. Society still rests on selfish principles. Men sympathize still with the prosperous and great, not the abject and down-trodden. But amidst this degradation brighter glimpses of Christianity are caught than before. There are deeper, wider sympathies with mankind. The idea of raising up the mass of human beings to intellectual, moral, and spiritual dignity is penetrating many minds. Among the signs of a brighter day perhaps the West Indian emancipation is the most conspicuous; for in this the rights of the most despised men have been revered.

There are some among us at the present moment who are waiting for the speedy coming of Christ. They expect, before another year closes, to see him in the clouds, to hear his voice, to stand before his judgment-seat. These illusions spring from misinterpretation of Scripture language. Christ in the New Testament is said to *come*, whenever his religion breaks out in new glory, or gains new triumphs. He came in the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost. He came in the destruction of Jerusalem, which, by subverting the old ritual law, and breaking the power of the worst enemies of his religion, insured to it new victories. He came in the Reformation of the church. He came on this day, four years ago, when, through his

religion, eight hundred thousand men were raised from the lowest degradation, to the rights, and dignity, and fellowship of men. Christ's outward appearance is of little moment, compared with the brighter manifestation of his spirit. The Christian, whose inward eyes and ears are touched by God, discerns the coming of Christ, hears the sound of his chariot-wheels and the voice of his trumpet, when no other perceives them. He discerns the Saviour's advent in the dawning of higher truth on the world, in new aspirations of the church after perfection, in the prostration of prejudice and error, in brighter expressions of Christian love, in more enlightened and intense consecration of the Christian to the cause of humanity, freedom, and religion. Christ comes in the conversion, the regeneration, the emancipation of the world.

You here see why it is that I rejoice in the great event which this day commemorates. To me this event does not stand alone. It is a sign of the triumph of Christianity, and a presage and herald of grander victories of truth and humanity. Christianity did not do its last work when it broke the slave's chain. No; this was but a type of what it is to achieve. Since the African was emancipated the drunkard has been set free. We may count the disenthralled from intemperance by hundreds of thousands, almost by millions, and this work has been achieved by Christian truth and Christian love. In this we have a new proof of the coming of Christ in his kingdom; and the grand result of these and other kindred movements of our times should be to give us a new faith in what Christianity is to accomplish. We need this faith. We are miserably wanting in it. We scarcely believe what we see of the triumphs of the cross. This is the most disastrous unbelief of our times. I am pointed now and then to an infidel, as he is called, — a man who denies Christianity. But there is a sadder sight. It is that of thousands and millions who profess Christianity, but have no faith in its power to accomplish the work to which it is ordained, no faith in the power of Christ over the passions, prejudices, and corrupt institutions of men, no faith in the end of his mission, in the regenerating energy of his spirit and truth. Let this day, my friends, breathe into all our souls a new trust in the destinies of our race. Let us look on the future with new hope. I see, indeed, numberless obstructions to the regeneration of the world. But is not a deep feeling of the corruptions of the world fermenting in many breasts? Is there not a new thirst for an individual and social life more in harmony with Jesus Christ than has yet existed? Can great truths, after having been once developed, die? Is not the human soul opening itself more and more to the divine perfection and beauty of Christ's character? And who can foretell what this mighty agency is to accomplish in the world? The present day is, indeed, a day of distrust, complaint, and anxious forebodings. On every side voices of fear and despondency reach us. Let us respond to them with a voice of faith and hope. Let us not shut our eyes ungratefully on the good already wrought in our times: and, seeing in this the pledge of higher blessings, let us arm ourselves with manly resolution to do or suffer, each in his own sphere, whatever may serve to prepare the way for a holier and happier age. It may be, as some believe, that this age is to be preceded by fearful judgments, by "days of vengeance," by purifying fire; but the triumphs of Christianity, however deferred, are not the less surely announced by what it has already achieved.

I have now given the more general views which belong to this occasion; but I cannot close this address without coming nearer home, and touching, however slightly, some topics of a more personal character, and in which we have a more particular interest.

I am a stranger among you; but, when I look round, I feel as if the subject of this address peculiarly befitted this spot. Where am I now pleading the cause and speaking the praises of liberty? Not in crowded cities, where, amidst men's works and luxuries and wild speculations and eager competitions for gain, the spirit of liberty often languishes; but amidst towering mountains, embosoming peaceful vales. Amidst these vast works of God the soul naturally goes forth, and cannot endure the thought of a chain. Your free air, which we come to inhale for health, breathes into us something better than health, even a freer spirit.

Mountains have always been famed for nourishing brave souls and the love of liberty. At Thermopylæ, in many a fastness of Switzerland, in the gorges of mountains. the grand battles of liberty have been fought. Even in this country slavery hardly sets foot on the mountains. She curses the plain; but as soon as you begin to ascend the highlands of the South slavery begins to disappear. West Virginia and East Tennessee are cultivated chiefly by the muscles of freemen; and could these districts be erected into States, they would soon clear themselves of the guilt and shame of enslaving their brethren. Men of Berkshire! whose nerves and souls the mountain air has braced, *you* surely will respond to him who speaks of the blessings of freedom and the misery of bondage. I feel as if the feeble voice which now addresses you must find an echo amidst these forest-crowned heights. Do they not impart something of their own power and loftiness to men's souls? Should our Commonwealth ever be invaded by victorious armies, freedom's last asylum would be here. Here may a free spirit, may reverence for all human rights, may sympathy for all the oppressed, may a stern, solemn purpose to give no sanction to oppression, take stronger and stronger possession of men's minds, and from these mountains may generous impulses spread far and wide!

The joy of this occasion is damped by one thought. Our own country is, in part, the land of slavery; and slavery becomes more hideous here than anywhere else by its contrast with our free institutions. It is deformity married to beauty. It is as if a flame from hell were to burst forth in the regions of the blessed. No other evil in our country but this should alarm us. Our other difficulties are the mists, dimming our prospects for a moment. This is a dark cloud, scowling over our whole land; and within it the prophetic ear hears the low muttering of the angry thunder. We in the free States try to escape the reproach which falls on America by saying that this institution is not ours, that the foot of the slave never pressed our soil; but we cannot fly from the shame or guilt of the institution as long as we give it any support. Most unhappily, there are provisions of the Constitution binding us to give it support. Let us resolve to free ourselves from these. Let us say to the South, "We shall use no force to subvert your slavery; neither will we use it to uphold the evil." Let no temptations, no love of gain, seduce us to abet or sanction this wrong. There is something worse than to be a slave. It is, to make other men slaves. Better be trampled in the dust than trample on a fellow-creature. Much as I shrink from the evils inflicted by bondage on the millions who bear it, I would sooner endure them than inflict them on a brother. Freemen of the mountains! as far as you have power, remove from yourselves, from our dear and venerable mother, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and from all the free States, the baseness and guilt of ministering to slavery, of acting as the slave-holder's police, of lending him arms and strength to secure his victim. I deprecate all political action on slavery except for one end, and this end is to release the free States from all connection with this oppressive institution, to sever slavery wholly from the national government, to make it exclusively the concern of the States in which it exists. For this end memorials should be poured in upon Congress to obtain from that body such modifications of the laws, and such propositions to amend the Constitution, as will set us free from obligation to sanction slavery. This done, political action on the subject ought to cease. We shall then have no warrant to name slavery in Congress, or any duty to perform with direct reference to it, except by that moral influence which every man is bound to exert against every form of evil.

There are some people here, more kind than wise, who are unwilling that any action or sensibility on the subject of slavery should spring up at the North from their apprehensions of the danger of emancipation. The danger of emancipation! this parrot-phrase, caught from the South, is thought by many a sufficient answer to all the pleas that can be urged in favor of the slave. But the lesson of this day is, the safety of emancipation. The West Indian Islands teach us this lesson with a thousand tongues. Emancipation can hardly take place under more unfavorable circumstances than it encountered in those islands. The master abhorred it, repelled it as long as

possible, submitted to it only from force, and consequently did little to mitigate its evils, or to conciliate the freed bondman. In those islands the slaves were eight or ten times more numerous than the whites. Yet perfect order has followed emancipation. Since this event the military force has been reduced, and the colored men, instead of breaking into riot, are among the soldiers by whom it is to be suppressed. In this country, the white population of the South exceeds in number the colored; and who that knows the two classes can apprehend danger from the former in case of emancipation? Holding all the property, all the intellectual, the civil, the military power, and distinguished by courage, it seems incredible that the white race should tremble before the colored, should be withheld by fear from setting them free. If the alarm be real, it can be explained only by the old observation, that the injurious are prone to fear, that men naturally suspect and dread those whom they wrong. All tyrants are jealous, and persuade themselves that, were they to loosen the reins, lawlessness, pillage, murder, would disorganize society. But emancipation conferred deliberately and conscientiously is safe. So say facts, and reason says the same. Chains are not the necessary bonds of society. Oppression is not the rock on which states rest. To keep the peace, you need not make the earth a province of Satan: in other words, you need not establish wrong and outrage by law. The way to keep men from cutting your throats is, not to put them under the lash, to extort their labor by force, to spoil them of their earnings, to pamper yourselves out of their compelled toil, and to keep them in brutal ignorance. Do not, do not believe this. Believe, if you will, that seeds of thistles will yield luxuriant crops of wheat: believe that drought will fertilize your fields; but do not believe that you must rob and crush your fellow-creatures, to make them harmless, to keep the state in order and peace. Oh, do not imagine that God has laid on any one the necessity of doing wrong; that He, who secures the blessed harmony of the universe by wise and beneficent laws, has created a world in which all pure and righteous laws must be broken to preserve the show of peace! I honor free inquiry, and willingly hear my cherished opinions questioned; but there are certain truths which I can no more doubt than my own existence. That God is just and good, and that justice and goodness are his laws, and are at once the safety and glory of his creatures, I can as little question as that the whole is greater than the part. When I am told that society can only subsist by robbing men of their dearest rights, my reason is as much insulted as if I were gravely taught that effects require no cause, or that it is the nature of yonder beautiful stream to ascend these mountains, or to return to its source. The doctrine that violence, oppression, inhumanity, is an essential element of society, is so revolting, that, did I believe it, I would say, let society perish, let man and his works be swept away, and the earth be abandoned to the brutes. Better that the globe should be tenanted by brutes than brutalized men. No! it is safe to be just, to respect men's rights, to treat our neighbors as ourselves; and any doctrine hostile to this is born of the Evil One. Men do not need to be crushed. A wise kindness avails with them more than force. Even the insane are disarmed by kindness. Once the madhouse, with its dens, fetters, strait-waistcoats, whips, horrible punishments, at which humanity now shudders and the blood boils with indignation, was thought just as necessary as slavery is now deemed at the South. But we have learned, at last, that human nature, even when robbed of reason, can be ruled, calmed, restored, by wise kindness; that it was only maddened and made more desperate by the chains imposed to keep it from outrage and murder. Treat men as men, and they will not prove wild beasts. We first rob them of their humanity, and then chain them because they are not human. What a picture of slavery is given by the common argument for its continuance! The slaves, we are told, must be kept under the lash, or they will turn murderers. Two millions and a half of our fellow-creatures at the South, we are assured, have the seeds of murder in their hearts, and must be stripped of all human rights for the safety of their neighbors. If such be a slave-country, the sooner it is depopulated the better. But it is not true. A

more innocent race than the African does not exist on the earth. They are less given to violence and murder than we Anglo-Saxons. But when did wrong ever want excuse? When did oppression ever fail to make out a good cause in its own eyes?

The truth is, that slavery is perpetuated at the South, not from the fear of massacre, but from a stronger principle. A respected slave-holder said to me not long ago, "The question of slavery is a question of property, and property is dearer to a man than life." The master holds fast his slave because he sees in him, not a wild beast, but a profitable chattel. Mr. Clay has told us that the slaves are worth in the market, I think, twelve hundred millions of dollars, and smiles at the thought of calling men to surrender such a mass of property. It is not because they are so fierce, but so profitable, that they are kept in chains. Were they meek angels from God's throne, imprisoned for a while in human frames, and were they at the same time worth twelve hundred millions of dollars in the market, comparatively few, I fear, would be suffered to return to their native skies, as long as the chain could fetter them to the plantation. I know that there are generous exceptions to the spirit of slavery as now portrayed; but this spirit in the main is mercenary. I know that other considerations than this of property, that considerations of prudence and benevolence, help to confirm the slave-holder in his aversion to emancipation. There are mixed motives for perpetuating slavery, as for almost all human actions. But the grand motive is gain, the love of money, the unwillingness to part with property; and were this to yield to justice and humanity, the dread of massacre would not long retard emancipation.

My friends, your compassion is often called forth by predictions of massacre, of butchered children, of violated women, in case of emancipation. But do not waste your sympathies on possible evils, which wisdom and kindness may avert. Keep some of your tears and tenderness for what exists; for the poor girl whose innocence has no protection; for the wife and mother who may be widowed and made childless before night by a stroke of the auctioneer's hammer; for the man subjected to the whip of a brutal overseer, and hunted, if he flies, by blood-hounds, and shot down, if he outstrips his pursuers. For the universe, I would not let loose massacre on the Southern States, or on any population. Sooner would I have all the slaves perish than achieve their freedom by promiscuous carnage. But I see no necessity of carnage. I am sure that to treat men with justice and humanity is not the way to turn them into robbers or assassins. Undoubtedly wisdom is to be used in conferring this great good. We ask no precipitate action at the South; we dictate no mode of conferring freedom. We ask only a settled purpose to bring slavery to an end; and we are sure that this will devise a safe and happy way of exercising justice and love.

Am I asked what is the duty of the North in regard to slavery? On this subject I have lately written; I will only say I recommend no crusade against slavery, no use of physical or legislative power for its destruction, no irruption into the South to tamper with the slave, or to repeal or resist the laws. Our duties on this subject are plain. First, we must free ourselves, as I have said, from all constitutional or legal obligations to uphold slavery. In the next place, we must give free and strong expression to our reprobation of slavery. The North has but one weapon, — moral force, the utterance of moral judgment, moral feeling, and religious conviction. I do not say that this alone is to subvert slavery. Providence never accomplishes its ends by a single instrument. All social changes come from mixed motives, from various impulses, and slavery is to fall through various causes. But among these a high place will belong to the general conviction of its evils and wrongs. Opinion is stronger than kings, mobs, Lynch laws, or any other laws for repressing thought and speech. Whoever spreads through his circle, be it wide or narrow, just opinions and feelings in regard to slavery, hastens its fall. There is one point on which your moral influence may be exerted with immediate effect. Should a slave-hunter ever profane these mountainous retreats by seeking here a flying bondman, regard him as a legalized robber. Oppose no force to him; you need not do it. Your

contempt and indignation will be enough to disarm the "man-stealer" of the unholy power conferred on him by unrighteous laws.

I began this subject in hope, and in hope I end. I have turned aside to speak of the great stain on our country which makes us the by-word and scorn of the nations; but I do not despair. Mighty powers are at work in the world. Who can stay them? God's word has gone forth, and "it cannot return to him void." A new comprehension of the Christian spirit, — a new reverence for humanity, a new feeling of brotherhood, and of all men's relation to the common Father, — this is among the signs of our times. We see it; do we not feel it? Before this all oppressions are to fall. Society, silently pervaded by this, is to change its aspect of universal warfare for peace. The power of selfishness, all-grasping and seemingly invincible, is to yield to this diviner energy. The song of angels, "On earth peace," will not always sound as fiction. O come, thou kingdom of heaven, for which we daily pray! Come, Friend and Saviour of the race, who didst shed thy blood on the cross to reconcile man to man, and earth to heaven! Come, ye predicted ages of righteousness and love, for which the faithful have so long yearned! Come, Father Almighty, and crown with thine omnipotence the humble strivings of thy children to subvert oppression and wrong, to spread light and freedom, peace and joy, the truth and spirit of thy Son, through the whole earth!

THE PERFECT LIFE.

In Twelve Discourses.

BY WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING, D.D.

EDITED, FROM HIS MANUSCRIPTS, BY HIS NEPHEW,

WILLIAM HENRY CHANNING.

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THE PERFECT LIFE.

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF THIS BOOK.

THIS volume of Discourses, chosen with care from the mass of Channing's manuscripts, is named THE PERFECT LIFE, because the title best marks its character. It is now published, as apparently called for by the wide reception of his writings, and in the assurance that it will meet with welcome from his large circle of friends in the Old World and the New.

In reading these Discourses it should be kept constantly in mind, that they are precisely what they claim to be, — a minister's pulpit addresses to his own congregation. They are neither lectures for the learned, nor essays for a literary circle, nor papers for a critical journal. Still less are they a theological treatise. But they are calls to the people to "come up higher." In them great truths are presented in the most popular form, and brought home to the common heart. Written for delivery, week by week, during the last ten years of Channing's life, it was manifestly his purpose to adapt his lessons to the apprehension of his simplest hearers. He would have all to share in the bright prospects which had shone before him in hours of solitary thought and devout communion. And knowing that he was often charged with yielding to the charms of an ideal exaltation, that secluded him from the work-day world, he wished by cordial hospitality to make the humblest his peers. Thus reverent friendliness pervades the tenor of these appeals. And sublime sincerity inspires their style.

It was Channing's wont, season by season, on his return to his pulpit in the autumn, to lay freely open the regions of truth which he had been exploring during his summer holiday. And almost invariably his winter's sermons fell into series. In these "Twelve Discourses on The Perfect Life," then, we may imagine this earnest preacher as engaged in interpreting his ideal philosophy for his people's use. In clear terms, terse phrases, compact sentences, and frequent though varied restatements, he bears his listeners, by easy transitions upward, from the level plain of average experience to the loftiest summits of speculation. And on those serene heights, above the discordant din of theological controversy and worldly strife, he welcomes all to worship the Father face to face, and thence look down in hope upon the wide-spread promise of peace on earth, imaging the harmony of heaven.

Let us trace the movement of Channing's mind, as he thus leads the procession of his followers: —

I. The first discourse is initiatory in its definitions, general statements, and broad survey of the route to be traversed. At outset, "The Religious Principle in Human Nature" is defined as the love of the *Perfect*, that for ever aspires towards relationship with the All-Perfect One. And the affirmation is announced as an axiom, that the end of human existence is perfection; which can be attained only by entering into living communion with the Living God.

II. In the second discourse, the revelations of the Infinite Being, through his manifestation of perfection in the universe and in humanity, are disclosed. And from the lessons of wisdom, taught by these two witnesses, is drawn the ennobling view, that worship is the ascent of the soul to its Original, — the divine in man seeking the Supreme Divinity, — whereby we become transformed into the goodness that we adore.

III. The third discourse presents, as the object for adoration, the Universal Father, — whose eternal, infinite, parental love flows forth, with impartial equity, to every individual child throughout His vast family of all-souls. And this discourse culminates in a cheerful prediction of "the better day," when universal humanity shall melt away partition walls and make of the broad earth one happy home.

IV. The fourth discourse appeals to every heart with the touching truth, that

the Creator and Sustainer of the boundless universe is the Lover of persons. And it unfolds, with utmost simplicity, the laws of order, — whereby the highest spirits, the human race, and single souls are indissolubly united by *vital* ties in one immortal organization, which is centred in and embraced by the living love of the Father of all.

V. In the fifth discourse, from this assurance of God's parental interest in individual persons is drawn the animating truth, that, frail, finite, mortal, as apparently we are, we may yet utterly confide in the purpose of the All-Perfect to make us partakers of his own perfection, in an immortal, ever-unfolding career of boundless good.

VI. By this survey of the immense sweep of human destiny we are taught, in the sixth discourse, to recognize that life, with all its varied forms of good, is a free gift from the All-Giver. Channing here unfolds one of his most characteristic and cherished convictions, by declaring that *in addition* to the sustaining energy of the divine immanence, we need, for our spiritual growth, to seek and gain the continual aid of the divine influence through personal communion. And in a most eloquent passage this saint reveals to us how by experience he had learned to *know* the transcendent God, — as the Person of persons, and his personal friend, — and so had for ever escaped from the abyss of pantheism, by filial fellowship.

VII. Gratefully accepting life, then, as a gift, in the seventh discourse the preacher proceeds to a comprehensive study of the end for which it is given. And he shows how all tendencies of human nature and all events of human experience conspire to prove that the *only* end which can satisfy the soul's boundless longings, and fulfil the divine ideal in man, is spiritual perfection.

VIII. The eighth discourse develops this ideal of spiritual perfection, under its two highest forms of moral rectitude and intellectual integrity. The aim of this richly-suggestive discourse is to represent religion as the universal quickener and illuminator. And in the progress of his argument, Channing sketches in outline his conception of the Perfect Life, as a beautiful, harmonious *whole* of healthful, joyous goodness.

IX. This prepares the way for the ninth discourse, — a Christmas sermon, — in which Channing pours forth the fulness of his love for Jesus Christ, as the embodiment in mind, character, and life of ideal perfection. In none of his published writings will be found a more fervent testimony to the humanizing influence of this well-beloved brother, friend, and emancipator. And this discourse closes with an invocation — the only one found in his manuscripts — to the first-born among many brethren.

X. From this recognition of the promise of perfect life, given to the human race in the spirit and influence of Jesus, in the tenth discourse the preacher enters into the inmost essence of the Christian religion, and demonstrates conclusively that its central principle is goodness. With child-like singleness of mind he avows his belief that neither on earth nor in heaven can a higher good be found than goodness, because it is the essential life of the All-Good. In conclusion, he illustrates the urgent need of applying this pure, large, free-hearted form of the Christian religion to the political and social movements of our age, throughout all nations.

XI. Affirming thus, in uncompromising terms, that Jesus can confer no higher salvation than divine disinterestedness, and that the Father can welcome us to no sublimer bliss than to a participation of his own holiness, in his eleventh discourse Channing ascends above the clouds of dogmatic theology into the clear, sunny atmosphere of truth. And there he reveals to us in all its splendor the reality that goodness is the very glory of God, indwelling in humanity and in the blessed societies of heaven.

XII. Finally, in the twelfth discourse, the seer places us upon the topmost peak of his mount of vision. Thence he discloses to us his confident hope, that the centre of unity for the human race is given in the Son made one with the Father, and with the whole family on earth and in heaven, by a life of loving communion. And his prophecy is crowned with a calm yet triumphant utterance of faith that the risen head of the church universal lives evermore to organize his brethren and friends into one perfect community, amidst the brightening beauty of the universe and the constant light of the Divine presence.

When these Discourses are thus read in connection, it will be seen what a natural order Channing follows in opening his Ideal of the Perfect Life. Yet plain, obvious, and direct as they are, — when they were first preached, not a few within Channing's denomination, and his own congregation even, criticised them as "transcendental." For such hearers could not credit his assertion that man may entirely trust the revelation of God given in human nature, — in conscience, reason, love, and will, — in reverence for the sublime and joy in the beautiful, — in the desire for blessedness such as earth cannot appease, — in the ideal of perfection, — and above all in the longing for oneness with the Infinite Being

by affinity and fellowship. His bold affirmations, that all minds are of one family,* that Jesus with his celestial love is the life of his religion,† that his character is at once the image of divine perfection, and the type of man's spiritual perfection when grown to fulness of stature, and raised to right relationship of filial and fraternal communion with God and humanity, were deemed "enthusiastic." And his cheering prediction of a new order of society, when communities, as well as individuals, will make it their end to realize in deeds this ideal of perfection, was condemned as the spiritual "romance of a visionary." ‡

But the seasons have moved forward in the grand year meanwhile. And now this forerunner of the better day § has found fit audience among the spiritually-minded and saintly, the free-thoughted and earnest of many communions, — among scholars, statesmen, and economists of his own and other lands, — among philanthropists, educators, social reformers, and the people of all Christian nations, — and, finally, among the seekers after purer faith and humaner manners under the "ethnic religions." ‖

The materializing tendencies of natural science, as taught in various schools to-day, bring out by contrast the significance of Channing's idealism; for it is seen that his doctrine of pure theism is their needed counterpoise. His positive faith in a personal God, with whom every spirit must seek living intercourse, in the attainment of personal integrity, is found by experience to be the vital cure for the paralyzing fatalism that deadens heroic action in so many modern pantheistic schemes. His reverence, blended with dignified self-trust, and devoutness sanctifying courage, help to form the grand style of character, that can alone insure the calmness, wisdom, equipoise, and energy, called for in times so unstable. And his great-hearted humanity, honoring humble and high impartially, as born to be peers on earth in the Father's family, and co-heirs in the glory of heaven, is recognized as the very temper fitted to balance loyalty with freedom, and equity with progress, in our transition age. Finally, the goodness, which he so glorifies as the essence and end of the religious life, and as the very manifestation of God in humanity, is approved by the experience of ages to be the sole true bond of unity among the children of the Universal Father. Indeed each change that succeeds in scientific speculation, religious development, and social reform, throughout the commonwealth of Christendom, but serves to show how well adapted Channing's gospel is to the present age,* alike in its aspirations and its doubts, its enterprises and its conflicts, its tantalizing failures and its resistless growth.

Channing's own spirit and his practical aim will be found revealed in this volume, more freely even than in his preceding works. The same "great ideas" everywhere reappear indeed, for they "formed the man;" and by them, according to his wish, "he will be judged." † But in these discourses they come forth with vivid freshness, and even youthful exuberance of expression. And by combining in order, as has been briefly done, the views presented of THE PERFECT LIFE, from its germ in "the religious principle in human nature" to its full development in "heavenly society," a quite complete conception can be framed of his theory of human destiny. That he prized these discourses, as embodying his ripe convictions, is proved by the fact that they were delivered in many pulpits, and that several of them were copied under his own eye with the intent of publication. And, doubtless, a volume like the present one would have appeared, if his ministry had not been cut short, just when he felt that a wider sphere of usefulness was opening. No one knew better than Channing did himself, however, that the truths, which he so cherished, were premature. And so keenly alive was he to this unseasonableness, that it was his constant aim, as a preacher, by frequent iteration of a few central principles, by measured understatement of sublime doctrines, by toning down his predictions of man's probable development to familiar phraseology and thought, and, in a word, by continually translating his poetry into prose, to justify to common-sense his ideal.

For those, indeed, who had the ear to hear the undertone that thrilled through his spoken words, and the eye to read the underlying meaning of his published Works, and his Memoir, it must have been long since manifest how much more was implied than was declared. He gave but fragments of his theodicy, ethics, and polity, and was patiently waiting for health and leisure to unfold them fully. ‡ Yet though conscious of the critical scepticism and apathy pervading his era, his trust was steadfast, that the laws of life, of which he was a herald, would quicken in due time all communities. And never was he so buoyant, glad, and young, as during the last summer of his

* Discourse on God revealed in the Universe and Humanity.
† Discourse on Jesus Christ the Brother, Friend, and Saviour.
‡ Introduction to his Works, 1841.
§ Discourse on the Universal Father.
‖ James Freeman Clarke's "Ten Great Religions."

* Lecture on "The Present Age."
† Introduction to his Works, 1841.
‡ His proposed work on "Man."

earthly course. His sunset was serene with the hope of a to-morrow soon to dawn, — of filial worship, uniting the good of all names and nations into one Church Universal,* — of social co-operation in labor, property, culture, binding the various classes of every nation in fraternal fellowship, — and of peace made permanent by a concert of beneficent action around the globe.† His spirit was all aglow with the coming of an age of righteousness and love, wherein by religious reverence for every person as a child of God, by generous interchange of all kinds of good, and by a joyful consciousness of the divine indwelling in humanity, a heaven on earth shall be really organized in law and life. This ardent trust found utterance in his last address at Lenox, August 1, 1842, which so unexpectedly proved to be his parting benediction to his race.

The circulation of Channing's Works, wherever the English language is used, and their translation among the leading Continental nations, insures a wide reception for this volume. But even in presence of the hearty response given to his appeals for "reverence to human nature," by advanced thinkers in Europe and America, it may be questioned whether his compeers have even yet fairly gauged his *characteristic* claims. The very simplicity of his style leads readers to underrate the scope of his spiritual vision. Majestic principles stand forth so clearly through the medium of his transparent thought, that their distance, height, and range are seldom justly measured. Hereafter, probably, he will be found to have been a more sagacious seer, alike for nations as for individuals, than even his devoted disciples anticipate. And only after transformations in the science of theology, in the ideals of personal greatness, and the forms of human society, which he foresaw and foretold, will this prophet of universal humanity be honored at his full worth.

Such is the confidence with which this volume is offered to the increasing company of Channing's friends. Its editor has sought to make it a faithful portrait of the man, as he *lived*, in the inner circle of home, and among his own people. And if he may define in briefest terms the quality by which these Discourses are characterized, and for which after-comers will hold them dear, this quality is — The purity, largeness, and loftiness of their religious life. One central principle, as we have seen, animates them all, — that the end of man's being is to be perfect, as the Father in heaven is perfect. And this principle of perfection is applied, in its fulness, to every relation, duty, and interest, personal, communal, national, and humane. As a second trait, these Discourses are inspired by a wisdom that admirably balances and blends earnest faith with fearlessly free inquiry, piety almost enraptured, though never mystical, with sound judgment and sober good sense, scrupulously high-toned ethics with fervent liberalism in social and political reforms, and poetic enthusiasm with practical sagacity and impartial justice. And finally, they are tempered in tone by an unassuming dignity, greatness of heart, and urbane graciousness, which prove in what a rare degree his grand ideal of the Perfect Life had become a real person in the harmonious character of CHANNING.

W. H. C.

* Sermon on "The Church Universal."
† Discourses and Lectures on "War," &c.

As for God, His way is perfect. God is my strength and power: and He maketh my way perfect. — 2 SAMUEL xxii. 31, 33.

Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright: for the end of that man is peace. — PSALM xxxvii. 37.

I will behave myself wisely in a perfect way. O when wilt Thou come unto me? I will walk within my house with a perfect heart. — PSALM ci. 2.

I have seen an end of all perfection: but Thy commandment is exceeding broad. — PSALM cxix. 96.

Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in Heaven is perfect. — MATTHEW v. 48.

Perfect in one. — JOHN xvii. 23.

I.

THE RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLE IN HUMAN NATURE.

MARK xii. 29, 30: "The Lord our God is one Lord: and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength: this is the first commandment."

THE command thus given to love God with all the heart, and soul, and mind, and strength is in harmony with our whole nature. We are made for God; all our affections, sensibilities, faculties, and energies are designed to be directed towards God; the end of our existence is fellowship with God. He could not require us to devote our entire being to himself, if he had not endowed it with powers which fit us for such devotion. Religion then has its germs in our nature, and its development is intrusted to our own care. Such is the truth that I would now illustrate.

I. The principle in human nature, from which religion springs, is the desire to *establish relations* with a BEING more perfect than itself. The fact is as remarkable, as it is incontrovertible, that the human race, all but universally, has conceived of some existence more exalted than man. If there is one principle, indeed, that may be declared to be essential in human nature, it is this unwillingness to shut itself up within its own limits, this tendency to aspire after intercourse with some Divinity. It is true that men at various periods have formed most unworthy conceptions of their objects of worship. Still, by selecting the qualities which they esteemed most highly in themselves, and by enlarging and exalting them without bounds, they have showed, as plainly as have more enlightened ages, the spontaneous longing of the human spirit to rise above itself, and to ally its destiny with a Supreme Power.

This simple view is sufficient to prove the grandeur of the religious principle. Without doubt, it is the noblest working of human nature. In the most immature manifestation of this principle, we behold the budding of those spiritual powers, by which, in the progress of the race, men have attained to the conception of unbounded goodness. We see this principle in the creations of genius, in forms of ideal beauty to which poetry and the arts give immortality, in fictions where characters are portrayed surpassing the attainments of real life. We see this principle in the admiration with which stupendous intellect and heroic virtue are hailed, and in the delight with which we follow in history the career of men who in energy and disinterestedness have outstripped their fellows. The desire for an excellence never actually reached by humanity, the aspiration toward that Ideal which we express by the word *perfection*, this is the seminal principle of religion. And this is the root of all progress in the human race. Religion is not an exclusive impulse. It does not grow from an emotion that is centred wholly upon God and seeks no other object. It springs from the same desire for whatever is more perfect than our own nature and our present life, which has impelled man towards all his great spiritual acquisitions and to all great improvements of society. This principle, as we have seen, prompts the mind to create imaginary beings, and to attach itself with delight to human agents of surpassing power and goodness. But in these objects it can find no rest. These are too frail a support for so sublime an emotion. This principle God implanted for himself. Through this the human mind corresponds to the Supreme Divinity. This principle, being in its very essence insatiable, partakes of the nature of infinity; and no being but the infinite One can supply its wants.

This view conducts us to an important standard, by which to judge of the truth and purity of any form of religion. A religion is true, in proportion to the clearness with which it makes manifest the perfection of God. The purity of a particular system is to be measured by the conception which it inspires of God. Does it raise our thoughts to a perfect Being? Does it exalt us far above our own nature? Does it introduce us to a grand and glorious intelligence? Does it expand our minds with venerable and generous conceptions of the Author of existence? I know no other test of a true and pure religion but this. Religion has no excellence, but as it lifts us up into communion with a nature higher and holier than our own. It is the office of religion to offer the soul an object for its noblest faculties and affections, a Being through whom it may more surely and vigorously be carried forward to its own perfection. In proportion then as a religion casts clouds around the glory of God, or detracts from the loveliness and grandeur of his character, it is devoid of dignity, and tends to depress the mind.

All human systems are necessarily defective. They partake of the limits of the human mind. The purest religion which man ever has adopted, or ever will adopt, must fall very far below the glory of its object. Our best conceptions of God are undoubtedly mixed with much error We talk indeed of truth, as if we held it in its fulness; but in religion, as elsewhere, we make approaches only to the truth. We see God in the mirror of our own minds: but these are narrow and in many ways darkened. We see him in his works; but of these we comprehend a minute portion only. He speaks to us by his spirit in scripture and in the heart; but he speaks to us in human language, and adapts himself to our weak capacities, so that we catch mere glimpses of his perfection. The religious principle itself, by which we perceive and love God, is as limited at birth as are our other faculties, and is gradually unfolded. It embraces error at first by necessity. The earliest idea of God in the child is as faint as are its conceptions of all other objects. Necessarily it invests the Creator with a human form, places him in the heavens, and clothes him with an undefined power superior only to that possessed by those around it. This idea however of some Being higher than man takes root; and from this religion grows up. As we advance, we throw off more and more our childish notions, purify our thought of God, divest him of matter, conceive of him as mind, refine away from him our passions, and especially assign to him the attributes which our growing consciences recognize as righteous and holy. Still we are making approaches only, and slow approaches, towards God. Much of earth, much of our own incompleteness, still clings to our conception of the Divinity whom we worship. And the wise man is distinguished by detecting continually whatever is low in his apprehension of God, and by casting it away for more exalted views.

II. I now proceed to show more directly that religion is natural to man and is his great end. And for this purpose I go to human nature. Time will permit but few illustrations of this great theme; for when we survey man's various faculties, affections, and powers, all concur in bearing testimony to the truth now advanced. All are but so many elements of religion.

1. Look first at the reason, that divine germ within. I ask you to consider what are the primitive, profoundest, and clearest ideas of reason. They are the very ideas which lead to God. The earliest inquiry of reason is into causes. Even the child breaks his toys to discover the spring of their motion. Reason cannot satisfy itself with observing what exists, but seeks to explore its origin. It asks by instinct, whence comes the order of the universe, and cannot rest until it has ascended to a First Cause. The idea of God is thus involved in the primitive and most universal idea of reason, and is one of its central principles.

Among other tendencies in the reason to God, one is especially noteworthy. I refer to its desire for comprehensive and connected views. The reason is never satisfied with beholding objects separately. By its very nature it is impelled to compare them with one another, to discover their similar or diverse properties, to trace their relations, their respective fitnesses, and their common bearing. And it never rejoices more

than when it attains to some great law, which all things obey, and by which all are bound together. Through this principle we have learned that the sun, earth, and planets form a connected whole, and obey one law called attraction; and still more we have risen to the sublime conviction, that all the heavenly bodies, countless as they may be, are linked together by mutual dependencies and beneficent influences into one system. Now this tendency to search for connection and harmony — for unity — in the infinite variety of Nature is a direct tendency to a belief in one God. For this unity of Nature manifestly proves, and can only be explained by, unity of thought, design, and intelligent power; that is, it proclaims one Omnipotent, All-comprehending Creator.

2. Look next at the conscience; and here we see another natural tendency to religion. What particularly strikes us in this principle of our nature, is that it not only enjoins the law of duty, but intimates that there is a Ruler above us, by whom this law will be sustained and executed. Conscience speaks not as a solitary, independent guide, but as the delegate of a higher legislator. Its convictions of right and wrong are accompanied with the idea of an authority more awful than man's, by which these distinctions will be enforced. That this is the natural suggestion of conscience we learn from the fact that men in different ages, countries, and conditions have so generally agreed in speaking of the inward monitor as the voice of the Divinity. In approving or condemning ourselves, we do not feel as if we alone are the judges, but we have a presentiment of standing before another tribunal. Especially when we see the wrong-doer prosperous, do we feel as if the injustice of fortune ought to be redressed. We demand an Almighty patron of virtue. Retribution is the claim of our moral nature. So powerful is this tendency of conscience to assert a righteous Deity, that we cannot escape the sense of his presence. Often when the guilty have tried to efface the impression of a Supreme Lawgiver, the commanding truth has defied their power. The handwriting of the Divinity in the soul, though seemingly obliterated, has come out with awful distinctness in the solemn seasons of life. Thus conscience is a prophet of religion. And in proportion as it is obeyed, and the idea of right becomes real and living within us, the existence of the Almighty Friend of virtue is intimately felt, and with profoundest reverence.

3. If we pass next to the affections, we shall recognize still more clearly that our nature is formed for religion. What is the first affection awakened in the human heart? It is filial love, a grateful sense of parental kindness. And is not this the seed and prime principle of religion? For what is religion but filial love rising to our Father in heaven? Thus the first emotion of the human heart is virtually towards God. Its first spontaneous impulse is an element of piety.

Another characteristic emotion of our nature is that feeling of approbation with which we look on disinterested benevolence. We cannot conceive of a human being quite wanting in this moral principle, whose heart would not expand at witnessing in a fellow-man philanthropy unaffected, unwearied, and diffusing happiness far and wide. Here is another germ of religion. For what is religion but sympathetic joy in the unbounded beneficence of God? what but this very affection of esteem raised to him who is the source of all good-will in men, and before whose glory of disinterested love all other goodness is but a shadow?

I proceed to another affection of our nature which bears strong testimony to our being born for religion. I refer to the emotion which leads us to revere what is higher than ourselves, to wonder at the incomprehensible, to admire the vast, to adore the majestic. There is in human nature an affinity with what is mighty, an awful delight in what is sublime. It is this emotion which draws man to the grandest scenes of Nature, to the wilderness and ocean, to thundering cataracts, and the still solemn mountain top. It is manifested in the interest which the multitude take in persons of commanding intellectual energy, of heroic courage, of all-sacrificing devotion to the cause of freedom and humanity. Men are attracted by no quality so much as by sovereign greatness of will. They love whatever bears the impress of the infinite. So strong is this prin-

ciple of reverence, that when fallen from the knowledge of the true God, they have sought substitutes in their own teeming imagination, have deified fellow-men, have invented beings in whom they might concentrate and embody their conceptions, just or unjust, of supreme dignity. Thus the heart was made for worship, and worship it will. It longs for something more excellent than it finds on earth. In works of poetry and fiction it continually creates for itself a more than human glory. This emotion of reverence is a perpetual impulse in the soul towards God.

Another emotion of our nature, and closely related to reverence, next claims regard as a germ of religion. This is the love of the beautiful. Beauty, that mysterious charm which is spread over and through the universe, who is unconscious of its winning attraction? Whose heart has not softened into joy, as he has looked on hill and valley and cultivated plain, on stream and forest, on the rising or setting sun, on the constant stars and the serene sky? Now whenever this love of the beautiful unfolds into strong emotion, its natural influence is to lead up our minds to contemplate a brighter beauty than is revealed in creation. To them, who have eyes to see and hearts to feel the loveliness of Nature, it speaks of a higher, holier, Presence. They hear God in its solemn harmonies, they behold him in its fresh verdure, fair forms, and sunny hues. To great numbers, I am persuaded, the beauty of Nature is a more affecting testimony to God than even its wise contrivance. For this beauty of the universe is an emblem and revelation of the Divinity, and the love of it is given to guide us to the All-Beautiful.

Thus we see that human nature is impelled by affections of gratitude, esteem, veneration, joy, not to mention various others, which prepare us to be touched and penetrated by the infinite goodness of God, and which, when directed to him, constitute piety. That these emotions are designed to be devoted peculiarly to the Creator, we learn from the fact that they are boundless in their range and demand an unbounded object. They cannot satisfy themselves with the degrees of love, intelligence, and power which are found in human beings. They excite the imagination to conceive of higher, richer, ampler excellence than exists on earth. They delight in the infinite, and never can they find repose but in an Infinite Being, who combines all good.

4. I might easily multiply views of human nature, all tending to show that religion is natural to man. But I will add only that the human soul has two central motive principles, which are specially fitted to raise it to God. There is in all human beings an insatiable desire for happiness, which can never be appeased in our present existence, which the universe is wholly inadequate to gratify, which becomes only more intense amidst life's sufferings and disappointments, and which is only deepened, expanded, and purified by our highest experience of joy. And there is in refined minds a still profounder and more urgent impulse, already indicated, the longing for perfection, for deliverance from all evil, for perpetual progress, the desire to realize in character that bright ideal of which all noble souls conceive. These aspirations appear wherever men are found, now in sighs and lamentations, now in struggles and ardent efforts. But there is no good on earth that can fulfil their claims. They require an infinite blessedness and perfection; and innumerable weary spirits have they led up to God.

5. Thus have I endeavored to show, by a few illustrations, that all the great principles of human nature are germs of religion, as impulses towards God. If further proof were needed of its congeniality with our nature, I would appeal to facts. Let us ask history then whether religion be natural to men. What principle has acted with equal energy on human affairs? To what principle did all ancient legislators appeal as the foundation of civil institutions? To religion. What principle was it that gave Mohammed the empire of the East? What principle under the Crusades precipitated Europe into Asia? I grant that these movements arose out of excesses of the religious principle. But we learn by its excesses how deeply planted are its roots in our nature. And in the largest historic view, what principle is it that has produced in all times and lands the most devoted and fearless martyrs, that has sung hymns of praise in the depths of dungeons, that has

smiled with hope on the scaffold, endured without a groan the rack and fire, and refused to accept deliverance when one recanting word would have set the sufferer free? Oh, the miraculous power of the religious principle in the human soul! How has it led men to forsake the cheerful haunts of their fellow-beings, and to live in solitary cells, that in silence they might open their hearts to God and feel his joy-inspiring presence! What has it not strengthened men to do and to suffer! What speechless sorrows has it not soothed! What strength, peace, hope, has it not breathed into the dying! Yet it is a question whether our nature was formed for religion! The strongest love which the human heart has ever felt has been that for its Heavenly Parent. Was it not then constituted for this love? Where but in God can it find an object for its overflowing fulness, of reverence and affection, of aspiration and hope?

III. My friends, we all possess indeed this capacity for religion. Let us not wrong it by neglect It is, as we have seen, the central and all-pervading principle of human nature. And by proper means it may be cultivated, expanded, and made supreme. To give it life and vigor should be our highest aim. Here is the great field for our activity. By turning our chief energies abroad, we frustrate the end, and defraud ourselves of the proper happiness of our being. The world within is our great domain, worth infinitely more than the world without. To enthrone God in our inmost being is an immeasurably grander aim than to dispose of all outward realms. We boast of the power which we are daily gaining over material nature, how we bend the elements — fire, wind, steam — to our uses; and we look with compassion, if not scorn, on ages when man did not dream of this dominion. But may not a more fatal ignorance be found among ourselves? There is a loftier power of which we seldom adequately conceive. It is man's power to combine and direct the spiritual elements of his being, his power to free the intellect from prejudice and open it to the influx of truth, his power to disengage the heart from degrading selfishness and to commune with God by disinterested love. This power we all possess, and we should prize it more than life.

By this language I do not mean that we are to exalt our religious character by ourselves alone. I am not so unwise as to claim for men any independent strength. The truth is we cannot learn a science, art, or language, without aid. It is only by help from other minds that we improve our own, or achieve any important enterprise. It is only by help from the mineral world and the elements that we cultivate the land or traverse the sea. And without God's perpetual sustenance we could do absolutely nothing, and should not even exist. I am not teaching man's isolated energy. His power consists in ability to seek and use assistance from Nature and from his fellow-creatures. Above all it consists in ability to seek and to use spiritual influence from God. This influence may be gained by aspiration and by effort. It is in truth constantly exerted upon us, even when unsought, — exerted in every dictate, encouragement, warning, reproof of conscience and reason, in every secret longing of the soul for freedom from error and evil and for growth in wisdom and virtue. Aids without measure are offered to us by God. And when I say that love towards God is placed within our reach, I mean that it is so placed by the inspiration which he incessantly pours on every human being.

What might we not become, were we but just to ourselves and to the means of religious life thus bountifully afforded from heaven! We have all, I trust, a faith in God, and occasionally recognize our near relation to him. But we can attain to more than cold belief, to more than formal worship, or to transient emotions of gratitude. The religious principle may become the very life of our souls. God, now so distant, and perhaps little more than a name, may become to us the nearest and most real of all beings. We may cherish a reverence and attachment to him more profound and devoted than the affections with which we embrace parent, and child, and dearest human friends. And through this strength of piety we may gain an immovable strength of moral principle, an unbounded philanthropy, and a peace which passeth knowledge. This capacity for religion is a spring

of perennial freshness in every human breast. I would not resign it for the gift of countless worlds. It invites us to Him from whom, as a living centre, all suns and systems with their beauty and blessedness shine forth, and of whose glory they are but the dim reflex. We pity the barbarian, in whom intellect and imagination and sensibility slumber. But do not diviner capacities slumber in many of us? Gifted with the power of honoring God and of living with him in filial intimacy, do we not desert him and bury our souls in transient cares, distinctions, gains, amusements? Let us retire into ourselves, and become conscious of our own nature and of its high destination. Let us not profanely debase or destroy it. There is an inward suicide more awful than the destruction of the animal life, an inward ruin more mournful than any wrought by the conflagration of cities, or the desolation of whirlwinds. The saddest spectacle in this or in any world is a rational and moral being, smitten with spiritual death, alive only to what is material and earthly, living without God and without hope. Beware of this inward death — this insensibility to the presence, the authority, the goodness of our Heavenly Father.

Do you ask by what means this end of entering into living communion with God can be attained? I answer first: Let us each put forth our best force of intellect in gaining clearer and brighter conceptions of the Divine Being. We must consecrate our loftiest powers of thought to this sublime reality. We must not leave to others the duty of thinking for us. We must not be contented to look through others' eyes. We must exercise our own minds with concentrated and continuous energy. One chief source of truth for us, in regard to God, is revelation; and this, accordingly, should claim our most serious and devoted study. But when I thus speak of revelation, I mean the Christian religion. In the Jewish Scriptures, though many sublime passages are found in relation to the Supreme Divinity, yet in many others the image given of God is adapted to a rude state of society only, and to a very immature stage of the human mind. And not a few Christians have depressed their idea of the Infinite Being, by conceiving of him as he was represented in half-barbarous ages, instead of learning to know him from Jesus, who came to scatter the shades of Judaism as well as of Heathenism, and who alone reveals the Father — or the paternal character of the Creator — in full glory. Again, in studying the Christian revelation, we must take our views of God from what is clear rather than what is obscure, from the simple teachings of Jesus, rather than from the dark reasonings in some parts of the Epistles. Still more we are to learn the Divine Character in Christianity, not merely from passages which expressly describe him, but from the character of Jesus Christ, who came to be an image of the Father, and also from the character which Jesus seeks to form in us — that is, from the precepts of this religion; for these are intended to exalt us into the likeness of God. Whoever combines these three sources of knowledge, — the express declarations concerning God — the virtues manifested in Jesus Christ — and the virtues which he inculcates, — whoever looks to these, for the character of the Supreme Being, cannot misapprehend its grand features. I have said that our best force of intellect is to be employed on revelation. But revelation is not the only source of spiritual light. The great design of Jesus Christ is to teach us to see God everywhere, in Nature, in Providence, and in the human soul. He perpetually points to God's works for instruction, and to his manifestations through humanity. And we cannot comprehend him aright, if we do not go beyond revelation, and take lessons in religion from all that we observe, enjoy, and suffer. Jesus came, not to shut us up in a book, but to open the universe as our school of spiritual education.

But in teaching you to use the intellect faithfully and independently in acquiring just views of God, I have given the least important precept. With this we must join obedience to God's will, so far as we know it, or all intellectual effort will avail us little. We may indeed by study, or by living among enlightened people, acquire a just theory in regard to our Creator. But it will be theory only. It will be a knowledge of words more than of realities, — a vague, superficial apprehension, — unless the mind prepare itself by purifying obedi-

ence for an intimate knowledge of God. Moral discipline is much more important than a merely intellectual one, for gaining just apprehensions of the Supreme Being. I beg you to consider this. To know God we must have within ourselves something congenial to him. No outward light, not the teachings of hosts of angels, could give a bad man bright conceptions of God. A man who yields himself up to selfish ambition, to avarice, to sensuality, or to sloth, who sears his conscience and hardens his heart, is as effectually shutting his mind on the All-Good, as he would deprive himself of the light of the sun by deadening the optic nerve or by destroying the structure of the eye. Intellectual learning helps a man not a step towards God, unless conjoined with inward spiritual discipline, — government of the passions, reverence for conscience, and growing development of good principles and affections within. The Infinite Spirit must be revealed to us in the unfolding and operation of our own spirits, or we shall never truly know him. For example, God's purity, or aversion to sin, may be read and talked of, but is never understood, until conscience within us is encouraged to reprove all forms of evil. The solemn and tender reproof of this inward monitor alone enables us to know the moral displeasure of the righteous Lawgiver, in whose name and with whose authority it speaks. In the same manner we have a superficial knowledge only of God's goodness, we know nothing of it intimately, until a spirit of love, bearing some resemblance to his own, springs up within; until, through some conquest over the selfish principle, virtuous benevolence begins its work in our minds. This it is that helps us to comprehend the Father, to recognize and respond to that Love, which shines forth from every region of creation. Again, every man who has read the New Testament knows how it teaches that the mind is God's great work, and that it is destined to an immortal existence. But the mere reading of this in a book gives us no conception of the reality. Unless my own spirit makes progress in truth and virtue, and so reveals to me a measure of its power and beauty, I may hear about immortality, but I shall receive little more than a sound. Nothing external can tell me what a glorious principle the mind is. The sublimest work of the Creative Mind will be hidden from me. And having in my own heart nothing which speaks of the immortal life, that doctrine will be but a word on my lips. I appeal to you all for a confirmation of this. I ask you whether thousands under the bright light of Christianity are not almost as ignorant as the heathen of the true God. Do not a few commonplaces or trite expressions, about his greatness, goodness, and mercy, uttered in a manner which show that their meaning is not felt, make up their stock of knowledge on the sublimest realities? No outward teaching can bring us to a vision of the Divine Being. The soul must join with intellectual effort a moral operation upon itself. And Christianity contributes to our knowledge of God, by nothing more than by setting this truth before us, by awakening a consciousness of our infirmities, and by inciting us to obey the conscience in its remonstrances against sin, and its monitions to duty.

Would you then attain to the love of God with all the heart, and soul, and mind, and strength, begin with purifying yourself from all known evil. Let your fervent prayer be to him to animate you in your conflict with bad passions and habits, and in steadfast obedience to his will. With this purifying purpose of obedience, read the Scriptures; and the simple passages, in which Jesus speaks of his Father, will open on your minds with new brightness. In this temper study the character of Jesus; and in him, who was the image of the Father, you will learn to see more and more distinctly the fulness and freeness of divine benevolence. In this spirit of obedience look on Nature, and observe the works of the Creator, and their beauty and harmony will become more touching, till gradually heaven and earth will grow eloquent in their author's praise. In this spirit look into your own minds, observe what is good and great in the minds of others, and the Infinite Mind will more and more appear to you in his crowning creation, the human soul. And finally, with this purifying purpose of duty, pray for the divine spirit, and you will receive it. A secret influence will aid your efforts after oneness with the holy One. Peace, silent

as dew, will distil on you from heaven. I believe too, that with such a temper and life, you may enjoy something more than distant communications from the Father of spirits; that you may be favored with those blessed seasons of universal light and strength, of which good men have often spoken, in which the mind seems warmed by a new flame, and quickened by a new energy from on high, and which, though not miraculous, still bring with them a near consciousness of the Divine Original, and come like the very breath of God upon the soul. Through these various methods, you will ascend by degrees to a living communion with our Creator, which, however low compared with what awaits you in another life, will yet be lofty in contrast with all you could have conceived of in the beginning of your religious course.

I close with reaffirming the truth that I have aimed to impress. Religion is not an unnatural or unattainable good. Its germs exist in us all. We have, each of us, the spiritual eye to see, the mind to know, the heart to love, the will to obey God. We have a spiritual nature that may bear the image of divine perfection. Glorious privilege! Let us not cast it away. Let us not waste our souls on perishable objects. For these souls may become temples for indwelling divinity. They may even partake of the glory and the blessedness of the Living God. May we all, through a just exercise of intellect, and a sincere and purifying obedience, enjoy this gradual illumination and sanctification, which are the beginning of heaven! You will then learn how cold is the most earnest language of the preacher, and how inadequately the loftiest human eloquence can unfold the blessedness of a spirit making progress towards fellowship with the All-Perfect One.

II.

GOD REVEALED IN THE UNIVERSE AND IN HUMANITY.

PROVERBS viii. 1–4: "Doth not Wisdom cry? and Understanding put forth her voice? . . . Unto you, O Men, I call; and my voice is to the sons of Man."

THE passage from which these words are taken is designed to teach that the truth, which can guide us to perfection and to happiness, is teaching us always and everywhere; that God surrounds us constantly with his instruction; that wherever we go the voice of his wisdom follows us; that it is our own fault if we are not continually becoming wiser and better. This universal presence of truth is the subject to which I ask your attention. To understand this will help us to understand our whole existence. For it will show us that under every lot we have exhaustless means of growth. And thus it will awaken us to new faithfulness in the use of our privileges, and to new efforts in the pursuit of goodness.

Wisdom is omnipresent. Everywhere it comes to meet us. It shines in the sun. It irradiates the heavens. It whispers through all sounds of Nature. It beams resplendent from the characters of good and wise men, and more brightly still in our own souls. Our teachers are thus all around and within, above and beneath. Divine wisdom is not shut up within any book. It is not heard from pulpits alone. It has better preachers than all ministers. And one great aim of the true minister is to help his hearers to understand wiser teachers than himself, and to open their ears to more harmonious voices. By turning their minds to the lessons of every day, he should make them feel that they are

in a higher than any human school, — in God's own school, the school of the universe, — where always and everywhere they may be gathering treasures of truth.

Jesus said: "I am the light of the world." And when did he say this? At the moment when he was about to open the eyes of the blind man. To that man he was to be a light. And how? By creating a new light for him? No! The light existed already. The sun was shining on him then in unclouded splendor. A thin membrane was the sole barrier between that blind man and the glorious world which lay around on every side. By lifting this veil Jesus gave him light. In a similar way Jesus Christ is a light to us spiritually. He creates no new truth; for truth is eternal. And what is still more important, he does not teach truth wholly new to men. The great principles of religion belong to human nature; and they are manifested in all God's works and in his providence. We live in darkness, not because there is no sun of truth shining on and around us. For a spiritual light, brighter than that of noon, pervades our daily life. The cause of our not seeing is in ourselves. The inward eye is diseased or shut. Were that but opened, we should at once be introduced into a spiritual universe, fairer and more magnificent than the creation which burst on the eye of the blind man, when Jesus said: "Receive thy sight."

Wisdom is omnipresent. The greatest truths meet us at every turn. Jesus came to reveal the Father. But is God, the infinite and universal Father, made known only by a single voice, heard ages ago on the banks of the Jordan, or by the sea of Tiberias? Is it an unknown tongue that the heavens and earth forever utter? Is Nature's page a blank? Does the human soul report nothing of its Creator? Does conscience announce no authority higher than its own? Does reason discern no trace of an Intelligence, that it cannot comprehend, and yet of which it is itself a ray? Does the heart find in the circuits of creation no friend worthy of trust and love? Oh, yes! God is on every side, not only by his essential invisible presence, but by his manifestations of power and perfection. We fail to see him, not from want of light, but from want of spiritual vision.

The same remark may be extended to Jesus' doctrine of immortality, though with limitation. The future world indeed is in no way laid open to the senses. But the idea of it is one of the most universally recognized among men. The thought of immortal life preceded Jesus. We meet glimmerings of it even in the darkest and most barbarous times. The germ of this great truth is in our nature; in the conscience, that includes as one of its elements a presentiment of retribution; in the reason, that beholds in the present an incomplete destiny, needing to be continued for the fulfilment of its end: in the thirst for happiness, that is too deep to be satisfied on earth, but opens into aspiration towards an infinitely blessed Being; in the love of moral goodness and beauty, which in proportion as it is cultivated awakens the ideal of spotless virtue and a desire of community with the All-Perfect One. The voice of our whole nature indeed, properly interpreted, is a cry after higher existence. The restless activity of life is but a pressing forward towards a fulness of good not to be found on earth, and indicates our destination for a state more brightly beautiful than we can now conceive. Heaven is in truth revealed to us in every pure affection of the human heart, and in every wise and beneficent action, that uplifts the soul in adoration and gratitude. For heaven is only purity, wisdom, benevolence, joy, peace, in their perfected form. Thus the immortal life may be said to surround us perpetually. Some beams of its glory shine upon us in whatever is lovely, heroic, and virtuously happy in ourselves or in others. The pure mind carries heaven within itself, and manifests that heaven to all around.

In saying that the great truths of religion are shining all about and within us, I am not questioning the worth of the Christian revelation. The Christian religion concentrates the truth diffused through the universe, and pours it upon the mind with solar lustre. Still more it heals our blindness by exposing the passions and sins which veil the mind against the light of the spirit, and furnishing the means to remove the films which gather over the inward eye and prevent us from seeing the revela-

tions of Nature. We cannot find language to express the worth of the illumination thus given through Jesus Christ. But we shall err greatly, if we imagine that his gospel is the only light, that every ray comes to us from a single book, that no splendors issue from God's works and providence, that we have no teacher in religion but the few pages bound up in our Bibles. Jesus Christ came, not only to give us his peculiar teaching, but to introduce us to the imperishable lessons which God forever furnishes in our own and all human experience, and in the laws and movements of the universe. He intends, not that we should hear his voice alone, but that we should open our ears to the countless voices of wisdom, virtue, piety, which now in whispers, now in thunders, issue from the whole of Nature and of life. He does not give us a narrow system, and command us to bound inquiry within its limits. He does not prison reason by a rigid, formal creed. He gives us generous principles, which we are to carry out and apply everywhere, and by which we are to interpret all existence. He who studies nothing but the Bible, does not study that book aright. For were it rightly read, it would send him for instruction to every creature that God hath made, and to every event wherein God is acting. That reader has not read aright the Sermon on the Mount, who has not learned to read sermons in the changes of the seasons and in the changes of human history. Wisdom spoke through Jesus as her chief oracle. She beamed forth from the life and lessons of this divine Saviour, with the pure unsullied glory in which she manifests herself in heaven. But Wisdom does not confine herself to one shrine. Her light is not bounded to a single orb. To the humblest that calls she gives her responses. We live amidst a host of teachers of moral and religious truth. Unsought, unpaid, they beset our path. Rejected, they still plead. They begin their ministry with our first breath; and they do not forsake us in the last hour.

In these remarks I have again and again referred to two great teachers, which are always giving us lessons of wisdom: (1) The outward universe; and (2) The world of thinking, moral beings. My chief purpose in this discourse is to direct you to the voice of wisdom that issues from humanity. But the revelation of God through Nature shall be briefly considered first.

I. The voice of wisdom — that is, of moral and religious truth — speaks to us from the universe. What a blessing would it be to us, one and all, could we but really wake up to the glory of this Creation, in which we live! Most men are actually asleep for their lifetime in this vast and magnificent world. Mighty changes are going on around them, fitted to entrance their souls in wonder and thankfulness; and yet they are moved no more than if they were shut up in a mill, seeing only the perpetual revolution of spindles, and hearing only the monotonous hum and clatter of machinery. We might have been born amidst such machinery, had the Creator so pleased. And men's insensibility often seems to deserve no better lot. But instead of being pent within narrow walls, we live amidst this immeasurable universe. Instead of a few pale lamps giving only necessary rays, oceans of light daily overflow this planet whereon we dwell, with inexhaustible splendor and beauty. And the fire that sustains the life of earth's creatures is forever freshly kindled millions of miles away.

If I should be called to express in a word the most important lesson that wisdom utters in the creation, I should say it is this: Nature everywhere testifies to the infinity of its Author. It bears throughout the impress of the Infinite. It proclaims a perfection illimitable, unsearchable, transcending all thought and utterance. It is modelled and moulded, as a whole and in its least molecule, with grandeur, unfathomable intelligence, and inexhaustible bounty. This is the glory of the universe. And to behold this is to understand the universe. Until thus we see the Infinite in Nature, we have not learned the lesson that wisdom is everywhere teaching. I say that the Infinite is revealed in all things. I do not except the most common. The stone falls to the ground by a force that controls the sun, the planets, and all worlds throughout immensity. Did not the dropping apple reveal to Newton that the very law which brought that fruit to the ground keeps the earth in its orbit, and binds

creation into one harmonious whole? Behold the humolest wild flower. To produce that weed all Nature has conspired. Into itself it receives the influence of all the elements, — light, heat, and air. Sun, earth, and ocean meet to pay it tribute. The least thing in Nature acts upon all things, and is acted on by all; so that each implies all and is represented in all. In a word, to understand the simplest work of God, the universe must be comprehended. For that work, however frail and transient, could not exist, did not all things else exist. It is a living part of this mighty living universe. It has innumerable ties with the limitless Creation, — connections too subtle, swift, and ever-changing for any finite mind to trace. Thus each minutest particle speaks of the infinite One, and utters the divinest truth which can be declared on earth or in heaven.

Again, there is an impenetrable mystery in every action and force of the universe, that envelops our daily existence with wonder and makes sublime the familiar processes of the commonest arts. How astonishingly does Nature differ in her modes of production from the works of human skill. In a machine of man's making we can trace the motive power, and detect the arrangement whereby this power is transferred from part to part. But in Nature, so vibrating with motion, where is the moving energy? Can you discern the all-embracing, all-pervading force that gives the primal impulse to the moving whole, and perpetuates movement through immensity; that wheels planets and suns in their vast orbits, and at the same instant quickens countless and multiform animals and plants? Look at a grain of wheat! That seed is the fruit of all harvests of past ages since the creation of the world. It carries us back to the hour when the morning stars sang for joy over the new-born earth. In it are centred the combined forces of suns and rains, of soils and climates, for a period of which history has no record. And again, this tiny seed has within it prolific energy to cover whole kingdoms, it may be the whole globe, with vegetation, and to multiply itself without end. On such mysteries as these the science of ages has shed little or no light. And they open a deeper mystery still. What and whence is that principle called *life*, to which this seed owes its distinctive organic character, — which can modify and counteract the laws of Nature, which can mould the plant to symmetric wholeness, and unfold it into consummate beauty? Life, that awful power, so endlessly various in the forms it assumes, — life that fills earth, air, and sea with motion, growth, activity, and joy, — life that enlivens us, what is it? What sight can discern, what thought explore its mystery? Thus the infinite, the mysterious, the unsearchable meets us, veiled in the lowliest creations. But that which falls within the range of our senses is as nothing compared with the invisible, the intangible, the incomprehensible, that lies beneath. And if wisdom thus speaks through the minutest existence, what a voice comes to us from the immensity, wherein we are encompassed!

What blessedness it is to dwell amidst this transparent air, which the eye can pierce without limit, amidst these floods of pure, soft, cheering light, under this immeasurable arch of heaven, and in sight of these countless stars! An infinite universe is each moment opened to our view. And this universe is the sign and symbol of infinite power, intelligence, purity, bliss, and love. It is a pledge from the Living God of boundless and endless communications of happiness, truth, and virtue. Thus are we always in contact, if I may so say, with the infinite, as comprehended, penetrated, and quickened by it. What unutterable import is there in the teachings of such a revelation! What a name is written all through it in characters of celestial light! A spiritual voice pervades it, more solemn, sublime, and thrilling than if the roar of oceans, thunders, whirlwinds, and conflagrations were concentrated in one burst of praise. This voice is all the more eloquent because it is spiritual; because it is the voice in which the All-Wise speaks to all intelligences.

II. This leads us to consider the voice of wisdom that utters itself from the spiritual world, the world of moral and intelligent beings, the humanity of which we each form a part. This topic is immense. For the book of human nature has no end. New pages are added to it every day through succes-

sive generations. The moral and religious truths, which wisdom may draw from the human soul, from human life, from human experience, cannot be exhausted. From these I shall select one great lesson only, which all history attests. This lesson is that there is in human nature an element truly divine, and worthy of all reverence; that the Infinite which is mirrored in the outward universe is yet more brightly imaged in the inward spiritual world; or, in other words, that man has powers and principles, predicting a destiny to which no bound can be prescribed, which are full of mystery, and even more incomprehensible than those revealed through the material creation.

That this is the lesson uttered continually by wisdom through what we see familiarly in human life, is a doctrine that may startle some, who think that observation leads to very opposite results. To many persons, history and experience seem to warrant no feelings higher than pity or contempt for their race. The error of these observers should be traced to two sources: first, they do not understand the highest office of wisdom; secondly, they rest in a half-wisdom which is worse than ignorance. To each of these errors a few words may be given.

1. They who disparage human nature, do so from ignorance of one of the highest offices of wisdom. The chief work of wisdom consists in the interpretation of signs. To know what is present and visible merely is to know nothing. The great aim should be to discern what the visible present signifies, what it foreshows, what is to spring from it, what is wrapped up in it as a germ. Wisdom sees the future in the present, for it sees in the present the signs of that future. This actual world may be defined as a world of signs. What we see is but the sign of what is unseen. Beneath the properties which meet the eye lie others incomparably more potent. In life an event is the prophetic sign and forerunner of other coming events; and its importance almost always consists, not in its own independent character, but in the tendencies and influences which are wrapped up in it, in the future good or ill of which it is the harbinger. These remarks peculiarly apply to human nature. For of this it may be said that we know hardly anything but signs. It has merely begun its development. It has taken the first step only in an endless career. Its best emblem is the seed just shooting above the surface of the earth, and struggling to disclose its folded petals. That which man has as yet felt and thought and done, is a foretoken only of what he is to feel and think and do. The worth of his best attainment lies in what it prepares for. The present stage in man's history, studied without reference to his future, would lead to endless error. For his highest improvement is but a hint and faint foreshadow of his destination.

2. The second consideration, by which may be explained the common erroneous estimate of human nature, is that most men rest in a half-wisdom, which is worse than ignorance. They who speak most contemptuously of man tell the truth, but only half the truth. The wounds and sores of human nature, which they delight to expose, are real. In condemning human crimes they invent nothing, they exaggerate nothing. History and experience do testify to a wide-spread taint of selfishness and injustice in our race. They who assert the greatness of human nature do not differ on this point from its vituperators. They do not bandage their eyes. They see as much of guilt as the man of worldly wisdom. But here lies the difference between them and the worldly wise. Amidst the passions and selfishness of men they see another element, — a divine element, a spiritual principle. They see powers and affections always struggling against evil in the human heart, which are celestial in their nature, and which speak of an immortal destiny. In these they discern the true interpretation of human nature, in its origin and its end.

Let us avoid half-wisdom. It is the root of the most fatal prejudice. We wrong individuals not so much by falsely ascribing to them defects, as by taking one-sided views of their characters as a whole. And in the same way we wrong our race. I am willing to concede to the man of worldly wisdom all his charges against existing society. I will go farther, and tell him that he does not comprehend the depths of actual evil. For to do this requires a moral

sensibility to which he has not attained. I have no eulogies to pronounce on the present condition of human nature, in even the most civilized communities. Our whole social fabric needs thorough, searching, complete reform. But I do not stop here. If I did, I should lose the great lesson that wisdom proclaims from every page of history. This lesson is, that man, with all his errors, is a wonderful being, endowed with incomprehensible grandeur, worthy of his own incessant vigilance and care, worthy to be visited with infinite love from heaven. The infinite is imaged in him more visibly than in the outward universe. This is the great truth to be learned from all our social combinations. This is the germ of all confident and joyful effort for human improvement. It is the very root of free institutions. From it alone can spring high-toned moral relations and happy intercourse between men. This truth is the central principle of Christianity, and from failure to recognize this, our existing systems of education, policy, legislation, and social intercourse are poor, narrow, and impotent. So great a truth is this, which I affirm as being taught from the whole of man's social life. I know with what incredulity I shall be heard, when thus asserting that the only lesson worth learning from society is the one which as yet has been learned least. And unhappily false theology has joined with low worldliness in barring men's minds against its reception. But it is not less true, nor less important, because doubted and denied. Man really is a mysterious being, endowed with divine powers and welcomed by a boundless destiny. Such is the truth. And I hold it all the faster for the incredulity of theologians and men of the world.

Having thus combated the disparaging views so prevalent in regard to human nature, and having showed their origin, and proved that the very circumstances which give them birth, if justly interpreted, are sufficient to refute them, I shall next aim to exhibit directly the testimony of human life to the divine in man.

The subject is so large, that it is best to fix attention on a single point. And I go at once to the most common, though the sublimest, principle of man, — the moral principle. What is so common as the idea of right? Where do we not meet with its presence, in all relations of human life, — in all systems of education, in our legislative halls, our historic memorials, our courts of justice, our tribunals of public opinion, our familiar conversation, our private friendships, our humane and religious organizations? The whole of human life is indeed a recognition in some way or other of moral distinctions. And no nation has existed, in any age, that has not caught a glimpse at least of the great principles of right and wrong.

The right, the just, the good, the holy, — these words express an excellence that awakens in us emotions of reverence and esteem, altogether distinct from the impulses we feel towards other forms of Good. Conscience, in enjoining duty, reveals to us its supreme worth. The right is higher altogether in its essential quality than the profitable, the agreeable, the graceful. It is that which must be done though all other things be left undone, that which must be gained though all else be lost. Other kinds of good are valued in consequence of their adaptation to our peculiar constitution. But justice, goodness, and right deserve to be valued for their own sake. It is conceivable that we might have been so framed as to prefer darkness to light, or to find nourishment in what is now poisonous. But a being so constituted as to see baseness in disinterested love and venerableness in malignity would be an inconceivable monster. In truth we can no more imagine such a moral being, than we can imagine an intelligent being who could think of a part as being greater than the whole. To perceive the right then is to recognize the supreme good, that which is worthy of supreme love, that which not only solicits us by promises of enjoyment, but utters the voice of absolute command and claims sovereign dominion. How sublime then is this principle of right, and how great the mind of which it is an element!

Every human being, I have said, has this idea of right. This is not all. He has not only the idea of right; but he himself is capable of rectitude. We are made not only to admire the right; for the same faculty, that discerns it as a universal law, proclaims it to be our own supreme law. Right is not re-

vealed to us as the glory of unapproachable beings, whom we must reverence at a hopeless distance. It is made known to us with the consciousness that rectitude is bound up with our own lives. This we all feel. No experience is more familiar. And yet nothing more substantially great can be said of the highest being in the universe. Is there one among us who has never made a sacrifice to duty, never denied a passion, never foregone a pleasure, never borne a pain, rather than violate the inward law of right? The power of resisting evil exists in every man, whether he will exercise it or not. The power of clinging to the good, the just, the holy, amidst trial and loss, — we all possess it. And we know that we have it; for we are conscious of our degradation when we fail to use it. This power, so continually put forth by us all against inferior temptations, is a germ which may be expanded into a divine energy. In some men this celestial might is actually unfolded. And to them we should look, with grateful admiration and affectionate homage, as the true revelations of human nature. There have been men, in whom the right, the good, the holy, have awakened all-conquering love; in whose spirits high moral excellence, such as was manifested in Jesus Christ, has shone with a brightness above the sun; who have concentrated the whole strength of their nature into the resolve of well-doing; who have grasped and held fast duty with a deliberate energy, which has grown in proportion to the powers arrayed against it; who could not be separated from the right by tribulation and distress, by persecution or famine, by the rack or the sword. These are the heroes of human history, who give effulgence to the records of the past. Such heroism, though rare, is not superhuman. It is the expansion, the developed form only, of that very power which every man puts forth when he makes the slightest sacrifice to duty. This high rectitude exists as a seed in every heart. It is indeed the very essence of humanity.

In the preceding remarks, I have spoken of the principle of right in the human heart, as revealing duty to the individual. I now proceed to another view, which has all along been implied, but which deserves distinct exposition. You perceive what is right and good, and feel yourself bound to respect it. But is this all? Does duty reveal itself as a personal obligation merely, or as confined to yourself? Is a rule made known, by which you alone are to walk? When justice, goodness, truth, purity, are urged on you by conscience, is there not a distinct conviction that these are not a merely personal obligation? Do you not at once recognize that a law of right is promulgated within you, to which *all* men are subject? Still more, do you not feel that this great law of right binds not only men, but all intelligent beings; that it is the law not of the earth only, but of the universe? Does the right seem to you a transient, arbitrary ordinance, which may hereafter be repealed, and to which other beings and men may be strangers? Have you not, on the contrary, an intimate conviction that the right is as everlasting as it is universal? Justice, goodness, disinterestedness, truth, purity, love, do you not transport these ideas to heaven? Are they not, in fact, the essential elements of your conception of heaven? Is it not through them that you imagine beings in higher stages of existence? Is not the very idea of a higher being this, that the elements of moral perfection dwell in him in fulness and unity, as they are not unfolded upon earth? Here then we learn the greatness of human nature. This moral principle — the supreme law in man — is the law of the universe — the very law to which the highest beings are subject, and in obeying which they find their elevation and their joy. Then man and the highest beings are essentially of one order. They form one family. The same spirit of goodness enlivens all. To all there is the same supreme law, the same supreme good! Imagination and genius, in their most inspired moments, can picture nothing in heaven brighter than moral goodness, — that very goodness, of which the germ unfolds in the humblest human heart. This goodness is seen by us intuitively to be confined to no place, to no time, to be the growth of no nation and of no world, but to be universal, eternal, immutable, absolute, and worthy of highest veneration and love by all spirits, for ever. Can we then look on the human soul, which is at once the oracle and the subject of this

universal and eternal law, as created only for time and this narrow earth?

As yet, we have but approached the true greatness of human nature. We come now to views of the soul which thrill us with transport, for the utterance of which all language is feeble, and towards which all thought is but a faint approximation. Man, though human by nature, is capable of conceiving the idea of God, of entering into strong, close, tender, and purifying relations with God, and even of participating in God's perfection and happiness. We hear this great truth unmoved. It is a truth to wake the dead! It ought to exalt our whole life into joy. What I have thus far said is but a preparation for this. I have spoken of the principle of the right, the good, the holy. But without this idea of God — the perfect Being — the moral principle would pine and die in its conflict with evil. I have spoken of the unbounded tendencies and aspirations of this principle; but without an infinite Father for their object and support, such aspirations would be vain yearnings, and would soon give room to despair. This moral nature within us, so alive to the right, is still weak and imperfect, needing to be nourished, fortified, and fulfilled by communion with supreme excellence. It needs a perfect Being for its love, an almighty Being for its trust, an everlasting Being under whose unchangeable aid it may unfold for ever. It cannot live and move without faith in the righteous Governor of the universe, who will repress wrong and reward well-doing with the best of all recompenses, growing strength in highest virtue. Thus the moral nature of man feels after, and must find God. The reason why men see God in the outward creation is that their own nature has an affinity with him, and cannot be unfolded or find repose without him. We comprehend and desire him, because we carry his image in our moral and intellectual powers, and because these tend to their source. Is there nothing great then in human nature? Within it is wrapped up this idea of God; it is carried to him by inward impulses and wants. It sees in the outward creation God's omnipotence. But it hears in its own conscience the voice of God's authority. It feels itself vitally related to God, not merely like matter by physical dependence, but by a moral law. It has a consciousness of accountableness to him, which in its degradation even it cannot throw off. It can reverence God, and still more it can love him. Is there no grandeur in such a nature? There can be no higher idea in the universe than this of God. There can be no greatness like that of adoring him, of harmony with his goodness, of concord with his will. This adoration, this concord are not only within man's power, but they are the very end of his being; and in no other destiny can we find rest and joy.

It is true that the idea of God has been mournfully obscured by human passions. Still amidst the ruins of man's religious nature some celestial fire has slumbered. And particularly interesting is it to observe, how the consciousness of some divine element in human nature has mingled with the grossest superstition. Thus we witness, widely spread among heathen nations, the practice of deifying distinguished men, — legislators, patriots, heroes. But why were the greatest and best on earth believed to be raised to heaven? Because the illustrious of the race were thought to be of the same family with the gods. There was gross superstition in this worship offered to the dead. But beneath that error, as beneath most errors, lay a great truth. In that widespread practice, the *affinity* between God and man was dimly shadowed forth. Therein appeared that truth, which has since shone out so brightly in the union of the human and the divine, in the character of Jesus Christ. How sublimely great is man, when thus regarded as a spiritual being in fellowship with the Infinite Spirit! Within him is enshrined the idea of God. He calls God his Father.

And now it may be asked, what are the practical uses of these views? I answer, the greatest of all truths are the most quickening. And to nothing so much as to the obscurity, that eclipses them, is the low standard of the Christian world to be traced. Again is it asked, why I am so anxious to declare these views of human nature now? I answer, I prize these views because they confirm my faith in Jesus Christ, and give reality to the great hope that Chris-

tianity sets before us. Jesus came, as he taught us, to create men after the likeness of God, to breathe into men a divine virtue, and to prepare them for the heavenly life. The sceptic derides this good as unreal, because wanting in adapation to our nature. But I look into human nature and cannot but feel that a being made for such a destiny, as Christianity reveals, must carry within him tokens presignifying his end. It is a joyful confirmation of my faith, then, to find in the human soul plain signatures of a divine principle, to find faculties allied to the attributes of God, faculties beginning to unfold into God's image, and presages of an immortal life.

Another practical use of the views now given of human nature is this: in proportion as they are received, they will transform essentially our modes of relationship, communication, and association with our fellow-beings. They will exalt us into a new social life. Indeed, they will give an entirely new character to social intercourse. That intercourse must be determined by the estimate we form of human nature. He who looks on man as little better than a brute, will live with men as brutes. He will be wanting in reverence for their rights and feelings. He will think only of making them his instruments. He will be anxious chiefly to raise himself above them by outward distinctions. He will care little how they are trampled under foot. He will scoff at the thought of living and dying for their happiness. Society is now degraded through all its laws, institutions, and customs, by the blindness of men to the divine principle within themselves and one another. Once diffuse this great truth through society, and it will work a mightier revolution than politicians ever dreamed of. It will ennoble all social duties. It will give sanctity to all social relations. It will breathe a deference and tender respect through manners, which will put to shame what now passes for courtesy. It will bring an end to that outward, ostentatious, superficial life, on which so many squander time, means, thought, and their best powers. It will awaken an intense effort for distressed humanity. It will send far and wide a spirit of reform, from the nursery to the hall of legislation. It will substitute the holy tie of human brotherhood for all artificial bonds of social order. With this great truth in his heart a man cannot insult a fellow-man, for he beholds the divine in the human. He can call no being low in whom his own highest powers and affections are wrapped up. Can you conceive then of a truth so practical as this doctrine of the greatness of man as a moral being? It will create a new earth.

And, finally, to speak of its highest use, how would this doctrine, brought home to the heart, transform our fellowship with God! Time is wanting to unfold this great subject now. It has never as yet been fitly unfolded. For want of an enlightened conviction of man's participation in a divine principle, religion in all ages has sunk more or less into superstition. It has bowed down the spirits which it ought to have uplifted. It has been deemed a means of propitiating a higher power, instead of being regarded as the ascent of the soul to its original, as the divine in man seeking the Supreme Divinity, as a homage changing us into the goodness we adore, and strengthening our disinterested love of fellow-beings with a celestial life. How earnestly to be desired is it, that religion should be thus raised from selfish superstition into generous communion with God. And never can it attain to this its true glory, till man shall better comprehend himself as a child of God, and the filial relationship, inherent in his very nature, between himself and the Father of spirits.

My friends, how little do we know ourselves! How unjust are we to ourselves! We study everything else but the divine principle within our own persons. The truth may be on our lips. But in how few hearts does it live! We need a new revelation — not of heaven or of hell — but of the spirit within ourselves.

III.

THE UNIVERSAL FATHER.

ROMANS iii. 29: "Is he the God of the Jews only? Is he not also of the Gentiles? Yes, of the Gentiles also."

THE writings of the Apostle Paul have met with a singular fate. They were intended to reveal the Father's universal and impartial love; and they have been used to represent him as an exclusive and arbitrary sovereign. They were designed to open the kingdom of God to all men; and they have been so distorted as to shut it on the many and confine it to the few. They breathe the most liberal spirit; and yet from them have been drawn the main arguments for intolerant bigotry. Nothing stranger ever happened in the history of human thought. From Paul, the grand teacher of divine grace and mercy, who lived to break down the barriers between Jew and Gentile, and to unite the human race in brotherly love, have been derived the mournful dogmas, — that God elects a certain number to salvation, and dooms the rest to everlasting woe; that the reception of an unintelligible creed is essential to man's redemption, and that they who hold this are authorized to denounce all who reject it, as enemies of God and as unworthy of a place in the church of Christ.

From the history of Paul's Epistles, we learn how fatal it is to substitute the letter for the spirit of divine revelation, and how dangerous it is to read the Scriptures, without carrying into their interpretation our reason and the light of conscience. They have not been studied with the common intelligence and candor which men carry to the perusal of other writings. And hence the free, bold language of the Apostle has been perverted from its original significance and made to support a system which reason and conscience revolt from, and which transforms Christianity from the gospel of glad tidings into the saddest message ever preached.

The great design of Paul's Epistles was to vindicate the spiritual right of the human race against the exclusive bigotry of the Jews; to manifest God as the Father of all men, and to teach that he did not shut himself up in the land of Judea or the temple of Jerusalem; that Jesus Christ came to save not one narrow nation, but the whole world; that the kingdom of heaven, the infinite blessings of the gospel, were opened with boundless freedom to humanity universally. This is the great "mystery," or in other words the long-hidden purpose of God, of which Paul speaks in such magnificent language. By this "mystery" he meant no unintelligible dogma, but God's merciful design, concealed from the ages, "to gather together in one" the whole human family under Jesus Christ, to break down all divisions between nations and classes, and to unite men of every kindred and condition in one spiritual worship of the universal Father. Take with you this great truth, and you have the key to Paul's writings. Without it, the rich treasures of that noble teacher will be a sealed book.

In our text we have the central idea of Paul's Epistles. I shall first offer some remarks on the doctrine that God is "the God of the Gentiles," chiefly to strengthen our convictions of its truth; then, in the second place, I shall consider the universal principle contained in this doctrine; and, thirdly, I shall apply this principle to our times and our own moral needs.

I. God is "the God of the Gentiles." To understand the full import of this sentence of Paul, we ought to consider the circumstances under which he wrote it. This proposition, which in our own days seems too trite to draw attention,

manifested at that time an admirable generosity of soul. To the Jew, the Gentiles were odious. He thought it pollution to eat with them. He called them dogs. He was brought up in an antipathy towards the heathen world, for which we can find no parallel. He claimed God as exclusively his God. In all the sufferings of his people he was consoled by their peculiar relation to the Divine Being, by their supreme religious exaltation above the rest of mankind. And he lived in the hope of a swift coming day, in which the Messiah was to avenge their wrongs, and to bow all nations at their feet. For a Jew to renounce this deeply-rooted and almost ineradicable pride, to come down from his height of vain-glory and take his stand among the despised and execrated Gentiles, to embrace them as brothers and assert their equal claim to God's love and the blessings of the Messiah's kingdom, — this was an inward revolution, a triumph over passion, prejudice, and education, such as we now can hardly estimate. Could we fully comprehend it, we should be filled with admiration for the moral grandeur manifested in the simple words of our text. Paul, in writing them, not only offered violence to all his earliest and deepest impressions, but put his life in peril. Such was the shock given by his language to the pride and passion of his people, that they thirsted for his blood, and wherever he travelled pursued him with murderous intent. So stirring were the words which we read with little emotion. I begin, as proposed, with offering a few remarks upon this doctrine, for the end of deepening our conviction of its truth.

1. God is "the God of the Gentiles," says Paul; and do we not respond to this truth? The heathen nations had indeed wandered far from God; and to the Jews he seemed to have forsaken them utterly. But it was not so. The universal Father was always in the deepest sense their God. How could he forsake the millions of his creatures spread over the face of the earth? Judea was but a speck on the globe. Its temple was a point too small to be caught by the eye of the spectator, but a few miles off. Was the infinite One to be confined to this narrow space? Could his love be stinted to the few, to whom he had specially revealed his will? In the very darkest ages God was "the God of the Gentiles." Though unknown, he was always near and never ceased to work within them. The heathen had their revelation. Light from heaven descended into their souls. They had the divine law "written in their hearts." God shone within them under the ideas of justice, goodness, and duty. No nation has been found, however sunk and degraded, on which these lights have not dawned. The rudest savage discerns some distinction between right and wrong, the just and the unjust, the selfish and the kind. In every human soul there is a voice that whispers of the right, a reprover that strikes awe and awakens compunction, a prophet and judge that points, however indistinctly, to final retribution, a conscience that, however resisted, cannot be wholly silenced. In the rudest tribes we find some recognition of a higher power, some glimpse of a future life. And in all these ideas we see God working in the soul, for its redemption. Nor must we doubt that in the most corrupt nations he has met with loving homage and obedience, on which he has looked with parental favor. The Father has had many a temple in hearts which never knew his name. God keep us from the horrible thought, that the myriads who are buried in heathen darkness are outcasts from his love! Their spiritual wants should indeed move our compassion; and the higher light is given us that we may send it to these brethren. But brethren they still are. And they share largely and freely, as we do, in the love of the Father. Never does he leave himself without a witness.

2. That God is "the God of the Gentiles," we learn from the wonderful progress which human nature made in heathen ages. Remember Greece — that land of heroes, poets, sages! God's gift of genius — one form of inspiration — was showered down on that small territory, as on no other region under heaven. To Greece was given the revelation of beauty, which has conferred upon her literature and works of art an imperishable charm, and made them, next to the Holy Scriptures, the most precious legacy of past ages. In that wonderful country we meet not only genius and triumphs of the intellect, but

amidst degrading vices were manifested sublimest virtues. Socrates, choosing to die rather than refrain from declaring the truth which God had given him for his people, was a type of the grand victim to truth and humanity, who in Palestine was to enlighten and save future ages. Undoubtedly, Grecian philosophy was an imperfect intellectual guide, and impotent as a moral teacher. It often confounded God and Nature, speculated about immortality rather than believed it, and in some schools rushed into utter scepticism. Above all, it had no quickening voice for the mass of men. It gleamed on a few high peaks, and left the peopled valleys without a ray. But was not God the God of the Gentiles, when he awakened in the Greeks such noble faculties of reason, impelled them to such grand works of art, and by their patriotic heroism and peerless genius carried so far forward the education of the human race?

3. God is "the God of the Gentiles;" and he was so just when he seemed to have forsaken them, by separating from them his chosen people. For why was the Jew set apart from the rest of mankind? Why was the broad line drawn between him and the other children of men? From a spirit of favoritism? From partiality to one family above all others? So dreamed the Jew. But nothing was further from the truth. The grand purpose of Providence, in bestowing special spiritual favor on this people, was to prepare the way for the communication of an infinite good to the human race. Abraham was called that in his seed all families of the earth might be blessed. Moses was the pioneer of Jesus. Judaism was a normal school to train up teachers for the whole world. The Hebrew prophet was inspired to announce an age of universal light, when the knowledge of God was to cover the earth as waters cover the sea. Nothing in the history of the Jewish people shows them to us as God's personal favorites. On the contrary, their history is a record of divine rebukes, threatenings, and punishments. Their very privileges brought on them peculiar woes. Their distinction was a fearful one. In ages of universal idolatry they were called to hold forth the light of pure theism and the worship of one God. Unequal to this spirituality, they continually fell from their allegiance, betrayed their trust, and drew down judgments, terrible as were ever inflicted upon a nation. At length when the time came, for which all preceding ages had been the forerunners, — the time when the "partition wall" between the chosen people and the whole human family was to be prostrated, and the Jews were to receive the Gentile world into brotherhood, — they shrank from their glorious task; and rejecting mankind, they became themselves the rejected of God. Their past distinction served but as the occasion for their ruin, by the proud and exclusive spirit that it had roused. Their temple, which they had refused to open to the nations, sank into a heap of ruins. And for ages they have been a scattered, despised, hated, spoiled, and persecuted tribe. Meanwhile, faith in the one true God, of which they were unconscious heralds and prophets, has been spread far and wide throughout the Gentile world. Thus we see that in the very act of selecting the Jew the universal Father was proving himself to be the God of the heathen, even when he seemed to reject them.

4. This doctrine of God's love to his heathen offspring is one which we Christians still need to learn. For we too are apt, like the Jew, to exalt ourselves above our less favored brethren. It is the doctrine of the mass of Christians even now, that the heathen are the objects of God's wrath. All who live and die beyond the sound of the gospel, it is thought, are doomed to endless perdition. On this ground, indeed, it is that most missionary enterprises rest. We are called upon to send the gospel where it is not preached, because men conceive that beyond the borders of Christendom God is an implacable judge; because no other parts of the earth are believed to hold communication with heaven; because it is feared that the human being, whose fate it is to be born a heathen, carries to the grave an inherited curse, that will never be repealed. Well do I remember the shock once received from reading a missionary address, in which the speaker computed the thousands of the heathen world who would die during the few hours of the meeting; and he asked his hearers to listen in thought to their shrieks as they descended into hell. But how can a

sane man credit, for an instant, that the vastly greater portion of the human race is abandoned by God? If Christianity did actually thus represent the character of God, we might well ask what right we have to hold or to diffuse such a religion. For among all the false gods of heathenism can one be found more unrighteous and more cruel than the Deity, whom such a system offers as an object for our worship? But the Christian religion nowhere teaches this horrible faith. And still more no man in his heart does or can believe such an appalling doctrine. Utter it in words men may; but human nature forbids them to give it inward assent. Were the Christians, who profess it, deliberately to consider what such a doctrine means, and bring it home to themselves as a reality, — could they distinctly once conceive that every hour, by day and night, thousands of their fellow-beings are plunged by the never-ceasing anger of God into an abyss of endless woe, — how could they endure even to exist? They would look on this world as a hell, and long to escape from the sway of its merciless despot. No! The human heart is a far better teacher than these gloomy systems of theology. In its secret depth it believes, what perhaps it dares not put into words, in God's impartial, equitable, universal, and parental love.

II. In the second place, I now proceed to declare the doctrine of our text in its most universal form. We read Scripture to little profit, if in passages relating to local or temporary events we do not discover universal truths, equally applicable to all places and times. The language of the text admits of a spiritual translation. It contains an immutable truth for all ages. This truth is that God loves equally all human beings, of all ranks, nations, conditions, and characters; that the Father has no favorites and makes no selections; that, in his very being, he is impartial and universal love. This is the fundamental truth of the Christian religion, entering into and glorifying all its other truths. Let us glance at a few of its evidences, as given in the natural and the spiritual universe.

1. This grand truth of God's universal and impartial love is taught clearly in Nature, by all the works of the Creator. And this testimony is of great worth. For God's works are of the same authority with his word. These are his two voices, which are and must for ever be perfectly harmonious. And we should distrust all interpretations of the Scriptures which disagree with the truths derived from the universe. The universe teaches that God is the God of all, and not of the few. When you look through Nature, what mark of a partial deity can you discover? Does Nature teach the favoritism of her Author? The central truth of the universe is, that God governs by general laws, which bear alike on all beings, and are plainly instituted for the good of all. We are placed under one equitable system, which is administered with inflexible impartiality. Not a blessing reaches any one of us but by ordinances, which provide for all fellow-creatures. This glorious sun, does he not send as glad a ray into the hovel as into the palace? Does he not glorify the same spectacle for every eye? The few opulent may monopolize indeed a human artist's works, may enclose his pictures in their galleries, and shut them out from common gaze. But what are the pictures of all artists combined when compared with the majestic beauty of these serene skies, these golden or gloomy clouds, these ample prospects of earth and sea, which Providence paints each day anew with living colors, and spreads out in harmonious proportions before all his children's eyes! Does the rain fall upon a few favored fields; or does the sap refuse to circulate except through the flowers and trees of a certain tribe? Some men indeed may prosper above their fellows. But it is by turning to account the great laws which are acting for the benefit of others, as well as for themselves. The farmer, who grows the best wheat on the most fertilized soils, owes his success to no partial bounty, but to his study of seeds and composts, and his obedience to those laws of cultivation which all may apply. Nature is impartial in her smiles. She is impartial also in her frowns. Who can escape her tempests, earthquakes, and destructive powers? For whom does she still the raging waves? Young and old, the good and evil, are wrapped in the same destroying flame, or plunged in the same overwhelming sea. Age and infirmity spare no privileged class.

We may spend our treasures in rearing walls against malaria and pestilence. But Providence has no favorites. Pain, disease, and death break through the barriers of the strong and rich, as well as of the humble and the poor. Still more do the awful natural catastrophes, which are interpreted by superstitious fear into expressions of peculiar wrath, fall without distinction. Thus, in a word, the lesson of the universe is God's impartiality. He has one law, one love, for all.

2. I have called Nature to testify that God is the God of all. But outward Nature is not God's highest manifestation. In religion the universal Father is revealed as working in the human soul, and as imparting to man his own spirit. And is this spiritual agency of God capriciously confined? Are any human beings excluded from its influence? God's spirit, like himself, knows no bounds. There is no soul to which he does not speak, no human abode into which he does not enter with his best gifts. Especially do the histories of distinguished saints, philanthropists, and men of genius disprove the notion of a local or partial agency of God's spirit. From the huts of the poor, from the very haunts of vice, from the stir of active business, as well as from the stillness of retired life, have come forth the men, who, replenished with spiritual gifts, have been the guides, comforters, lights, regenerators of the world. It was from a fishing-boat on the small sea of Galilee that God's most effectual ministers of universal religion were called. Those humble voices are now listened to reverently in the schools, churches, and palaces of all civilized Christendom. Nor was this a singular case. We have here but an illustration of a universal law. We learn from it that God is working on human souls in all times and places, and that men in every lot and sphere receive his inspiration. At this moment we have a striking example of this fact in the great reform that is stirring our whole nation.* Who now are the most awakening preachers of temperance in our country? Not ministers of religion, not they who never ran into excess. From the very sinks of intemperance, from shops reeking with vapors of intoxicating drink, has God raised up witnesses against this vice. Lips, from which yesterday drunkenness sent forth oaths, like blasts from hell, now entreat the wanderer to return to virtue. Bloated countenances, on which excess once effaced the lines of humanity, are now radiant with kind sympathies, as they, who but lately were reeling sots, win back old companions from the way to ruin and disgraceful death. Is God's spirit then confined to the habitations of the refined and respectable, the well-ordered and sober? Can we not see how he enters the lowest haunts of guilt and shame, and there finds ministers of truth and sanctity?

III. Having briefly considered these plain but decisive proofs of God's impartial and universal love, I proceed to make an application of this principle to ourselves. We do not need the doctrine for the particular purpose for which Paul used it. But other distinctions between men remain, — distinctions of outward rank and condition, of nation and color, of character and culture, — on the ground of which men separate themselves from one another. What a strangeness, coldness, reserve, and hardness of heart, what self-exaltation and exclusiveness, grow out of trifling differences, which are designed by God to create mutual dependence, and to bind us more closely to one another! Time will permit me to dwell upon two only of these illustrations now.

1. Let me first ask, Is God the Father of the rich only? Is he not also the Father of the poor? How incredibly men exaggerate the distinctions of outward condition. The prosperous are prone to feel as if they are of a different race from the destitute. But to the possessor of heaven and earth, to whom the treasures of all worlds belong, how petty must be the highest magnificence and affluence! Does the Infinite Spirit select as his special abode the palace with its splendid saloons, rich tapestries, loaded tables, and blazing lamps? Does he fly from the hut with its rugged walls and earthen floor, its cry of half-famished childhood, its wearing cares, and ill-requited toil? On the contrary, if God has a chosen spot on earth. is it not the humble dwelling of patient, unrepining, trustful, virtuous poverty? From the dwellings of the downcast,

* The Washington temperance movement.

from the stern discipline of narrow circumstances, how many of earth's noblest spirits have grown up! Voices, which have shaken nations, have in infancy not seldom asked alms. Men of genius, whose works have filled the earth with light, have owed their training to the kindness of strangers, and their early life has been a forlorn struggle for bare existence. But why enlarge upon what countless biographies of the greatest saints, scholars, poets, statesmen, philanthropists, attest? Bring it to a supreme proof. When God sent his beloved Son into the world, did he summon architects and artists to rear for him a splendid palace? May we not still learn a lesson of divine wisdom from the manger at Bethlehem? We celebrate this incident of the birth of Jesus in our churches. Poets sing of it. Painters illustrate it. But do we recall it when we meet the beggar in the streets, or pass the hovel with its patched windows, leaking roof, and smoky walls?

2. Once more I ask, Is God the God of the good only, or is he not also the God of the wicked? God indeed looks, we may believe, with peculiar approval on the holy, upright, and disinterested. But he does not desire spiritual perfection and eternal happiness for them, more than he does for the most depraved. The Scriptures even seem to represent God as peculiarly interested in the evil. Jesus illustrates God's love to the fallen by the parable of the shepherd, who, having a hundred sheep, and losing one, leaves the ninety and nine, to go after that which is lost; and he adds: "There is more joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, than over ninety-nine just persons that need no repentance." The good do not and ought not to absorb God's love. For the evil have within them equal capacities of goodness. In all men lies, however hidden, an infinitely precious germ of love and holiness waiting to be quickened. And to the all-seeing eye this is never lost. It calls forth unutterable love. Yes! God loves the most evil. We in our conceited purity may withdraw from them, may think it pollution to touch them, may say, "Stand off!" But God says to his outcast child, "Come near."

Do I speak to those who have escaped gross vice? Bless God for your happiness. Rejoice in the propitious circumstances which have conspired for your safety. But do not feel as if God were exclusively your God. Set up no insuperable barrier between yourself and the fallen. Even if you are inwardly as well as outwardly pure; if you are restrained from self-indulgence, not by external motives, such as custom, opinion, and interest, but by deep abhorrence of evil, — do not imagine yourselves peculiarly favorites of God. Who of us can claim such peculiar favor on the ground of unsullied virtue? How many wavering steps can we retrace in our past lives, how many lapses, how many wanderings, how many falls! Can we remember no critical moments, when what is called *chance* determined our characters and conduct, when, if opportunity had seconded our will, we too might have joined the outcast? Do you not feel that you owe what you are to the grace of God, which bore with your frequent frailties, to the inward reproofs of his spirit, to the warning voice of friends whom his providence placed around your path, to events which startled you into reflection, to holy thoughts and subduing suggestions, which were breathed upon your soul you knew not whence? Who can review his own history, and fail to ascribe his salvation to the mercy of God? What sincere man does not feel himself bound by a common experience and a common nature to the reform of his race? A truly good man will indeed know that he is good, will practise no deception upon himself, will be conscious of his progress, and grateful for it. But he will find that he has become what he is by reliance upon God's infinite good-will. He will not indulge in a self-exalting persuasion of his superiority. He knows that he has risen by leaning upon a higher power than his own. He knows how midst a thousand misgivings, in moments of self-reproach and compunction, he was upheld by confidence in that free love of God which never forsakes the most unworthy. This great truth, that God's parental love extends even to the worthless, is the strength of the good man from the beginning of his conflicts with evil to the end. Through his own victories he learns to hope for like triumphs in the most erring. His virtue, regarded

thus as God's work carried on amidst much imperfection, becomes a bond of union with the vicious. His own spiritual history proves to him that there is a vital energy in the human soul, which vice, however it may deaden, cannot destroy. He despairs of none. He commits all to the love of the universal Father. To him God is not the God of the good only, but also of the evil.

In speaking thus of the tenderness due to the evil, I have no desire to extenuate guilt, or to break down the distinction between virtue and vice. The distinction is real. We must never confound him who acts from principle with one who is enslaved by passion. That false courtesy, which treats all alike, is treachery to God. We ought to look on the base with indignation. But indignation may be blended with an earnest desire to recover the wrong-doer. This union of stern rebuke with tenderness we know to be possible, for we experience it towards our children, relatives, and friends, when they go astray. We ought to detest vice, whether in ourselves or in those most dear to us. But as we love ourselves while reproving ourselves most bitterly, so should we love our erring fellow-creatures, whilst we frown upon and firmly oppose their sins. Indeed, the only true love for the bad is that which abhors their corruption, and seeks to arouse in them a like abhorrence. Love can pierce the conscience like a two-edged sword. No violence of anger is so awful as the calm rebuke of love. The tenderness that apologizes for wickedness is among the worst forms of cruelty. Whilst God looks on the evil with never-failing compassion, and desires their recovery to virtue, he sends appalling judgments on the impenitent. And, in our sphere, we are to feel and to express the same irreconcilable hatred against all wrong-doing. I plead for no sickly lenity towards the fallen in guilt. I would not disarm the judge seated in each man's breast. This inward oracle seldom pronounces too severe a sentence upon crime. We spare ourselves and others too readily. The true tone of indignant virtue is rarely heard in this compromising world. Conscience must never be silenced. Still the most evil are not forsaken by God. He is for ever their Father, and they are his immortal children. For ever he welcomes them to return to their loyalty, that they may become angels of purity and light. This truth let us never forget. No measure of wickedness should estrange us from our fellows, or sever the tie of humanity. Never must we harden our hearts against our brethren, however debased. For their repentance and restoration we should earnestly pray and strive, and should rejoice to pour upon them every spiritual aid, encouragement, and consolation. Thus have I sought to illustrate by these two applications the universal and impartial love of God.

And now, in closing, let us ask ourselves distinctly, What was the guilt of the Jews, against which the Apostle so earnestly protested? What was it that levelled their temple to the dust, turned Jerusalem into a heap of ruins, and scattered their nation like chaff throughout the earth? It was their proud separation of themselves from their race. Their crime was their claim to God's exclusive favor, their unwillingness to receive their fellow-men to equal privileges, their denial of God's impartial love to all his children. And will not the same spirit bring the same ruin upon us? Separation of ourselves from our race is spiritual death. It is like cutting off a member from the body; the severed limb must perish. No matter what separates us from our fellows,— whether it be rank, wealth, culture, genius, or even virtue, — if our good qualities or our good deeds cut us off from sympathy with our race, they become our ruin. Nothing is so odious in God's sight as that pride, that presumptuous spirit of distinction, that haughty looking down upon others, which leads men to magnify what is peculiar in their condition, intellect, or character, and to erect this into a barrier between themselves and mankind. Jesus detested and condemned no quality in his countrymen so severely as he did this separating pride. Even the grossest excesses of sensuality shocked him less than the spirit of the Pharisee. The spirit of the Pharisee still survives in a thousand forms. It is the spirit that, on the ground of some special advantage, whether of outward gain or inward acquirement, says to the less privileged, "Stand apart." Christianity calls upon us to recognize in all men the same im-

mortal principle, the same germ of divinity, the same image of God.

This spirit of universal humanity is the very soul of our religion. As yet its heavenly power is scarcely felt. Therefore it is that so few of the blessings of Christianity appear in Christendom. Alas, we lack *humanity*. We talk of it, we profess it, but we contradict its essential principles in character and in life. We rear partition walls of distinction between ourselves and fellow-beings. We exaggerate petty differences. We hedge ourselves round with conventional usages. Nor can we, if we would, without severe struggle, break through these obstructions to universal love. Our habits, our established modes of thought and action, the manners and fashions of society, all hem us in. Unconsciously and perpetually we violate man's highest right, the right to be regarded and treated as a child of God. Man's noblest relationship is practically denied. The grand light, in which this tie ought to be viewed, has hardly even dawned upon us. What a regeneration it will be throughout all society, when men learn fully to believe in their spiritual relationship to one Heavenly Father We hold this truth in words. Who feels its vitalizing power? When brought home as a reality in social life, it will transform the world. Then will the new heaven and the new earth be created. Then will our race become a peaceful and blessed family, a temple of true filial worshippers. All other reforms of society are superficial. Until men's eyes shall be purged to discern in one another, even in the most degraded and fallen, a ray of the divinity, a reflection of God's image, a moral and a spiritual nature within which God works, and to which he proffers heavenly grace and immortal life, — until they shall thus recognize and reverence the eternal Father in all his human children, the true bond of communion will be wanting, between man and man, and between man and God. Till then, under all forms of law and courtesy will lurk distrust and discord, infusing pride, jealousy, and hate into the individual heart, into domestic life, into the intercourse of neighborhoods, into the policy of nations, and turning this fair earth into the likeness of hell. But a better day is coming. The kingdom of heaven is at hand. A purer Christianity, however slowly, is to take the place of that which bears but its name. Cannot we become the heralds of this better day? Let our hearts bid it welcome! Let our lives reveal its beauty and its power!

IV.

THE FATHER'S LOVE FOR PERSONS.

LUKE xii. 7: "Even the very hairs of your head are all numbered."

How ought we to live with our Creator, — as strangers or as children? How are we to worship him, — as a distant being or as near to us? What is his relation to us, — that of a remote sovereign, who takes no immediate and special care of individuals, or that of a parent, who, whilst provident of his whole family, watches over every particular child?

These are great questions, and happily our religion answers them fully. However indistinct Nature's teachings may be upon these points — however insufficient unassisted reason may be to establish the truth of a minute and constant providence, extended to each single creature — however strong may be the appearances of a general order of the universe, to which the interests of private individuals are sternly sacrificed, — still as Christians we are assured, that God in his government of the whole does not forget the parts, that he is the Father of *each*, as well as of ALL intelligent beings.

It is the perfection of wisdom — the distinction of an all-comprehensive mind — to embrace at once the concerns of a vast community of beings and the interest of every single member, to conjoin the enlarged views of a universal sovereign with the minute inspection and tender care of a father. And such is our God. He is the God of ALL, and yet he is *my* God. At the same moment he pervades heaven and earth, taking charge of the sustenance, progress, and growing happiness of the unbounded creation, and he is present with me, as intent upon my character, actions, wants, trials, joys, and hopes, as if I were the sole object of his love.

This view of God we all have a deep interest in impressing on our minds. We must strive to combine, in our conception of him, the thoughts of a particular and a universal Providence. On the one hand, we must not narrow his loving care, as if it were mindful of ourselves alone, nor think of him only as doing us good. For this would be to rob him of his infinitude, and darken the splendor of his boundless beneficence. Such a view would make religion the nurse of selfishness, and convert our connection with the Supreme Being into one of self-interest. Never let us try to monopolize God. Never let us imagine that God exists only as administering to our individual wants. Never let us for an instant forget his relation to the universe. Let us adore him for the streams of bounty, which flow unceasingly, from the fountains of his life, to all his countless creatures. But on the other hand, beware lest in thus enlarging your views of the infinite One you lose your hold of the correlative truth, — that though all beings of all worlds are his care, though his mind thus embraces the universe, he is yet as mindful of you, as if that universe were blotted out, and you alone survived to receive the plenitude of his care. God's relation to you is not an exclusive one, but it is as close as if it were. Judge not of the infinite mind by your own. Because you, frail men, when you extend your care over a city, a community, or a nation, overlook the concerns of individuals through incapacity of comprehending in one view the vast and the minute, the whole and its particles, do not thence imagine that the Infinite Spirit cannot be perpetually caring for you, because he cares for the immense community of spirits. Never conceive that your actions are overlooked and forgotten, because of the multiplicity of agents and beings who are to be guided and governed. Never fear that your wants are forgotten, because the boundless creation sends up a cry to its common Father, and he has an infinite family for whom to provide. Never think that your characters are objects of little interest, because innumerable orders of beings of higher attainments and virtues attract the regards of this munificent king. Were you his only creature alive, he could not think of you more constantly and tenderly, or be more displeased with your resistance to duty, or feel more joy in your fidelity to right, than he does now.

The human mind, apt to measure God by itself, has always found a difficulty in reconciling the two views which have just been stated. Through this propensity it fell into polytheism, or the worship of many gods. Wanting a deity, who would watch over their particular interests, and fearing that they would be overlooked by the Father of all, men invented inferior divinities, — gods for each particular country and nation, — and still more household gods, divinities for each particular dwelling, that they might have some superior power beneath which to shelter their weakness. Under Christianity even the same difficulty has been and still is felt. To this we must ascribe the exaltation of saints into divinities in the Catholic Church. And among Protestants, not a few make the universal Father a partial deity, and appropriate his blessings to their sect, as if fearing that they should lose a portion of his favor, by supposing him to be as gracious to all human beings as to themselves.

I. But there is no inconsistency in at once believing in God's particular providence and in his universal providence. He may watch over all, and yet watch over each, as if each were all. There is a simple truth, which may help us to understand, that God does not intermit his attention to individuals in consequence of his inspection of the infinite whole. It is this: the individual is a *living* part of this *living* whole, — vitally connected with it, — acting upon it and

reacted upon by it, — receiving good, and communicating good in return, in proportion to his growth and power. From this constitution of the universe it follows that the whole is preserved and perfected by the care of its parts. The general good is bound up in the individual good. So that to superintend the one is to superintend the other; and the neglect of either would be the neglect of both. What reason have I for considering myself as overlooked, because God has such an immense family to provide for? I belong to this family. I am bound to it by *vital* bonds. I am always exerting an influence upon it. I can hardly perform an act that is confined in its consequences to myself. Others are affected by what I am, and say, and do. And these others have also their spheres of influence. So that a single act of mine may spread and spread in widening circles, through a nation or humanity. Through my vice I intensify the taint of vice throughout the universe. Through my misery I make multitudes sad. On the other hand, every development of my virtue makes me an ampler blessing to my race. Every new truth that I gain makes me a brighter light to humanity. I ought not then to imagine that God's interest in me is diminished, because his interest is extended to endless hosts of spirits. On the contrary, God must be more interested in me on this very account, because I influence others as well as myself. I am a living member of the great family of all souls; and I cannot improve or suffer myself, without diffusing good or evil around me through an ever-enlarging sphere. My hearer, you are not to think of yourself as neglected, because God has an innumerable company of children to care for. One of the methods by which he cares for these various children is to make provision for your progress. The interests of others, as well as your own interests, require that the universal Father should watch over your progress. For just so far as you are wise, disinterested, and happy, you will become a universal blessing. Be not disheartened then by looking round on the immense creation, and thinking that you are but one among millions; for these millions have a *living* interest in each one. You as an individual cannot but spread good or evil indefinitely around you, and through succeeding generations.

In these remarks we have seen that from the intimate and vital connection between the individual and the community of spirits, God in taking care of each person is taking care of the whole, and that there is a perfect harmony between the general and the particular superintendence of God. From the same *vital* connection of beings I derive another encouraging view, leading to the same result. I learn from it that God's attention to his whole creation, far from withdrawing his regard from me, is the very method whereby he is advancing my especial good. I am organically connected with the great family of the universal parent. Plainly then it is for my happiness that this family should be watched over and should prosper. Suppose the Creator to abandon all around me, that he might bless me alone, should I be a gainer by such a monopoly of God's care? My happiness is manifestly bound up with and flows from the happiness of those around; and thus the divine kindness to others is essentially kindness to myself. This is no theory; it is the fact confirmed by all experience. Every day we receive perpetual blessings from the progress of our race. We are enlightened, refined, elevated, through the studies, discoveries, and arts of countless persons, whom we have never seen and of whom we have never even heard. Daily we enjoy conveniences, pleasures, and means of health and culture, through advancements in science and art, made in the most distant regions. And in so far as we possess elevated, disinterested, and holy characters, or enlarged intelligence, have not these been cherished and encouraged by the examples, writings, deeds, and lives of far-spread fellow-beings, through all ages and nations? How much would each of us assuredly be advanced in happiness, wisdom, virtue, were the community around us — were all the persons with whom we hold intercourse — more humane and more heavenly! Is God then neglecting us in his care of others? How could he bless us more effectually, than by carrying forward the great spiritual system, to which we belong, and of which we are living parts? We may well believe that so close and vital are the connections

throughout God's universe, — between this world of ours and other worlds, — that the human race is benefited by the progress of all other orders of beings. So that the Creator is providing for your happiness and virtue, in the care which he extends over the diverse systems of worlds around, and over the higher ranks of spirits in the heavens. This happiness we may, indeed we do lose by vice — by a spirit of self-love — hostile alike to the Creator and to his creatures. But this will be our self-imposed doom. Such isolation will not come from neglect on the part of our Heavenly Father. For he designs to make us all blessed beings together, in a blessed universe.

II. Thus having seen how consistent is the doctrine of God's care for the whole with the doctrine that he watches minutely over every individual, let me now ask you to look at this doctrine more closely, in its practical applications. Consider what affecting ideas it involves! According to this truth, we are, each one of us, present to the mind of God. We are penetrated, each one of us, instant by instant, by his all-seeing eye; we are known, every single person of us, more interiorly by him, than we are known to ourselves. Moment by moment, the living God sustains us: and his own life continually flows into us through his omnipotent good-will. Moment by moment, he intends and does us good; and no blessing comes to us without his immediate loving purpose. In fine, and above all, the Holy One never loses sight of our character and conduct. He is present to inspire sentiments, suggestions, motives, and to grant us aids and opportunities for spiritual growth. He witnesses and delights in our virtues. And he, too, witnesses and condemns every sin. Let us never be unmindful of this last view. Because God is always near, intending and doing us good, we must not imagine that his relation to us will secure our happiness, if we are unworthy in spirit and in life. It is true that nothing but good can come from God. But never let us forget that this very good may be turned into evil, through our perverseness. Let us remember — it is a solemn truth — that from our very nature our happiness is intrusted to our own keeping. We are endowed with that awful power of free-will, without which virtue cannot be. For ourselves we must determine whether God's gifts shall fulfil their end in promoting happiness, or whether they shall be turned into bitterness and woe. There is not one blessing in existence, not even God's choicest gift, which may not through our neglect, abuse, and perversity become a source of misery. So that God's connection with us, intimate as it is, is yet no pledge of happiness, without our own concurrence.

Intimate and tender, beyond our highest conception, is our Heavenly Father's relationship to us! He is incessantly our creator and renewer, our upholder and benefactor, our witness and judge. The connection of all other beings with us, when compared with this, is foreign and remote. The nearest friend, the most loving parent, is but a stranger to us, when contrasted with God. No words can adequately express this *living* alliance of the Creator with his creatures. Our bodies are less closely united with our minds, than is God with our inmost self. For the body may be severed from the soul without working its destruction. But were God to forsake this thinking principle, it would instantly perish. How near to me is my Creator! I am not merely surrounded by his influence, as by this air which I breathe. I am pervaded by his agency. He quickens my whole being. Through him am I this instant thinking, feeling, and speaking. And knowing thus the intensity and the extent of this relationship, how is it possible that I can forget him!

My hearers, I have thus turned your attention to this sublimely affecting subject of our vital connection with God, not for the purpose of awakening temporary fervor, but that we may feel the urgent duty of cherishing these convictions. If this truth becomes a reality to us, we shall be conscious of having received a new principle of life. The man, who has begun to understand, believe, and feel that *he*, as a person, is an object of perpetual regard to the infinite Creator, and that the Supreme Being takes a personal interest, not merely in his present welfare, but in his everlasting progress, has attained to vastly higher regions of thought and emotion than one who is aware only of

his connection with the outward, mutable world can even conceive of. Were a person, who had lived in ignorance of all beyond mere sensitive existence, suddenly to receive a clear impression of God's all-embracing presence, he would undergo a greater change of condition, than if he were to awake some morning in a wholly new world, peopled by new beings, clothed in new beauty, and governed by laws such as he had never known by experience. He would be uplifted with the assurance that at length he had found for his soul an all-sufficing object of veneration, gratitude, trust, and love, an unfailing source of strength for every mortal weakness, an exhaustless refreshment of his highest hope, an ever-springing fount of holy emotion, virtuous energy, and heavenly joy, infinitely transcending all modes of good, to which he had been wont to look. In a word, he would be utterly transformed.

On the other hand, in degree as by faithlessness I lose sight of my intimate relationship with God, I am bereft of inward peace, of the desire for progress, of power to escape from myself. The future grows dim, and hope dies. A change comes over me like that which befalls the traveller, when clouds overspread the sky, when gathering mists obscure his path, and gloom settles down upon his uncertain way, till he is lost. The light of life is a constant consciousness of divine fellowship. But we should not expect a sudden manifestation of the infinite One to our souls. Gradually we must attain to this serene trust in God's all-protecting care, incessant mercy, and inspiring influence. The blessing will not be less real because it comes upon us gently, according to our spiritual progress. There is no rest for our souls except in this ever-growing communion with the All-Perfect One.

III. How then can we attain to an abiding consciousness of living relationship with the living God? How can we reach the constant feeling that he is always with us, offering every aid consistent with our freedom, guiding us on to heavenly happiness, welcoming us into the immediate knowledge of his perfection, into a loving fellowship with himself? Some one may say: "I am conscious of having thus far lived very much as if there were no God. My mind is dull, my heart is cold. How shall I awake to perceive, to feel, to love, to serve, to enjoy this living God of whom you speak?" There is time for but a brief reply; and I shall confine myself to what seems to be essential, as the *first* step, in this approach to true communion with the Father of Spirits.

My belief is, that one chief means of acquiring a vivid sense of God's presence is to resist, instantly and resolutely, whatever we feel to be evil in our hearts and lives, and at once to begin in earnest to obey the divine will as it speaks in conscience. You say that you desire a new and nearer knowledge of your Creator. Let this thirst for a higher consciousness of the Infinite Being lead you to oppose whatever you feel to be at war with God's purity, God's truth, and God's righteousness. Just in proportion as you gain a victory over the evil of which you have become aware in yourself, will your spiritual eye be purged for a brighter perception of the Holy One. And this in its turn will strengthen you for a yet more strenuous resistance of sin, — which will prepare you for still more intimate acquaintance with the divine nature and character. This attainment to a knowledge of God and this instant resistance of sin are most intimately and vitally related. Neither can advance beyond the other. For God, as the All-Good, can be known only through our own growing goodness. No man living in deliberate violation of his duty, in wilful disobedience to God's commands as taught by conscience, can possibly make progress in acquaintance with the Supreme Being. Vain are all acts of worship in church or in secret, vain are religious reading and conversation, without this instant fidelity. Unless you are willing to withstand the desire which the inward monitor, enlightened as it always is by the Divine Spirit, condemns, you must, you will, remain a stranger to your Heavenly Father. Evil passions and sensual impulses darken the intellect and sear the heart. Especially important is it — indispensable, indeed — that self-indulgence and self-will shall be determinedly withstood. While these enthrall us, never can we comprehend the true glory of God. For his glory is perfect love. If we would have our souls become the temples of

the Supreme Being, filled with his light and joy and peace, we must utterly cast out the foul spirits which are at enmity with the divine purity and disinterestedness.

Would you really know your Creator, would you become truly penetrated with the consciousness of his presence, would you become indeed alive to his goodness, then show your sincerity by beginning at once an unflagging warfare with that habit, that passion, that affection, be it what it may, which conscience this moment assures you is hostile to God's will. You need not go far to learn how you may gain more vivid views of God. The sin that now rises to memory as your *bosom sin*, let this first of all be withstood and mastered. Oppose it instantly by a detestation of it, by a firm will to conquer it, by reflection, by reason, and by prayer. Such a spiritual conflict, trifling though it may appear, will do more, than can all other influences combined, to fit you for a near, strong, affectionate intimacy with your God. And without such a struggle of your will — which is but another name for repentance — you can never draw a step nearer to the All-Holy and All-True. He will always be to you a God afar off, wrapt in clouds of terror. It is customary to recommend reading the Bible, religious worship, meditation, as means of awakening religious sensibility; and they are all important as means. I would on no account disparage them. Use them all. But use them in connection with this primary obedience to conscience, this resolute resistance of your peculiar temptations. For without this all other means of religious discipline will but mock you. They may generate a temporary fervor, and kindle an occasional flash of devout feeling. But such religious emotion will be but local and transient, sinking into gloom when you most need its guiding light, never brightening to full day, nor filling the firmament of your soul with noontide peace.

My friends, in this discourse I have spoken to you of the great truth, that the infinite God is for ever around and within each one of you; that our Heavenly Father is interested *personally* in each one of you; that the Author of the Universe is as near to you as your very life; that the Giver of all Good is incessantly doing you good. By comprehending this truth you can gain the means of a happiness, such as the whole world cannot give, and which no change in existence can take away. Incorporate it with your character. Let it call forth your love and trust in their intensest energy. And you will have found a resource, refuge, treasure, a fount of strength, courage, hope, and joy truly inexhaustible. Earnestly strive then to open your inmost souls to the influence of the Infinite Being, till you are filled with his fulness. Are there none here in whom this touching truth of an everlasting Father always and instantly sustaining and quickening, recreating and renewing us, lies dormant; to whom reason, conscience, nature, tradition, the words of Jesus, the calls of countless blessings, speak ineffectually to rouse their gratitude to the almighty friend, from whom all blessedness flows forth? One day such hardness of heart towards the "Father of lights, from whom cometh down every good and perfect gift," will appear to us, what it really is, as the heaviest guilt that a free and intelligent creature can contract. As you love your immortal souls, withstand its fatal sway. The doom it brings is spiritual death. Seek aid from heaven instantly and for ever to subdue it. Let the living God be supreme in your thoughts and hearts, as he is supreme in the universe. Consecrate to him unreservedly the spirits which he called into being, that he might make them perfectly one with himself.

V.

TRUST IN THE LIVING GOD.

1 Timothy iv. 10: "We trust in the living God."

RELIGIOUS TRUST is the subject of the present discourse. I shall consider first its principle, and secondly the good which it is authorized to propose as an end. And my aim will be to quicken this germ of divine life in every soul.

Trust — confidence — is an essential element of human nature. We begin life in a spirit of trust, and cling with confidence to our parents and the guardians of our infancy. As we advance in years, though deceived and betrayed, we still must anchor our trust somewhere. We cannot live without some being to lean on as a friend. Universal distrust would turn social existence into torture. The most miserable man in the community is he who finds none to confide in, who believes in no kindness around him, who detects nothing but selfish indifference, or hate, at home and abroad. This universal distrust is so unnatural, indeed, that it never prevails in a sound mind. It is the first stage of insanity, and if indulged ends in overturning the reason.

We were born for confidence in other beings; and woe to him that cannot trust! Still confidence brings with it suffering; for all are imperfect and too many are false. There are none who do not sometimes disappoint us. How rare on earth is that constant fidelity, over which time and place exert no power. Almost every one is too intent on self and selfish interests, to be perfectly just or generous to those even who lean upon him most. When purest in purpose, our best friends, through want of judgment, heart, and will, confer but little of the good we long for. Trust never can find full repose, till it has found the perfect Being, and expands under his unchanging faithfulness into the sure hope of unbounded good.

Observe what a harmony there is between our nature and God. The principle of trust, as we have seen, enters into the very essence of the human soul. We live by it. And yet, confined to the society of fellow-beings, our confidence is continually mocked, and sometimes yields to heart-withering scepticism as to all human good-will. Trust seeks perfect goodness. Its natural tendency is toward an infinite and immutable Being. In him alone can it find rest. Our nature was made for God, as truly as the eye was made for the light of God's glorious image, the sun.

There are two questions to which I particularly ask your attention: —

First, what is the principle of religious trust?

Secondly, what is the good, for which we may trust in God?

I. In answering the first of these questions, I would observe, that religious confidence rests on God's *parental* interest in individual persons. To apprehend and believe this truth, is to plant the germ of trust in God. This truth is not easily brought home to the heart, as a reality. Let me try to illustrate it. When we look round upon the creation, what strikes us first is, the law of succession among all orders of living beings. Plants and animals spring from others of their own kind; and, having unfolded their distinctive powers to a certain limit, pass away. The various races continue, but the individuals of each race come and go, appear a little while, and then vanish to make room for their successors. Man is subjected to the same law. He is born, passes through graduated stages, grows to a certain limit of maturity, and then apparently declines and disappears. The first impression given to a superficial observer of the world is, that the individual is of no great worth in the sight of the Creator. The race of man is upheld, and seems to be destined to perpetual existence. But the individuals,

of whom it is composed, appear to have nothing enduring in their nature. They pass over the earth like shadows cast by a flying cloud, leaving for the most part as slight a trace behind. They break like meteors from the abyss, and are then swallowed up in darkness. There are indeed plain marks of kindness, in the laws of Nature, under which they for a time exist. Many provisions are made for their enjoyment during their brief career. But the benevolence, that gives them existence, seems more intent on producing an endless series of beings, each receiving but limited and imperfect good, than on raising the individual to a substantial and enduring felicity. According to this view, God is the author of fugitive, mutable existences, from love of variety, multiplicity, and development, however transitory these several existences may be. If we rest in such views of God, our confidence must be faint. We may indeed hope, from his power and goodness, that the human race will continue, and still more that this race will improve. But that God will take an enduring interest in individuals, that single beings, out of this ever-changing multitude, will attain to exalted and imperishable good, we cannot trust. We cannot be confident that this or that individual will on the whole enjoy its fair share of good; for, whilst Nature is fruitful of provisions for the human race, yet multitudes of our fellow-beings are so far excluded from them as apparently to suffer far more than they enjoy.

There are too many who stop at the superficial view of divine Providence which has now been stated. And consequently they have no trust in God that deserves the name. They acknowledge him indeed as the author of the short-lived multitudes around them, and of the transitory good that they enjoy. But his paternal interest in persons they do not comprehend. They judge of God from what they see; and that is only mutable and transient. The race of man may seem indeed to them to be perpetual; but they see no promise of perpetuity for individuals. Accordingly they have little or no confidence in God, for themselves or for others, regarded as persons. But every individual mind is *essentially* greater than it shows itself to be. No mind brings itself fully out in expression or action. On the contrary, what it says and does is but giving a sign of its inward power. When a man of genius produces some beautiful work of art or thought, or when a hero or philanthropist devotes himself to some grand enterprise, do you feel as if each particular effect were a measure of his spiritual energy? Does not one brilliant thought of a philosopher or poet reveal to you a centre of intelligence, a living force of will, which, far from being exhausted, must for ever radiate in new and brighter forms? Mind is not a power to be measured like material forces. Under new excitements every mind puts forth new faculties, not only undreamed of by others, but unknown to itself.

Now if this is true of each human mind, how can we believe that it is less true of the divine mind? Who, that beholds this immense universe, can imagine that the intelligence, which gave it birth, is spent, and that nothing is to be looked for from it, but effects precisely similar to those which we now see? Survey the multiplied forms of life upon this earth, then lift your eyes to the heavens; and can you conceive that He who framed and moves these countless worlds through boundless space, in beneficent order, has no purposes beyond those which are unfolded to *us*, creatures of a day? Are we not surrounded by signs of an infinite mind, and may we not be sure that such a mind must have unfathomable counsels, and must intend to bestow unimagined good? Can we believe that human nature was framed by such a being for no higher spiritual development than we now witness on this planet? Is there not, in the very incompleteness and mysteriousness of man's present existence, a proof that we do not as yet behold the end for which he is destined; that the infinite Father has revealed but a minute portion of his scheme of boundless mercy; that we may trust for infinitely richer manifestations than we have experienced of his exhaustless grace?

I have given one answer to the objection, that our trust in God must be measured by what we now observe in the experience of mankind. I have said that, from the very nature of mind, and especially of an infinite mind, we ought to expect immeasurably greater good than we actually behold. But there is

another reply to the sceptic, and to this I invite your particular attention. Our trust, you say, must be measured by what we see. Be it so. But take heed to *see truly* and to *understand* what you do see. How rare is such exact and comprehensive perception. And yet, without it, what presumption it is for us to undertake to judge the purposes of an infinite and ever-living God. Whatever creature we regard has actually infinite connections with the universe. It represents the everlasting past of which it is the effect. It bears signs of the endless future, towards which it tends and leads the way. He then, who does not discern in the present the past and the future, who does not detect behind the seen the unseen, does not rightly understand it, and cannot pass judgment upon it. The surface of things, upon which your eye may fall, covers an infinite abyss. You understand this surface, only so far as you trace in it the signs of a mysterious depth beneath. You say: "The individuals of the human race are frail, fugitive beings, springing up, growing, passing away like the plant or brute; and how can we regard the eternal God as deeply interested in such transitory creatures, or trust in him as pledged to bestow on them an everlasting good?" Are you sure then that you comprehend the human being, when you speak of him as subjected to the same law of change and dissolution which all other earthly existences obey? Is there nothing profounder in his nature than that which you catch sight of by a casual glance? Is there no quality that takes him out of the rank of the living creatures beneath him in the scale? Are there within him no elements which betoken a permanent and enduring existence?

Consider one fact only. Among all outward changes, is not every man conscious of his own identity, of his continuing to be the same single, individual person? Amidst the composition and decomposition of all substances around him, does he not feel that the thinking, feeling, willing principle within remains one undivided and indivisible essence? Is there not a unity in the soul, that distinguishes it from the dissoluble compounds of material nature? And further, is this person made up of mutable and transitory elements? Is it a mere reflection and image of the passing shows of earth and sky? Is it a mere echo to the sounds which vibrate and die away in an ever-moving creation? On the contrary, who does not know that he has faculties to seize upon everlasting truth, and affections which aspire to reach an everlasting good? Have we not all of us the idea of right, of a divine law older than time, and which can never be repealed? Is there not a voice within the conscience, that we feel to be not a passing sound, but the delegate of the Eternal and Almighty? Have we not conceptions of immensity, within which all finite beings are embraced, of absolute being, over which no change has power? Have we not the idea of One, who is the same to-day, yesterday, and for ever? Have we not capacities for attaching ourselves to this infinite and immutable Being, of adoring the All-Perfect, of loving the ineffably good? Are we not all conscious of a power above all powers of Nature, of choosing and holding to this good through life and death, though all that is mightiest and most terrible in creation should conspire to sever us from it?

Has such a being as man then no signs in his nature of permanent existence? Is he to be commingled with the fugitive forms of the material world? There is a wonderful passion, if I may so speak, in human nature for the immutable and unchangeable, that gives no slight indication of its own immortality. Surrounded with constantly varying forms, the mind is always laboring to find, behind these transitory types, a fixed reality, upon which it can rely. Amidst the incessant changes of nature, it longs to discover some settled law, to which all movements are subject, and which can never change. Indeed, the great work of science is amidst mutation to find this immutable, universal, and invariable law. And what deep joy fills the mind of the philosopher, when, throughout apparently inextricable confusion, he can trace some great principle, that governs all events, and that they all show forth! Man loves the universal, the unchangeable, the unitary. He meets bounds on every side; but these provoke, as it were, an inward energy, by which he scales and overleaps them. His physical frame fills but a few feet of space;

and yet in thought he reaches forth to grasp and measure immensity. He lives in moments, in mere wavelets of time; and yet he looks backwards and forwards into eternity. Thus the very narrowness of his existence excites in him a thought of boundless and endless life. Can you cast a hasty glance, even, on such a being as this, and say that you see nothing but evidences of a transient career; that the race may last, but that the individual will be lost; that the fleeting generations of men find their best type in the vapors, which, exhaling from the ocean, gather into clouds for a moment, and then evaporate or fall in drops to the depth whence first they sprang? You argue, you say, from what you see. But you look on men, as the savage looks on some exquisite invention, of which scarcely one of its many uses dawns upon his mind, or as the child gazes upon some beautiful work of art. Seeing, you *see* not. What is most worth seeing in man is hidden from your view. You know nothing of man truly, till you discern in him traces of an immutable and immortal nature, till you recognize somewhat allied to God in his reason, conscience, love, and will. Talk not of your knowledge of men, picked up from the transient aspects of social life! With all your boasted knowledge of human nature, you have but skimmed its surface. Human nature, in its distinctive principles, is to you as yet an unrevealed mystery.

It is not then to be inferred, from what we see, that God does not take an interest in the individual, and that he may not be trusted as designing great good for each particular person. In every human mind he sees powers kindred to his own, — the elements of angelic glory and happiness. These bind the Heavenly Father's love indissolubly to every single soul. And these divine elements authorize a trust utterly unlike that which springs from superficial views of man's transitory existence.

II. Thus are we led to the second question that I proposed to consider: What is the good for which, as individual persons, we may trust in God? One reply immediately offers itself. We may not, must not trust in him for whatever good we may arbitrarily choose. Experience gives us no warrant to plan such a future for ourselves, as mere natural affections and passions may crave, and to confide in God's parental love as pledged to indulge such desires. Human life is made up of blighted hopes and disappointed efforts, caused by such delusive confidence. We cannot look to God even for escape from severest suffering. The laws of the universe, though in general so beneficent in their operation, still bring fearful evil to the individual. For what then may we trust in God? I reply, that we may trust unhesitatingly, and without a moment's wavering, that God desires the perfection of our nature, and that he will always afford such ways and means to this great end, as to his omniscience seem most in harmony with man's moral freedom. There is but one true good for a spiritual being, and this is found in its perfection. Men are slow to see this truth; and yet it is the key to God's providence, and to the mysteries of life. Look through the various ranks of existence, which fall beneath our observation, and is not the good of every creature determined by its peculiar nature; and does not the well-being of each consist in its growth towards its own special type of perfection? Now how can man be happy but according to the same law of growth in all his characteristic powers? Thus the enjoyment of the body is found to be dependent on and involved with the free, healthy, and harmonious development — that is, the perfection — of its organization. Impair or derange any organ, and existence becomes agony. Much more does the happiness of the soul depend upon the free, healthy, and harmonious unfolding of all its faculties. Intellectual, moral, spiritual perfection, — or, in other words, that life and energy of reason, of conscience, and of will, which brings our whole spiritual nature into harmony with itself, with our fellow-beings, and with God, — this alone deserves the name of good. So teaches Christianity. For this religion has for its great end to redeem the soul from every disease, excess, infirmity, and sin, to re-establish order among its complex powers, to unfold within it the principle of duty as its guiding law, and to develop it in the beauty of perfect rectitude and universal love. Now for this good, we may trust in God, with utter confidence.

We may be assured that he is ready, willing, and anxious to confer it upon us; that he is always inviting and leading us towards it by his providence, and by his spirit, through all trials and vicissitudes, through all triumphs and blessings; and that unless our own will is utterly perverse, no power in the universe can deprive us of it.

Such I say is the good for which we may confide in God, the only good for which we are authorized to trust in him. The perfection of our nature — God promises nothing else or less. We cannot confide in him for prosperity, do what we will for success; for often he disappoints the most strenuous labors, and suddenly prostrates the proudest power. We cannot confide in him for health, friends, honor, outward repose. Not a single worldly blessing is pledged to us. And this is well. God's outward gifts — mere shadows as they are of happiness — soon pass away; and their transitoriness reveals, by contrast, the only true good. Reason and conscience, if we will but hear their voice, assure us that all outward elevation, separate from inward nobleness, is a vain show; that the most prosperous career, without growing health of soul, is but a prolonged disease, a fitful fever of desire and passion, and rather death than life; that there is no stability of power, no steadfast peace, but in immovable principles of right; that there is no true royalty but in the rule of our own spirits; no real freedom but in unbounded disinterested love; and no fulness of joy but in being alive to that infinite presence, majesty, goodness, in which we live and move.

This good of perfection, if we will seek it, is as sure as God's own being. Here I fix my confidence. When I look round me, I see nothing to trust in. On all sides are the surges of a restless ocean, and everywhere the traces of decay. But amidst this world of fugitive existences abides one immortal nature. It is the human soul — your soul — my soul — the soul of every human being. Entirely I trust that this is immortal, because allied by godlike powers to the Father. This soul he created, as I believe, to become a glorious image of himself, — to contend with and overcome all evil, to seek and receive evermore all good, to obey the eternal law of right, to which God's own will conforms. In God I trust for this infinite good. I know no other good for which to trust him. Take away *this*, and I have nothing, you have nothing, worth living for. Henceforth our existence is without an end; and the universe itself seems to be but a waste of power.

Let not the sceptic point me to the present low development of human nature, and ask me what promise I see there of that higher condition of the soul, for which I trust. Even were there no sufficient answer to this question, I should still trust. I must still believe that surely as there is a perfect God, perfection must be his end; and that, sooner or later, it must be impressed upon his highest work, the spirit of man. Then I must believe, that where he has given truly divine powers, he must have given them for development. I cannot believe that he has imparted conscience, only to be trampled upon by the appetites; that he has kindled reason and the desire for goodness, only to perish in dark despair. But we are not left without another answer to objections drawn from the present low condition of the human race. Amidst its degradation are there none who show the high end of God in human nature? Are there none in whom the spirit has conquered the flesh, in whom the divine principle of love has conquered self; none to whom the voice of duty is the clearest, most persuasive, and most commanding of all sounds; none to whom God is a glorious reality, and who are strong, calm, and serenely bright in his deeply felt presence? Are there none who love, as Jesus loved, and who can suffer and die for their race as did the beloved Son? There are such men. These are they, who reveal to us the true end of our nature, the good to which we, one and all, are destined.

Human nature is indeed at present in a very imperfect stage of its development. But I do not therefore distrust that perfection is its end. For an end, from its very nature, is something to be attained through inferior degrees. We cannot begin with the end. We cannot argue that a being is not destined for a good, because he does not instantly

reach it. We begin as children, and yet are created for maturity. So we begin life imperfect in our intellectual and moral powers, and yet are destined to wisdom and virtue. The philosopher, whose discoveries now dazzle us, could not once discern between his right hand and his left. And the energies of an adoring seraph were once probably wrapped up in a germ, as humble as the mind of a human infant. We are to read God's end in our inherent tendencies, not in our first attainments. With godlike capacities, it matters little what rank we hold at the outset, if only the spirit be awakened in us to fulfil its destiny. To him who has entered an interminable path, with impulses which are carrying him onward to perfection, of what importance is it where he first plants his step? The future is all his own.

But you will point me to those who seem to be wanting in this spirit of progress, this impulse towards perfection, and who are sunk in sloth or guilt. And you will ask whether God's purposes towards these are yet loving. I answer, Yes! They fail through no want of the kind designs of God. From the very nature of goodness, it cannot be forced upon any creature by the Creator; nor can it be passively received. The individual person must seek and strive for it himself, and must blame himself only if it be not sought and found. Each of us should feel that our Creator is welcoming us to our supreme good, and is offering strength for its attainment. In every duty that God enjoins he marks out the way to perfection; in every rebuke of conscience he warns us to turn from the way of death. By change, disappointment, affliction, bereavement, he seeks to win us from what is fugitive to the one, true, eternal end. The most fallen human being is summoned by an inward voice to repent; and he should trust in God, that if he will listen to this voice, he shall be restored, strengthened, comforted, cheered with hope from the merciful Father, and raised from his degradation to an angel's glory.

What a sublime doctrine it is, that goodness cherished now is eternal life already entered on! What can be more cheering and ennobling, than the trust that God appoints all changes as the means of a spiritual growth which is never to cease; that he ordains our daily social relations, to nurture in us a love which at length is to embrace the spiritual world; that he ordains trial, to awaken the power of good-will, to which all obstacles are to yield, and which in the progress of our being is to accomplish miracles of beneficence, unimaginable here! What a happiness it is to feel assured that our education is going on perpetually under a Father who is making all nature, all events of providence, all society, teachers and inspirers of truth and rectitude! What a blessedness it is to trust that we are to live for ever in this boundless universe of an infinite God; that its deep mysteries are to be more and more revealed; that more beautiful and wonderful creations are everlastingly to open before us; that we are through ages on ages to form closer and purer friendships throughout the vast family of souls, and to diffuse our sympathies through ever-widening spheres; that we are to approach God for ever by a brighter vision, an intenser love, a freer communion, and a larger participation of his spirit and his life! These assurances of trust are no dreams. They are sublime truths, manifested in our nature, written in God's word, shining out in the character of the beloved Son. No! They are not dreams. To each and all of us they may become glorious realities. This is not a confidence to be cherished by a select few. Each and all of us are invited to cherish such a trust, and authorized by our Father to regard this unutterable good as the end of our being!

Thus have I spoken of religious trust, in its principle and its end. I have time to suggest but one motive for holding fast this confidence as a fountain of spiritual strength. We talk of our weakness. We lack energy, we say, to be in life what in hope we desire. But this very weakness comes from want of trust. What invigorates you to seek other forms of good? You believe them to be really within your reach. What is the soul of all great enterprises? It is the confidence that they may be achieved. It was a maxim of heathen wisdom, that all things are possible to him who feels them to be so. To confide in a high power is to partake of that power. It has often been observed, that the

strength of an army is more than doubled by confidence in its chief. Confide, only confide, and you will be strong. You cannot conceive the mighty energy treasured up in living trust. Put your trust in your own spiritual being; put your trust in the living God.

My friends, do we thus trust in God? Have we more than mere traditional acquiescence in the doctrine of the divine goodness? Do we rely on him as really the Father of our individual spirits, as earnestly desiring our personal progress in an endless life? Do we vividly feel that he is near us as our everlasting friend, to guide, cheer, and bless our aspirations and our efforts? And in this confidence do we watch, pray, strive, press forward, and seek resolutely for ourselves and fellow-beings the highest end of existence, even the perfection of our immortal souls?

VI.

LIFE A DIVINE GIFT.

1 CORINTHIANS ii. 12: "Now we have received, not the spirit of the world, but the spirit which is of God; that we might know the things that are freely given to us of God."

No truth is more fitted to touch our hearts than the doctrine of our entire dependence upon God as the giver of life. It sets before us a goodness, from which countless blessings incessantly proceed, and a power that can instantly withhold them. It implies the most tender and intimate relationship between ourselves and the greatest of beings. It impresses on every good of existence the character of a gift. It awakens us to habitual thankfulness. It rebukes the hard heart, that lives unmindful of the all-sustaining Father. It utters remonstrance and warning against contempt of his gracious laws. It teaches that all other beings are as nothing to us, compared with this infinite One, "who is above all and through all and in all." And it summons us to cherish a devoted love for our divine benefactor, more ardent, and more constant, than to any other friend.

This conviction of our dependence, though so important, does not spring up spontaneously and fix itself without effort in the mind. God does not intend that we shall come to him by compulsion. We must watch over pious impressions, and cultivate them, or they will never become vigorous and enduring. There is, in the very constitution of the world, an important law, that is to a degree unfavorable to our consciousness of dependence. No doubt, among other purposes, it was intended to be a part of our discipline, — a trial to call forth our vigilance. The law is this: God has so formed us, that most of the goods of life require on our part exertion to secure their attainment. Generally the rude material is given, and the means of fashioning it to our use; but without our co-agency, our enjoyment of nature is unspeakably lessened. The purpose of this arrangement is obvious. It has a tendency to call forth our faculties. Such a world is an admirable school for intellectual and active beings. Our powers of invention, our resolution, perseverance, courage, enterprise, patience, energy, are taxed to the utmost and grow by exertion. And thereby we receive a gratification far nobler than any passive pleasure can be, — that of hope blended with fruition. Most wise is this method of Providence. Let us be grateful for it. But exertion, and especially prosperous exertion, begets the consciousness of power, and too often the notion of independent power. Surrounded by a visible creation, on which we act with success, we call ourselves its lords, and forget its creator and upholder. Our own will seems to work out our welfare. And selfishness magnifies our agency, till self-idolatry creeps in to poison all life's blessings.

There is one plain thought well suited to repress this pernicious working of pride. True, we do owe our enjoyments in a sense to our own efforts, — that is, without exertion we should not gain them. But after all, how small a proportion of the work of promoting our happiness do we perform. How little of the good can we trace to our hands. We sow the seed, which another power has created, into that earth, which another power has spread around us. We add a little culture, and here we stop. But how much must intervene between this exertion and gathering the ripened fruit! How many suns must rise and set, how many dews and rains distil! And what part in all these processes is due to our puny selves? Can our voice reach the clouds, and command one drop to fall on the parched earth? Is it through our direction that the root projects its tendrils through the soil, that the light stalk springs up, and the flower unfolds its beauty to the sun and sheds its fragrance through the air? In like manner we hew from the forests, which were growing ere our birth, materials for our ships, and exult in our prosperous voyages. But does the sea with its tides and currents flow by our control? Are the winds our ministers? And do the products of other climes grow through our influence? Thus the present system is beautifully contrived to give a field for exertion, and yet to inculcate the lesson of dependence. Our blessings come through our own labor; but they have connections so immense, and are influenced by causes so entirely removed from our guidance, that our dependence is taught in the very moment of overflowing triumph. This lesson is taught, however, only to those who are disposed to learn. God forces wisdom upon none. We may live, not recognizing his power, and idolizing our own; and thus turn our very effort into crime, and our blessings to a curse.

My friends, how can I aid you in deepening this sense of dependence? Let me enumerate a few of our best known blessings, to show the witness which they bear to a higher power than our own, for ever sustaining us.

I. HEALTH is a priceless blessing. It is often called the greatest of blessings; and we are told, that without it life has no worth. This language is too strong. It has been my happiness to know those who, amidst infirmity and frequent illness, through force of intellect, and still more through religious principle, devout gratitude, and trust, have found life a greater boon than the multitude of the strong and healthy ever dream of. Still, health is an inestimable good, and is essential to the full development and gratification of our powers. When possessed without interruption, however, it is peculiarly apt to beget thoughtless presumption and proud self-confidence. Yet one may justly wonder how the healthiest even can for a moment forget the Giver of life; for hardly a blessing can be named so little under our control as health. True, temperance and observance of sanitary laws undoubtedly may protract existence, if we consider human society on a large scale. But the individual has in his temperance no pledge of safety. Health is the harmony, balance, and well-proportioned action of innumerable organs, fibres, nerves, muscles, blood-vessels, membranes, of which most men know comparatively nothing. And a casual derangement in some minute cell, which we cannot discern, and of which we never heard, may begin the work of destruction that will lay the strongest in his grave. A tiny nerve, so slightly wounded that the microscope cannot detect the injury, will rack the whole body with agony. Who of us can look within this complex frame, and discover the first faint flush of an inflammation, that is soon to become a hectic burning on the cheek, and a consuming fire in the lungs? Who can trace out, in some subtle vessel unconsciously ruptured, the elements of disease and dissolution? We go forth exultant, and quicken our blood by the glow that health pours through our limbs; and yet we find, in the very freshness of the air, ordinarily so invigorating, a check of some vital function, and date fatal illness from the chance breath of a north wind.

And health is not the prey of these obvious risks only. There is something inexplicable in its subtle changes. Suddenly we sicken, we know not why or how. Languor creeps over us. We feel as a burden our common labors. The relish for food, air, exercise, recreation, is blunted. Life loses its bright

charm, and gradually declines by mysterious decay. Does the sight of such sudden changes stir us up to new vigilance; and do we hope, by increased care, to escape the common danger? Then this very anxiety becomes a worse peril than those we seek to shun. Timidity as to our health not only may subject us to imaginary illness, but bring on real disease. The hypochondriac, shrinking from every breeze, weighing his food, and fearing exhaustion from fatigue, loses all animation. And by flight he meets sooner the death he dreads. The continuance of health to beings so delicately and exquisitely framed, and plunged among so many sources of disease, is indeed a constant miracle. It ought to affect us deeply. A day, closed without suffering, should be to us an affecting witness of God's loving care. And we should wake each morning with something of the emotion that a new gift of life would call forth. It is really God who gives us health. To his inflowing energy we owe the vigorous muscle, the strong arm, the firm tread. Through his all-quickening aid do we walk abroad to find the air balmy, mere motion pleasure, occupation attractive, society cheering, and our common existence a continual joy.

My hearers, do not let health generate self-reliance. Receive it, and use it gratefully as God's gift. Young man, abuse not and waste not in excess, that should make you blush, this divine blessing. To you, let the elastic step, bloom on the cheek, the bright eye, the smooth brow, and delight in fresh existence speak of God the giver. Thank him for health. Consecrate it as his trust to innocent enjoyment, manly effort, social usefulness, and preparation for an honorable and holy career.

II. Our dependence upon God, the giver, for PROPERTY, is the next topic that suggests itself. This is so trite a theme that one has hardly courage to touch upon it. Men have heard from their birth that riches "take wings and fly away." The instability of human fortune has been the commonplace of moralists. All lands and ages have seen flourishing families reduced to want, and the once wealthy compelled to beg the aid which they before bestowed. And such vicissitudes have been set forth in popular proverbs, and by prophets and poets, as monuments of Providence, to teach men not to trust in uncertain riches, but to use them as talents lent, which are to be accounted for. Would that a truth so plain needed no enforcing! But among ourselves wealth still feeds presumptuous pride. The rich men is described, by distinction, as "independent." And the multitude toils for wealth, as the means of "independence." That property is in no measure under human influence, or that industry, prudence, caution, can do nothing to gain and secure it, — we need not affirm, for the purpose of teaching dependence. Men undeniably do something towards determining their own fortunes. But let the most prosperous man look back, and he will confess how much of his success must be ascribed to seeming accident, — that is, to unlooked-for propitious coincidences. How often do enterprises, which inspired most hope, fail; whilst others, from which little was anticipated, become the foundation of princely opulence! You have "succeeded" through life! And why? Because you came into life at a happy season. You took the tide at its influx. And if that moment had been lost, no effort, however strenuous, could have brought back the golden opportunity. Some great public event, over which you had no control, forwarded your private plans. An earlier occurrence of a storm, the failure of others in business, a commercial revulsion, a war, might have involved you in inextricable embarrassment. Others as sanguine as yourself, whom perhaps your success emboldened, entered on the same field of enterprise, to reap only disappointment and penury.

The mode of acquiring property which is most common in our large cities — trade — has well been called a "lottery." And although trade is made more insecure than it need be, through the spirit of rash adventure, yet, when conducted with utmost sobriety, it is still of necessity a sphere of constant hazard. The calculations which it requires are too extensive and complicated for the largest mind to grasp. And the laws of consumption and supply are so intricate, that the most judicious may err. Thus property has found in all times its fittest symbol in the fluctuating ocean, upon whose breast so much of it is won. The

progress of society has as yet done little to make property secure. Providence has appointed, apparently, that with wealth's increase its tenure should become more unstable, as if thus to teach more powerfully man's dependence. Formerly, there was less wealth among us, but it was more sure and steadfast. There were fewer overgrown fortunes, and smaller incomes; but property being chiefly in real estate, and invested in houses or lands, underwent fewer fluctuations. Now, by improvements in machinery, the increase of personal property, the vast development of credit, and the extension of commerce, the pecuniary connections of men and of communities are becoming indefinitely multiplied. The complexity of business is increased. Vast operations, requiring the joint means and efforts of multitudes, are carried on with ever-augmenting speed, and competition is inflamed almost to madness. The result of this extensive intercourse, and of these widespread connections and dependencies, is, that the property of the humblest as well as the highest is affected by political, social, industrial events in every quarter of the civilized world. A single bankruptcy may give a shock to commercial centres that is felt in every home throughout all nations. Every man is now affected by what are called "the times," — a significant word, so well expressing the changing state of the community. Commercial depressions and panics spread distress far and wide. The suspension of great establishments reduces to idleness crowds of resourceless laborers. And the largest capital of persons and communities is dispersed more rapidly even than it was accumulated. Thus fortunes rise and fall, like billows in a storm-tossed sea. Hence the prevalent anxiety about property, an evil that makes so serious a deduction from the comforts gained by our improved condition in the productive arts and in commerce.

Such evils and trials surely should deepen a spirit of reliance on the overruling providence of God. A scene of such vicissitude is certainly a school to teach dependence. In a world so inconceivably complex, success should be religiously referred to the Supreme Power. The rich man should feel that it is God who has made him to differ in his lot from his poorer brother, and apportioned alike his duties and his privileges. Wealth should be held as a *trust* from the great Proprietor. We should remember that what we properly call our own in reference to fellow-creatures, is not *our own* in reference to our Creator; but is subjected by him to the supreme law of immutable right. Social laws may hedge round our possessions from human violation; but they are powerless to guard, when God wills to humble us by the resumption of his gifts. Lightning, fire, frost, storm, blight, mildew, public calamities, political disturbances, and innumerable influences whereby God moulds the destiny of nations and of individuals, heed not the enactment of human legislators. We are as vulnerable in our property as in our persons. The very means we use to increase it may insure its destruction. The human agents, by whom we would build it up, may waste and prostrate it.

Make not wealth then your dependence. Associate it habitually in your thoughts with God the giver. Seek it from him, and consecrate it to him. Where property is gained and enjoyed in a self-relying spirit, without a thought of the heavenly giver, its loss becomes an overwhelming blow. The mind, unused to lean on a higher power, has no support left, when material resources are gone, and has often been known to sink into despair, and in half-insanity to cast away life itself as worthless.

III. We depend on God for INTELLECT. In the present age peculiar honor is rendered to mental power; and perhaps no possession inspires more self-elation and self-dependence. Mind is indeed a noble gift; but still it is a gift. We receive it from the Father of Spirits. And we hold it by an awfully uncertain tenure. Let the consciousness of this strengthen our humble conviction of entire dependence. That we have, in some degree, power over our own minds, we all feel. That industry, research, study, enrich the intellect, and that thoughts stored up in memory become to an extent our property, we all know. Accordingly, biography is full of prodigies of learning, of men whose minds were treasuries of various knowledge. These intellectual giants too often have felt as if by their own

efforts they had raised themselves above the common herd.

But there is one consideration particularly suited to abate this self-reliance of genius. It is this: however abundantly knowledge may have been accumulated, by observation, study, or reflection, the vividness with which these remembered thoughts shall recur to the mind, and in which their chief worth consists, is not within our power. A man of talent may bring back indeed his former views; but he cannot at pleasure recall them with that energy which insures their efficient influence over other minds. He strives to speak or to write with vigor, but gives forth tame utterance only. His mind no longer is borne onward as by pinions, but, like a machine, must be impelled by foreign force. His words come no more from the soul. After his best preparation he is spiritless. His animation is not spontaneous, joyful, and free: but he tugs at his load, like a weary hack, chafed by the lash into momentary speed. Hence it is that genius so often disappoints itself and its admirers. Self-dependent, self-centred, self-confident, when it would do most, it finds itself incapable and helpless. It ought to learn humility from the fact that its happiest efforts come from an unexpected and inexplicable fervor, which it can neither command nor detain.

It is nowise my meaning, of course, to depreciate study or intellectual toil. But study and toil as we may, we cannot infuse into the mind, *at will*, that living energy which is its inspiration. Mere knowledge seems to be, in some degree, permanent and under our control; but that inward fire and force of intellect, on which the usefulness of knowledge depends, is of all possessions most insecure. Wealth is as available at one hour of the day as another, and it may be so invested as to be insured from ordinary changes. But the life of intellect, — how mutable it is! There are hours of every day when it droops. Sometimes weeks may pass, and no bright thoughts will visit us. Sadly we feel that the lustre of our intellectual day is dimmed. The light that irradiates the mind does not shine with the steadiness of the sun. The eclipses of that orb we can foretell. Its rising and setting we anticipate. But the sun of the soul rises and sets we know not how. Its radiance fades when we most look and long for its brilliant beams. That sun of the intellect, — what is it? May it not be God, in a more direct sense than we imagine? That glowing splendor, that fervid heat, which sometimes burst upon the soul, and give it new rapidity and reach of thought, new warmth and loftiness of feeling, — whence come they? Are they not radiations from the Parent Mind? Are they not his immediate gift?

Books without number have been written on the human mind, and many of the laws, according to which its thoughts are associated, have been traced. But the higher workings of the mind — its diviner intuitions, its spiritual conceptions, its apparently self-originated ideas — have never been explained. They come and go, we know not whence or whither. We may give some account of the manner in which a particular train of thought was first suggested to a man of genius. But the life which he breathes through his ideal representation, the hues which he throws round it, the splendor in which he arrays it, the tone of tenderness or sublimity in which he embodies it, the more than lightning speed by which he blends it with remote conceptions, the harmony in which he places it with universal truth, the vital force by which he sends it far and deep to quicken the souls of hearers or readers, and awakes in them new worlds of thought and feeling, — these are inexplicable mysteries. Philosophy cannot reveal their origin or modes of action. They can only be felt by experience. The man of genius himself, in putting forth these powers, is most conscious that he cannot command them. They come not at his bidding; they stay not at his pleasure. If a devout man, he thanks God for these influxes of mental illumination, as peculiar communications of his intellectual energy, and prays that he may be more and more open for the reception of these heavenly gifts.

IV. Next I propose to show that we depend on the Divine Being for MORAL and RELIGIOUS POWER, and that the very spiritual energy, whereby we grow in personal goodness, is God's gift. This view of our dependence is incomparably the most important for us constantly to cherish. And yet this conception of the intimate relationship between

our own will and the will of our Heavenly Father is encompassed with peculiar difficulties. Let me invite then that serious attention, without which so profound a truth can never be apprehended aright.

There are those who, when they hear it asserted that they depend on God for moral and religious life, for rectitude and holiness, are inclined to say: "What! have we no power of our own to know the right, to feel the good, to practise virtue? If not, whence springs our consciousness of obligation? Without power, there can be no responsibility. Deny us this, and we cease to be subjects of a moral government. We ourselves, and not another for us, must determine our own conduct and character, or no praise or blame can attach to us for the discharge or neglect of duty." This objection is founded in truth, and deserves careful consideration. Every man's heart tells him, that until he have power over his own character, power to determine his own conduct, he is not answerable for his feelings or actions, and cannot justly be rewarded or condemned, let him think or do what he may. God may give me other good, such as health, without any effort of my own. I may receive it at birth. I may retain it without care. But goodness cannot be thus given. Even Omnipotence cannot *make* me a proper object of esteem without my own activity. No act is virtuous, but such as springs from a man's own choice and will. He cannot be good, in the moral import of that term, any further than he determines himself towards goodness. And every man who consults the inward monitor, and inquires why and when he blames or commends himself, will find that these judgments are founded on the consciousness of his having this spiritual power. It does depend on the individual, therefore, whether he will be good or bad.

How, then, it may be asked, is man dependent on God for his virtue? Why is he to seek it from God, if the power of securing it is lodged in his own breast? The difficulty is one which has often been felt. The apparent incompatibility of man's moral dependence with the moral freedom necessary to constitute him an accountable agent has led different sects to give up one or the other of these seemingly contradictory elements. Not a few Christians, in their anxiety to assert human dependence, and to declare piety and virtue to be gifts of God's grace, do in effect deny personal power. They teach that men are utterly weak, and speak of religion as a life infused by the irresistible agency of the Holy Spirit. The just inference from this would be, that religion has no more *moral* worth than a fair face or a large estate, or any other providential favor. And when, instead of drawing such an inference, the teachers of this doctrine proceed to threaten with the fires of everlasting torment unfortunate beings who are not visited by almighty grace, they utter a doctrine against which reason and conscience protest as outraging alike the equity and the mercy of God. There are other Christians, who, to save human accountableness, and to give man a right feeling of power, have banished from sight his dependence, or at least have not urged it in the strong language used in the Scriptures, and by saints in all ages, so as to make it the foundation of solemn duties. In this way immense spiritual injury has been done. For, as I apprehend the laws of life, without a deep sense of our dependence upon the All-Good for virtue and piety, no great improvement in either can be made.

Thus have I stated the two classes of errors into which men have fallen, through the difficulty of reconciling human power with dependence on God. How then may these two great truths be held harmoniously? How may we combine the feeling of accountableness with the conviction that we have no goodness, and can have none, but as a divine gift?

There are two views which seem to me fitted to impress our constant dependence on God for spiritual growth, without taking from us our feeling of moral power.

1. The first is this: our power over our character and conduct is the result of our nature, of the *constitution* of our minds. We are capable of virtue, because we are gifted with reason, with conscience, and with what may be called the self-determining principle, through which we may adopt conscience and reason as our rule. Take away these faculties, and we can do neither right nor wrong. And for want

of these the inferior animals apparently are not and cannot be proper objects of praise or blame. These high faculties are the very root of our moral agency and responsibility. Now whence came these faculties, and how are they sustained? Whence originated our nature, with its ineffably grand endowments? These are God's gifts. We owe to him our spirits, — this light of reason, these monitions of conscience, this power of making conscience and reason our guide. And we not only received these faculties at first, but they are constantly upheld by him who originally gave them. Without God's indwelling energy, these inward spiritual forces would expire. As the light of the sun in the morning returns to us through God's power, — so through the divine agency the light of the mind rises anew when we awake; and without him, we could no more bring back thought and moral feeling, than we could restore the dawn and the splendor of day. It is true that our present good dispositions and purposes, if such we have, are the results of past good acts, and in so far we owe them to ourselves. But the power through which those acts were done was an organic element of our nature, which God conferred. Still more we owe to God that wonderful principle of mind called "habit," through which our present character is vitally interwoven with the past, through which good deeds propagate and perpetuate themselves, and every virtuous effort makes the next more spontaneous and successful. That I am the purer now for former self-denial, the freer for past obedience, is the result of that constitution of mind, which God originally gave, which God continually sustains. On God, therefore, I depend for my growth and progress.

Let me add, further, that our nature, with all its high moral powers, would be wholly ineffectual to develop piety and virtue, were we not placed in a social sphere, a moral community, in which these powers may find scope and incitements to action. Place a man alone, with no influences around to speak to him of God, with no fellow-beings to be the objects of affection, of justice, and charity, with no instruction to enlighten, no example to guide and inspirit, and his power would lie dormant and inert. He would have no duties to perform, and not even the idea of duty would quicken him. Our moral and religious acquirements, so far as we have any, are the results, not simply of our nature, but also of our social condition, — of our relations with humanity, of our opportunities of being acted upon by and of acting and reacting with our race. And who placed us where we are; knit us thus to others by so many ties of love; made us living members of the spiritual universe, and opened our ears and hearts to the instruction and incitements which the laws of divine order for ever utter? We owe to God these outward means, motives, and opportunities, as truly as we do the innate capacities of virtue and of holiness. Without him, then, we could do nothing. We owe to him, as the author of our nature and social state, our whole moral and religious development. Without his enlivening agency, the monitor within would never again speak, the intuitive perception of duty would fade away, the power of adhering to the right would perish. When we wake, with a new day, how intensely should we feel, then, that it is through God's *sustaining energy* that the voice of the soul, which whispers to us with aspiration, courage, cheerful hope, again is audible, that it is the Almighty Renewer who grants us power to make the future an improvement on the past.

This sentiment of our constant dependence cannot be too deep. And it is plain that it in no way interferes with our exercise of moral power, or impairs our moral freedom. On the contrary, it presupposes that we have power, and only teaches that this power is a gift. But because a gift, is it less *real*, less our *own*, or are we less *responsible* for its use? Is it not, indeed, the one unalterable sign and sanction of responsibility, that our power is intrusted by a higher being, who, as the All-Good, has the *right* to demand an account of the way in which this intrusted power is employed? Thus we learn, that as God created and sustains our spiritual nature, and the spiritual universe, with which we are vitally related, we are bound to ascribe our moral and religious growth to his gift, at the very time when we regard it, in an important sense, as our own work. Such is my first illustration.

2. But this does not exhaust the subject. It is plain that Scripture reveals a profounder doctrine of dependence than this. It not only teaches that God gives sustenance to the nature which he for ever recreates, but it affirms that he imparts influence *additional* to this indwelling energy in our nature. It declares that our Father gives his spirit to them that ask. And by this we are to understand not merely that he endows us with rational and moral faculties, and the natural means of improving them, for these we enjoy whether we ask or not. But the meaning is, that he imparts an influx of light and strength in answer to prayer, and that, without this *spiritual aid*, we cannot grow to perfection. According to this doctrine, our dependence for moral and religious excellence is constant and complete. But I maintain that such dependence in no way encroaches on human power, and that it still leaves the formation of our character to our own choice and will.

Am I asked how I reconcile man's moral power with spiritual influence? The answer is not difficult. Man needs and depends on the divine energy for his development. But this energy he can gain, if he will *seek* for it. God liberally places it within his reach. Without it he cannot fulfil his destiny; but he is endowed with power to aspire after it, and the Father welcomes him to its amplest use. I do not deny man's ability to acquire goodness, by saying that he must receive it from the All-Good. If by seeking he may obtain this energy, it really becomes his own; and all the virtue it bestows is as truly under his control as if he attained it by unassisted will. Power does not consist in our being able to accomplish ends by isolated action, without using the influence of others. Man is strong, not by exercising unaided energy; but he grows in strength, in proportion as he can gather and turn to use the energies of other beings. We see an illustration of this in all common affairs. The mightiest operations of man are performed, not by his single arm, but by availing himself of the forces of Nature, of wind, fire, steam, and mechanic powers. His strength multiplies itself by applying, and thus making his own, the strength of countless other agents.

The same truth is illustrated, in a higher form, in the realm of duty and religion. When I resolve on seeking spiritual improvement, do I accomplish my end by lonely efforts of my own will, however often renewed? Certainly not! I avail myself of incentives, guidance, encouragement, aid, from fellow-beings. I read what saints and sages have written, and strive to infuse their thoughts and spirit into my own soul. I recall the examples of the devout and disinterested, the heroic and humane. I associate with the excellent and wise, who live around me. I add to private intercourse and friendship the public means of religious and moral culture, worship with the congregation, communion at Christ's table, concert in deeds of charity. In a word, I strive to grow in goodness, by absorbing and assimilating, and so making my own, the goodness and wisdom of my race. What immense help do such influences afford me! How continually, when my mind is dull and languid, do the thoughts, tones, looks of fellow-men kindle a new flame within. How repeatedly, when my purpose faints and flags, does a cheering word, or bright example, revive my sinking energy! Facts of this kind are of such constant occurrence, that no one can dispute them. And they clearly reveal the nature of the power which man exerts in moulding his own character. It is the power of exalting and perfecting it, by using the inspiring aid of fellow-beings. Now Christianity teaches that in addition to all such influences, received from the life of humanity, we need an influence from the Father of Spirits, — which is infinitely more efficient, and without which these other aids will fail of their highest effect. It teaches also that this divine influence is more within our reach than the assistance derived from any or all human beings. For it is promised in full measure, in proportion as it is earnestly asked for, to all who seek. And prayer may be offered always, everywhere, and under all conditions.

That we do thus depend on the Divine Spirit, that we do thus need heavenly influence in the work of attaining to the perfect life, none who enter on this upward course can long doubt. You, who never attempted to reach this sublime end, may question or deny. To you it

may seem no great task to become what you call good; for your standard of goodness is low. You never lifted your eyes to the heavenly height, to which conscience and Christianity summon you. And in the next place, you never seriously undertook to master your passions. You are unable, as yet, to measure their might. You know not how formidable appetite, ambition, avarice are; for you have been all your life in league with these foes of your virtue. Never will you learn what sway they have usurped over you, and the strength of the chains they have bound around you, until you strive to shake them off. Then will these tyrants start up in giant form, and laugh to scorn your faint resistance, and appal your feeble will.

The good man, the true saint, the real Christian, — he who seems most spiritually self-subsistent, — will be the last to question and deny his need of almighty aid. He feels his dependence ever more deeply. When heavenly aspirations enter the soul, they are like a light suddenly kindled in the dark. They reveal undreamed-of defects. They waken a new sense of sin. They display the deformity of motives, from which we had before acted without misgiving. The good man daily acquires a delicacy of moral perception and feeling, before whose penetrating gaze his inmost imperfections are laid bare. His outward blemishes, his grosser faults, may be amended. But the sins which cling closest, which wind themselves subtly through the fibres of his nature, — his pride, vanity, self-conceit, self-indulgence, and, above all, the disloyalty of his self-will to the will of the All-Good, — these grow only more apparent. He finds that to purify the fountain-head of emotion in the soul, to cleanse its depths from all that defiles it, to drive out lurking ill from its recesses, and to untwine the serpent coils of selfishness from his purposes and plans, his aims and interests, is a vastly harder work than building fair walls of outer decorum. Some powerful excitement, some unwonted trial, will rouse into action lawless impulses, over whose subjection he had sung songs of triumph. Long dormant evils, awakened by adverse temptations, by a rush of prosperity, or a shock of adversity, by flattery and favor, or by persecution and peril, will burst forth from their hiding-places, with such violence as almost to make him doubt the reality of his religious life. At such trying seasons, a secret ejaculation, a cry of the soul for God's grace to rescue, brings home to the good man his instant dependence. With what grateful joy does he then hold fast to the assurance, that he is never alone, for the Father is with him, that the living source of all good is near to him as his own life, and ready to renew him with light and strength from heaven.

I close this discourse with observing, that our dependence upon God, the giver, will be felt by us just in proportion as we comprehend the spirituality of religion, — as we rise above professions and dogmas, rites and creeds, and learn that holiness and goodness consist in love, in pure and disinterested affections and acts towards our Heavenly Father and our fellow-beings. And he who desires not only to outwardly worship, but to intimately commune with his Creator and Sustainer, he who would gain an ever quicker sensibility to the presence of his constant Benefactor, soon learns that, owing to the infirmity of human powers, the illusions of the visible world, and the invisibleness of the infinite One, it is most difficult to gain and keep the height of spiritual vision. Still, if his heart has been truly touched by a divine influence, he continually strives to reach this interior and enlarging knowledge of Him, "in whom we live and move and have our being." Evermore he aspires to gain — as good men have in all ages — that unreserved, spontaneous, cheerful consecration of his highest powers, which he feels to be due to the best of Beings. Earnestly he longs for that veneration, affectionate devotedness, and serene trust, which may elevate every act into adoring service of the All-Holy, for a gratitude, beyond words to utter, that surrenders all to Him who first bestowed, — for an escape out of every selfish care, anxiety, fear, and sorrow, into entire, confiding, filial love. This near access to the Father, this living fellowship with the Father, becomes to him the one end of existence. But this good, above all other goods, makes him feel only more intensely his constant dependence on the Divine Spirit. For this

happiness of heaven can come only from heaven. To the exhaustless fountain of celestial bliss he looks then with unfailing faith. And when, in the course of his pilgrimage, this blessedness is granted; when calmness, which earthly discord cannot disturb, diffuses itself through his soul; when the clouds which hang over futurity vanish, and the heavenly home opens before him with ineffable splendor; when the Father's presence is felt like that of a visible friend, and the parental love of the All-Perfect penetrates his inmost being, suffusing his eyes with tears of thankfulness, and lifting them upward with immortal hope, — in such high moments, whence does he consciously derive this unutterable joy? By experience he then knows, as well as feels, that this peace past all understanding is the influx of the peace of God. With mingled gratitude and awe, he recognizes then that above, upon, within his own spirit is moving the Divine Spirit, bringing the light of an eternal day. Thenceforth the truth, written in his heart by the finger of God himself, becomes a glorious reality, that to all who ask for his Holy Spirit, the Father gives.

VII.

THE TRUE END OF LIFE.

John ix. 4: "I must work the works of him that sent me, while it is day."

THE end, for which a being is made, must be determined by its nature. In proportion as we know the powers, properties, structure of the various orders of creation, we are prepared to comprehend the good for which they are severally designed. In regard to inferior creatures, — mineral, plant, or animal, — their end is easily understood, on account of the comparative simplicity of their constituent elements, and because they obey unerringly their laws of existence.

But when we come to man, we are beset with difficulties. Man is not simple in his organic elements. He unites in himself two natures, apparently quite dissimilar, the physical and the spiritual. Nor is he subjected by *necessity* to the laws of the universe. He has inward freedom, — freedom of will, — a power of following the law of his own mind, in opposition to all outward impulse. Accordingly, what infinite variety there is in human pursuits! What vacillations and inconsistencies of purpose! What vastness of desire, what extravagance of enterprise! What a contrast between the unchanging instincts of the brute and the tumultuous conflicts, hopes, and fears, the lightning thoughts and boundless aspirations of the human soul!

I. How then shall we determine the end of the human being? Why was he made, — this mysterious creature, — driven by so many impulses, gifted with such diverse powers, and free to turn them in such countless directions? I have said that the end of a being is manifested in his nature. And what does man's nature teach?

1. When we look upon our race for an answer to this question, the first object that strikes our view is man's physical organization, connecting him with the external world. We see in him a being with a material frame, receiving influences from the light, air, and earth, exposed to suffering from the elements, needing perpetually fresh supplies of energy from abroad, hungering and thirsting for food, shivering from cold, seeking shelter from heat, impelled by continually recurring animal wants, and under these impulses spending the largest part of existence in making provision for the body. For instance, when we pass through the streets of a city, what tides of busy life flow to and fro! What ceaseless activity drives on the rushing crowds! What hurry is in

their steps! What care is stamped upon their brows! How many wheels are ceaselessly rolling! What various trades are plied! What countless warehouses are loaded with the products of all soils! How are endless fields vexed with ploughshares, and the remotest seas cleft with keels, to supply their stores! And this incessant activity has for its chief aim to gain subsistence for the body, to prolong animal life, to clothe, nourish, gratify, adorn the animal frame. The first impression which the sight of such a city would give certainly is, that human nature is made for an animal end. The houses, which densely line its streets and squares, have for their primary purpose to protect the body. The vast multitudes, which throng its thoroughfares, seem to be a collection of beings brought together to wage a defensive war against the material elements. And it must be confessed that when we enter into conversation with these bustling crowds, our first impression is confirmed. For bodily gratification does indeed appear to be the chief recompense that stimulates their thought and toil.

So much must be granted. But have we then reached the great end of human life? Because man was made to toil for subsistence and physical enjoyment, was he made for nothing more? In what has been thus far said have we exhausted man's nature? Has he no powers but such as fit him to act upon the material world? Is this his highest vocation? In reply to these questions, I shall select a few considerations which are very simple, and yet well suited to show that the great purpose of our being is *not* outward physical good.

2. It deserves attention then, first of all, that although man is made to labor for the body, he manifests in this very labor a nature vastly higher than the body. In the very act of providing for wants, which he shares in common with the animal, he shows himself to be more than an animal. It has sometimes been said to man's reproach, that he is doomed to more servile toil than the beast of the field; that no creature is so plainly marked out for work as he; that on no other does such a burden rest. He must earn his bread in the sweat of his brow. But in this work he puts forth faculties of which no animal manifests a trace. Thus man's very toil becomes a sign of his greatness, and indicates a higher end of life than mere bodily existence. In providing for outward good, what a profusion of mental and moral power does man display! To preserve this frail physical frame, how far and wide does the human mind range in thought! What vast depths it pierces, what various materials does it combine; what active energies, what fruitfulness of resource, what profound calculation, what courage in difficulty, what invention, patience, and fortitude in unexpected danger, does it reveal! To procure subsistence, comfort, and pleasure for the body, the human intellect has explored all kingdoms of Nature, penetrated the mine and wrought the various metals, traversed the sky with instruments of vision to find guidance across the seas, analyzed the constituent elements of all substances, risen to a perception of the great laws which guide the universe, gaged its mechanic forces, detected its chemical affinities, and grasped its all-embracing principle of gravitation. For the sake of preserving the body, in a word, mind has expended an intellectual energy, boundless and expansive as the universe itself. Can we bring ourselves to believe, then, that this mind was made only for the body, the greater for the less, the unlimited and ever-growing spirit for a short-lived organization of dust? Can it be that a power of intellect, so unmeasured and exhaustless in its range, has been brought into being merely to drudge for an animal existence? How could such waste of mind be reconciled with the wisdom of the uncreated mind!

There is something very convincing as to man's true end, in the familiar facts which have thus been unfolded. Man, when most an animal, shows himself to be more than an animal. In providing for his material nature, he reveals a higher spiritual nature. In living for the external world, he proves himself to be superior to that world. We need not go beyond man's physical pleasures, to feel that a nobler spiritual pleasure is the end of his being. Take, as a simple example, a festive entertainment, intended to fill every sense with delight. When we look at the richly-spread board, what most impresses us? Is it not this? What astonishing energies of

intellect have been lavished to provide this spectacle! What profound inquiries of science, what sagacious experiments, what trials of skill, were required to produce even the goblet from which we are to drink! What stores of artistic knowledge, what refinements of taste, what creative imagination, have conspired to work the metals into these beautiful ornaments which gratify the eye! The graceful forms of these vessels have come down to us from distant ages, and bear witness to the gathered experience and research of antiquaries and historians, as well as artists. How many of these luxuries, too, have been borne hither from the ends of the earth, across stormy oceans, through countless agencies of trade, by the triumph of human thought and will over the natural elements! This very feast, at which the self-indulgent may sink, so far as he can, into a brute, shows man to be made for science, philosophy, art, society, and gifted with powers of mental skill to which it is impossible to set bounds.

3. I have spoken of the vast amount of intellectual energy expended on the care of the body. Let me next ask you to consider the minute measure of animal good which results from this prodigious outlay of mental effort. If the fruit of our labor was immeasurable accumulation of animal pleasures, we might be tempted to think we were created for these as an end. But are we not greatly struck by observing how small a proportion these pleasures bear to the pains, toils, and anxious cares with which they have been sought? Were they our great good, surely they would not have been given with so sparing a hand. After all man's wearying sacrifices, what transient sensual gratification does he procure! After such prodigal expenditure of energy and thought, what does he actually gain! He succeeds imperfectly in fencing off the ills to which his animal nature is exposed. Negative good is the chief result of most of the arts of life. It is not to enjoy, so much as to escape suffering, that man builds houses, weaves raiment, tills the fields, traverses the sea. And after all, how much must he endure, and how slightly can he be satisfied at the best! He shields the frail body for a few years amidst frequent visitations of disease; and at last life, which has been a continual battle, goes out in the brief agony of death. Does this look as if animal good were the prime purpose of man's being?

No creature works like man for the body, and no creature perhaps enjoys so little, so far as the mere body is concerned. Take for illustration the vast majority of the laboring classes in all nations. How do they toil from early dawn till dark, for six days out of seven, in cold and heat and frequent peril, to earn their coarse and scanty meals, and to find shelter and raiment, — which, however they may ward off suffering, give slight positive pleasure to the sense of beauty or refined taste. Or take the case of merchants and traders, confined to counting-rooms by day, disturbed by cares at night, watching the vicissitudes of climate, the fluctuations of business, the caprices of popular fashion. Balance against their exertions the amount of mere animal pleasure yielded by all refinements, indulgences, and comforts which wealth can command, and answer to which side the scale inclines. When we think of the endless toil out of doors, and the endless toil within, to keep up our common domestic establishments, the price which we pay for bodily existence appears to be enormous. How striking is the contrast between the inferior animals and men in this respect! As in the summer we watch countless insects flying from flower to flower, sipping their sweets, finding in every field a feast outspread, without one care of their own, extracting honey, not at a hurried meal, but through sunny hours and days, we may well feel that, so far as sensual pleasure goes, the moth is more privileged than the man. And so when we observe flocks and herds straying at will over verdant pastures, cropping their delicious food from morning till night, their very work their joy, they seem greatly to excel in animal gratification the drudging and exhausted husbandmen, — who, with few intervals of rest or pleasure, enrich these very fields in which the care-free cattle graze, and then fill for them the farmyard and the barn with winter's food.

Nor is it clear that civilization lightens man's burdens. Our race has been toiling for ages to make the earth an animal paradise. But whether, after all improvements in the arts, we enjoy more

than did our rude ancestors, may be fairly questioned. For civilization, by increasing wants, has increased the modes of drudgery and care; and by multiplying comforts more than habits of self-command, has intensified susceptibility to pain, converted petty privation into serious annoyance, and visited us with new and sore diseases. When thus we balance man's toils and enjoyments, we must admit that animal good is too limited, short-lived, and unsatisfying, to be regarded as the supreme end of life.

4. I pass to another view, teaching the same lesson in a far more impressive way. Look round on this material world, which on all sides is ministering to us. Does it teach that the great purpose of man's being is animal good? "What a vast machinery," it is sometimes said, "is kept in motion to sustain and comfort the animal creation!" Undoubtedly this is one among countless purposes of the universe. But surely it is not the great purpose, as respects mankind. This we infer, not only from the limited ministrations of Nature, but from its frequent hostile agency. How fearful, as well as how benignant, an aspect does creation wear! Behold the sun, the most beneficent agent in our system. Does he not send scorching beams, breeding fever in summer, and such scanty rays in winter as to expose us to piercing frost? Does he not raise, together with salutary exhalations, deadly effluvia? Does he not at one time gather dense clouds which, precipitated in storms, prostrate in a day the labors of a season, and at another parch and wither vast regions with drought?

The great laws of Nature, in their general operations, are, indeed, beneficial; and the more largely they are explored, the more they attest a good Creator. But who that contemplates the awful powers of the material world, as revealed in tempests, lightnings, earthquakes, volcanoes, and wrathful oceans swept by whirlwinds, can think of this earth as having no higher use than to supply man's animal wants? What is a large part of man's existence but a ceaseless struggle with the destructive elements of Nature! What dangerous friends are even her most common gifts! The fire, by which we subdue the minerals and cheer our homes, perpetually threatens us with ruin. We must hem it in with walls of stone and iron, lest conflagration seize upon our dwellings, sweep through our streets, and reduce our whole substance and the gains of generations to ashes in an hour. We must battle even with hosts of insects for our harvests and our fruits, and thus fight an endless strife for daily bread. We talk of Nature as our friend. Were not her mighty forces meant as plainly to oppose as to befriend us? Does not Nature bear evident marks of being planned to rouse man to heroic energy, by summoning us to conflict? How can one bear even to hear Nature called a "machine," as if it were a mill revolving for man's material uses? Its immense and tremendous energies, its floods of light, its hosts of stars, its unfathomable mysteries, — are these meant only to give animal delight? Are they not manifestly designed rather to rouse far-reaching thought, to awaken profound awe, to inspire dauntless courage, and bring us into active concert with a will infinitely transcending all material forces combined?

How different is the impression which Nature makes upon a thoughtful mind from that of dead "machinery"! In aspects of ineffable beauty and grandeur, it opens before us depth beyond depth, and touches inward springs of joy, gratitude, and benevolence, which are as exhaustless as its own overflowing life. For a spirit of power and love breathes through, blends with, harmonizes and quickens this exquisitely ordered whole, with which we feel our own spirits to be akin, by affinity and fellowship!

5. Such is the great lesson taught by Nature. And we may learn the same truth, that man is made for a higher end, when we profoundly study the very city, of which the first impression is that it is a collection of beings brought together for the purpose of ministering to one another's animal life. What a monument is a city to the immortal energies of the human mind; and what a witness to man's spiritual destiny! When we gaze around upon its stately structures for public and private use; when we observe how the shapeless rocks, hewn from the quarry, have been reared into edifices of beautiful proportion and imposing grandeur; when we notice the

various technic arts which imitate the creative powers of Nature, and elaborate the rude materials into graceful forms adapted to social refinement, — can we help feeling that man is a being whom the inspiration of God welcomes to be a co-creator with himself? And when we enter the houses which are so densely crowded together, what do we find? Are they mere contrivances for safety and shelter? Do we not instantly meet with countless provisions for higher tastes than mere animal enjoyment, — tastes which belong to spiritual beings, who delight to sympathize in beauty, order, and harmony? These pictures on the walls, were they meant merely to gratify the sense of sight by color? Do they not breathe with grace, loveliness, and dignity? Here may be the countenance of one associated in our thoughts with years of unbroken friendship, and hopes of a better world. There may be the portrait of some heroic character, or the represented scene of some heroic enterprise, that reminds us how life, and all life's blessings, have been gladly cast away for truth, for country, and for God. One such picture, in one house, is proof enough of man's spiritual vocation.

But again I ask, What is the end of a human habitation? Is it merely a place wherein fellow-mortals meet to eat, drink, and sleep securely beneath a roof? A house is reared to be a home, — the centre where a family may gather into one; to be a serene retreat, where the tenderest affections may find rest; that within its walls love may have a dwelling-place, and the charities of life gain ample scope and happiness; that parents and children may there press one another heart to heart; that sorrows and joys may be freely shared in confidence; that troubled spirits may disburden themselves and be blessed with pardon and peace; and, in a word, that the great work of training human beings for the duties of the present life, and the perfection of another, may be begun and carried on. These are the true end of a human dwelling. As we pass through the streets of a city, what a thought of undying interest it is, that within these numberless homes are rich romances of domestic life, — hearths round which are gathered at evening the members of a family scattered by day, husbands and wives, parents and children, brethren and sisters, — the sick and suffering nursed by the strong, the aged waited on by the respectful assiduity of the young, — amidst all the sympathies, labors, hopes, joys, sorrows of disinterested love! In a city do we behold then only the signs of a being created for bodily and transitory good?

Moreover, among buildings destined for earthly uses, do we not observe churches with spires pointing towards the heavens; schools for the training of the young; public libraries stored with the wisdom of ages, and collections of books which welcome us to communion with sages, legislators, philosophers, historians, and poets of all times and lands; museums of science, galleries of art, hospitals, asylums, — all bearing witness that man's end is to be a member of society, to advance his race, and to transform humanity into the kingdom of God, and thus prepare, by beauty and beneficence on earth, for the higher activities and joys of the spiritual world?

II. From this survey of man's animal nature I have shown that the end of life is *not* mere activity upon the outward world. As a necessary consequence, I proceed to observe, that the great work of life is an inward one. This is our next position. Man's true vocation may be defined to be spiritual, as distinguished from a merely animal one.

1. Man has a spiritual nature. The soul is created to look beyond and above all material things. I begin with an obvious, yet all-convincing, confirmation of this truth. In the soul we find principles which enable us, and we might say compel us, to discover within matter itself the signs of an *infinitely* higher being. Is matter a barrier which the spirit cannot pass, beyond which all is darkness? How easily it scales this wall! In Nature everywhere it beholds witnesses of supernatural power. God! God! is the glorious idea, that beams in splendor from all creation. In the heavens the soul beholds an emblem of his infinity. In the connection and harmony of Nature it recognizes the type of his unity. The universe, vast, beautiful, magnificent as it is, cannot content the soul, but rouses it to more majestic thoughts. The wider view it takes of what is material, the more impatient it becomes of all material bonds. The

sublimer the prospects which are opened by the universe, the more the spirit is impelled to ascend to a still sublimer being. For ever it aspires towards an infinite and immutable One, as the ground of all finite and mutable existences. It can rest in his omnipotence alone as the source, centre, sustainer, determiner of all forces.

How signally has God imprinted on us the end of our being in giving us this central impulse towards himself! Why is it that this grandest thought in the universe, that the idea of this perfect Being, dawns on the human mind? If man were made to find his chief good within the compass of material nature, why does the Infinite Spirit shine upon us throughout all nature? The idea of God! Pause for a moment, and apprehend its grandeur. All other science fades into insignificance before its majesty. The treasures of all worlds are poor in contrast. This idea, brightened and unfolded till it becomes real to us, is as a new sun kindled within. From it a new light streams over and through the universe. By the transforming power of this one idea, all things become *new*. The idea of God! It is an exhaustless spring of energy against weakness, of peace amid vicissitude, of courage to do and suffer, of undying hope, of immortal life. The cynic may speak contemptuously of human nature; and the contemptible character of the world's ordinary principles, maxims, and feelings cannot well be exaggerated. But a being who can think the thought of God, be he ever so fallen, is by that single power exalted to a good, beyond all natural good. Plainly such an idea cannot have been given for no end. It is the seal of a heavenly destiny. It is the authentic handwriting of God upon the soul, revealing that man's true end is a growing likeness in spirit to himself.

2. I proceed to another proof that the soul was created to look beyond and above all material interests. What is the great *motive* that prompts man to the study of Nature? We know what intense labor has been given to this pursuit. Now what has stirred man to observe the sky, earth, atmosphere, plants, animals, — in a word, all orders of creatures? Why did Newton concentrate his vast intellect upon determining the motions of the universe? Why did Linnæus expend a life of toil in exploring the animal and vegetable kingdoms? Why have so many naturalists foregone the ease and security of civilized society, and plunged into savage forests, to note the habits of birds and insects, or to discover new minerals and plants? Has the great aim of these natural philosophers been to multiply the means of outward good? No! The unconquerable thirst for knowledge, for wide views, for a comprehension of the order and beauty of creation as a whole, — this it is that has driven them into solitudes and deserts, and compelled them to bend every energy, at cost of utmost sacrifice, to the work of interpreting the secrets of Nature. Truth! Truth has been the divinity they have worshipped. The great men of science, so far from caring for the body, have cheerfully worn it out in daily and nightly study, have condemned it to exposure, fatigue, suffering, coarse raiment, and scanty fare, and have died in poverty, that the soul might live in the light of truth. How many such glorious martyrs have left their record in the history of science! What, I repeat, has thus fired the soul of the natural philosopher? It has been the quenchless desire to penetrate beyond what is visible to hidden causes, to discover the great laws which pervade and govern all material movements, to trace out unity and harmony in the apparently complex confusion of the universe. This has been his inspiring aim.

Who does not behold a glorious signature of the end of the human soul in this hunger and thirst for truth? Nor let it be said that I have been speaking of the experience of a few gifted men only, which proves nothing as to the purpose for which the race was made. The distinctions among classes of men are far less than we suppose. The profoundest philosopher differs in degree only, not in kind, from the most uncultivated boor. Every man, however narrow his sphere, is daily putting forth in that very sphere the faculties which the philosopher exerts in his sublime pursuits. Every man has a love of truth, as truth. And the zeal with which our lecture-rooms through cities, towns, and villages are weekly thronged by multitudes, not a few of whom have spent the day in manual toil, but who forget

fatigue in the reception of new light and in the joy of mental refreshment, is a testimony to the spiritual end for which the whole race was formed, as well as a cheering omen of the brighter social state which must surely come.

3. In the preceding remarks we have seen that mind, in the very study of matter, looks beyond it, and seeks a spiritual good. I next observe that the human intellect is not confined to these branches of study, but everywhere manifests a tendency to higher investigations. The greatest minds, in all lands and ages, have given themselves to a profound study of the spirit itself. And this is another striking proof that we are created to look above everything outward to a spiritual end. Vast as has been the amount of thought bestowed upon the material universe, man s highest energy, through all generations, has been devoted to exploring the world within. The human mind has turned from all things, however wonderful and beautiful abroad, upon itself as the most interesting object of thought. And it has found within itself, in its original powers and affections, in its primitive intuitions and its growing acquirements, in its wonderful union of dependence and freedom, inexhaustible mysteries and problems which ages have failed to solve. The studies of philosophy bear peculiar testimony to the grandeur of our spiritual nature. And they prove that the culture of this spirit is the great work of life. The philosopher, in studying the mind, has found there not merely impressions received through the senses from the ever-changing world around, but immutable principles which are essential elements of the mind itself. He has found there ideas of the right, of the good, of the first cause, of infinity, of disinterested love, of moral freedom, of accountableness, — ideas which bear on them the stamp of universality and eternity, which are not arbitrary, local, transitory conceptions, but which belong essentially to all intelligent natures, and bring us into communion with the highest orders of being. Whilst all around man is mutable, he has found unchangeable elements, convictions of everlasting truth in the human soul.

The philosopher, indeed, in studying the soul, has not only discerned that it is distinguished from the fluctuating forms of matter, by its power of apprehending immutable principles. But he has often been led to question whether anything really exists in the universe, beyond mind and spirit; whether matter and the body have any substantial being; whether apparently external nature be not an actual creation of our own thought; or, in other words, whether, in believing in an outward world, we do anything more than ascribe reality to our own conceptions. Thus from the very dawn of philosophy there have been schools which have held that the material universe has no existence but in the mind that thinks it. I am far from assenting to these speculations. But I recur to them with pleasure, as indicating how readily the soul passes above matter, and as manifesting man's consciousness of the grandeur of his spiritual nature. Let me add that, whilst rejecting this doctrine as a whole, I receive an important part of it as undoubtedly true. I do not say that the world exists in our thoughts *only*. But I do say that it derives its most interesting properties from the mind which contemplates it. For example, the forms of outward objects have doubtless actual existence; but they owe their beauty — that mysterious charm — to thoughts and feelings which we blend with them, and of which they are but the reflected image. The very spot which is to one man a paradise, from the holy or happy thoughts which he has associated with it, may be to another a desert. The glory that crowns the outward world is but a radiance streaming from ourselves. How much of the interest of the creation lies in the marks of power and beneficent design, which apparently pervade it! But power and design are spiritual attributes, made known to us only by what passes within our own minds. So that from the spirit spring the great ideas which transform the universe to us into the symbol of the living God. May we not be sure then that the spirit was made for a spiritual end, transcending all good which the universe can bestow?

4. As another proof of the same doctrine, that man's end is a spiritual one, let me ask you next to turn your thoughts to a most remarkable tendency of human nature. I refer to man's power of conceiving of more perfect beauty than exists within the limits of actual

experience. Philosophers denote this power by the word "imagination." This term to many suggests a faculty that exaggerates or distorts reality, that feeds on dreams, and wastes itself on impracticable visions. Were these the true workings of the imagination, instead of being its excesses, I should still think them indications of a being who has a sublime destiny to fulfil. The reveries of youth, in which so much energy is wasted, are the yearnings of a spirit made for what it has not found but must for ever seek as an ideal. It is not the proper use of the imagination, however, to lose itself in dreams. This power, when acting, as it always should act, in unison with the moral principle, is a divine witness to the spiritual end of human nature. Imagination passes beyond the transient and the bounded. It delights to bring together, and to blend in just proportion, whatever is lovely in Nature and the soul. It separates from the elements of good all admixtures of evil and deformity, and thus aspires to the conception of peerless excellence and perfect beauty. In the present feeble unfoldings of virtue and greatness in human nature, it recognizes the germs of celestial goodness, and catches glimpses of the angel form which man is one day to wear. Imagination thus exalts and refines whatever it touches. For ever it sees in the visible the type of the invisible, and in the outward world an image of the inward, thus bringing them into harmony, and throwing added brightness over both. All things which it looks upon reveal a being higher than themselves. Perfection! This is the vital air and element in which the imagination breathes and lives. What a celestial power! What a testimony to the end of our being! Whence comes this tendency in human thought towards the perfect, if man be not born for a progress which can never end?

This principle of imagination — this desire for unattained good - - this delight in consummate forms of beauty and happiness, is not confined to a favored few. It is the fountain-head of the restless strivings of human life in every department. It is the soul of all great enterprise, though, when disjoined from the moral nature, and impelled by self-will, it may expend itself in destructive schemes of ambition. Above all, imagination inspires the poets, whose works have been the solace and encouragement of all nations through all stages of society. I am aware that some persons, when they hear poetry thus spoken of, by a religious teacher, as one of the signs of man's being created to look above outward things, are tempted to think that he is throwing an air of fiction over reality. They want facts, they say, not fancy. I too prize facts, and am adducing nothing else. It is a fact — who can deny it? — that poetry exists, and has existed among all people, savage and civilized. Its seeds are sown so plentifully in all human souls, that to overlook the beauty into which they bloom, is to close our eyes upon one of the most ennobling views of human nature. It is a fact, though many seem never to recognize it, that whole books of the Old Testament are poems, whose sublime strains of piety and prophecy have thrilled and still thrill innumerable hearts. It is a fact, that in all nations religion and patriotism have spoken first in the language of poetry; and that in most nations poetical genius has been regarded as an inspiration, and its works have been ranked amongst the most precious bequests of past ages. These are facts, attested by all history. And when we consider that the highest office of poetry is thus to satisfy the aspirations of the soul for the perfect, and to create more attractive and commanding forms of heavenly virtue than meet our eyes, how can we fail to see in it the indication that man is made for a spiritual end?

5. I proceed to another view, giving complete confirmation to this truth of man's spiritual destiny. Let me ask you to consider what form of human character it is that our nature impels us to regard with the most fervent admiration? What peculiarly excites our reverence for our fellow-beings? Whose are the names which we pronounce in terms of the most affectionate homage? Who are the men in whom human nature seems to be manifested in its brightest glory, who appear best to have fulfilled its end? In answering these questions, we shall find that the individuals who have left enduring traces of themselves in the mem-

ories and hearts of their fellows, and who are thought of with a spontaneous overflow of love and honor, are those who have made the greatest sacrifices of outward good for inward principle, for truth, humanity, religion, patriotism, and freedom. It is not to those who have labored for the body, but to those who have offered it up in virtuous toil, or martyrdom; it is not to those who have accumulated outward good, but to those who have parted with it most freely; not to those who have watched over and kept their lives, but to those who have cheerfully given them away, — that the tribute of reverence and joyful commemoration has been paid. In dramas, romances, histories, and biographies, the heroic sufferer for principle and generous affection wins the love of all uncorrupted hearts.

Contempt of all outward things, which come in competition with duty, fulfils the ideal of human greatness. This conviction, that readiness to sacrifice life's highest material good and life itself, is essential to the elevation of human nature, is no illusion of ardent youth, nor outburst of blind enthusiasm. It does not yield to growing wisdom. It is confirmed by all experience. It is sanctioned by conscience, — that universal and eternal lawgiver, — whose chief dictate is, that everything must be yielded up for the right. What a testimony have we here, that we were created to look above and beyond animal existence! Whilst we are impelled by urgent desires and needs to labor for outward means of good, yet our highest love and admiration are given to those who joyfully renounce them all. For such we rear our stateliest monuments. Wisdom, genius, and the people's heart preserve and hallow the memory of such heroes. In history and song, in painting and sculpture, we keep alive their names and images. Even superstition, in treasuring up the relics of martyrs, as endowed with miraculous power, is a witness to the glory of renouncing the body, and consecrating it to the cause of truth and right. Are we not surely made then to look above all outward things, and seek a spiritual end?

6. I shall adduce but one proof more of man's spiritual vocation. It is found in the principle of faith that aspires after an immortal life. I call this faith a natural principle, not only because it has been manifested through all nations, and is coexistent with the human race, but because it has its roots in all man's highest faculties and affections. Faith in immortality is but the supreme form of foresight and of hope. Who does not exercise these principles every hour? But what is there to bound their range within the future of this world? Have not hope and foresight an innate energy, impelling them towards eternity, which cannot be arrested by the tomb? Faith in the future life is natural; for it springs necessarily from the very ideas of God and duty, — ideas the most congenial and native to the soul! The perfection of God, his eternal power and goodness, in proportion as they become real to us, give birth to the assured hope of receiving a higher life from his hand than the present; and the consciousness of duty necessarily awakens an anticipation of equitable retribution, and of continued progress for all seekers of virtue. It is impossible that a being, capable of these great thoughts, should be pent up within a perishable body, or limited in development to this brief life. Accordingly there is a deep want in our nature, to which no change of outward circumstance brings relief; that increases with civilization, refinement, knowledge, and our power over the natural world; that adds immeasurably to the weight of disappointment and calamity; that cries out for and unweariedly seeks a higher mode of being. To many men, indeed, the future life becomes so real and so near, as to destroy their interest in the present. The actual life fades before the light of immortality, as tapers pale before the sun. Faith becomes too vivid to allow a just concern for the events of this transient world. Is not a being, gifted with such foresight and sublime power of hope, manifestly created to live and work, and for ever aspire towards a spiritual end?

The doctrine of this discourse is no barren speculation, but a practical truth, bearing directly on active life, and affecting our whole happiness here and hereafter. It seems to need a specially earnest exposition at the present day, not because it is denied, but because it is thrown out of sight in the vehemence

of worldly pursuits. In every age some element of our nature is brought out disproportionately, and exerts too exclusive a control. At present the material principle is unfolded with such augmented power, that the true balance between man's spiritual and animal nature is disturbed, if not destroyed. We have arrived at a period of civilization when man's mastery over outward forces begins to be understood. This knowledge of the laws of the material world has received mighty impulses and practical applications, never conceived of before. Consequently the prospect of physical comfort and enjoyment, once confined to the few, is now thrown open to all. Unhappily, no proportionate new light has been cast upon the capacities and energies of the spirit. The true doctrine seems to be dying out, — that man's elevation and happiness consist and can be found only in strength of soul, in clear conceptions and deep convictions of everlasting truth, in calm reliance upon God and duty, in stern resolve of cleaving to the right, in self-possession under every change, in self-conquest amidst all temptation, in energy to do or suffer whatever may be imposed by conscience, in disinterested and fearless self-consecration to whatever good work we may be appointed by Providence.

This spiritual dominion, this kingdom of heaven within the soul, alone endures, alone gives dignity and peace. And yet with what scepticism, indifference, and even scorn is such a doctrine heard in this age of materialism, of machinery, and of proud trust in man's dominion over Nature! Still, let the true doctrine be preached in full confidence that what is so confirmed by the attestations of conscience, in all ages, cannot but find response. Man's spiritual nature is no dream of theologians to vanish before the light of natural science. It is the grandest reality on earth. Everything here but the soul of man is a passing shadow. The only enduring substance is within. When shall we awake to the sublime greatness, the perils, the accountableness, and the glorious destinies of the immortal soul! Oh for a voice of power to arouse the human spirit from its death in life of animality, to quicken it with a fit consciousness of its own nature, to lift it to an adequate comprehension of the purposes for which the sublime thoughts of God, of duty, of disinterested love, of heaven, are opened within! In what a vain show we walk, while we toil without ceasing for the perishable, and remain blind and dead to the everlasting, the perfect, and the divine!

VIII.

THE PERFECTING POWER OF RELIGION.

MATTHEW v. 48: "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect."

BY what influence is religion our supreme good? Much mystery would be removed from the religious life, and men would seek it more wisely and efficiently, if they understood with more precision the true blessedness which it confers. On this point my views may be expressed in a few words. My belief is that the supreme good of an intelligent and moral being is the perfection of its nature. Nothing gives what is worthy of being considered happiness, and nothing is of enduring benefit, unless it exalts us to that excellence for which God designs us. Religion is the spring of peace and joy as the inspirer of universal virtue, — as pre-eminently a *quickening* principle, giving life and energy to the intellect and the heart, fortifying conscience, and animating it with an unconquerable purpose of duty, awakening love in its purest and most disinterested forms, raising thought to its highest objects, and thus training

our whole being to that fulness, harmony, and beauty, the union of which constitutes perfection.

Religion gives happiness by its inward influence. Too many ascribe to it a different operation. They regard it as a worship of God, in order to win his favor. They imagine that it serves and saves us by conciliating our Maker, by its effect upon another, not upon ourselves; by its procuring good from abroad, not by its unfolding and elevating our own souls. Few, indeed, understand how essential is the growth of their own highest affections and energies, — that without this nothing can do them good, and that to promote this is the great function of religion.

This truth is worthy of development. Let me restate it, so that it may be fully understood. I affirm, then, that the great office of religion is to call forth, elevate, and purify the spirit of man, and thus to conform it to its divine original. I know no other way in which religion is to promote our happiness; for I know no happiness but that of a good, wise, upright, firm, powerful, disinterested, elevated character. I look to religion for blessings, because it includes and promotes universal excellence, brings the soul into health and concord, enlarges it, unfolds it in due proportions, and exalts it to the beauty and power for which it was created. It is the office of religion, I repeat once more, to call forth the *whole* spirit of man, the intellect, the conscience, the affections, the will; to awaken energy and holy purpose; to inspire a calm and rational, yet a profound, love of truth and goodness, against which all powers of the universe will be impotent. Did I not hope for this quickening influence from religion, I could not speak of it as the supreme good. For our supreme good is the perfection of our being; and nothing which does not involve and promote this deserves the name.

It is said, I know, that our happiness comes from God, not from ourselves. And this language, justly interpreted, conveys a great truth. God is the only fountain of blessedness. But from the nature of things, and from his own perfection, he makes beings blessed through and according to the capacities with which he endows them, and in no other way. I can expect from my Creator no happiness but one proportioned to my nature. And what is my nature? I answer, that pre-eminently I am a moral being. I have a sense of duty, a perception of virtue, an inward voice commanding me with divine authority to reverence right in every act, to eradicate all evil from my heart and life, and to advance towards that perfection of which I catch a glimpse, but which shines in full glory far before me. Now I affirm that the proper blessedness of such a being, that for which I was made, consists in conforming myself to this principle of rectitude. I am not more conscious that I live, than I am that the moral principle is given to be the governing power of my nature; and that in resisting it, or in abandoning it to the sway of the passions, I do and must forfeit the proper good of my being. No other real good is left. In resisting it, I arm against myself, and turn into a foe the divinest power of my soul; carry on a perpetual war in my own breast, and incur that severest suffering in the universe, — self-rebuke. These remarks will show in what sense we are to believe that God gives us happiness. He gives it to us through ourselves, through the improvement of our whole nature, and in no other way. And the knowledge, love, and service of God, or religion, is the means of supreme good, because it is the great quickening principle by which our being is perfected.

We are to be made happy then — let us never forget it — by what we ARE, not by what we *have*, by the purity and power of our own minds, and not by what is given us from abroad. We are too apt, with insane eagerness, to gather round ourselves defences and means of enjoyment, whilst the mind is left uneducated, and the character untrained. We are too apt to use religion itself as a kind of outward charm, and to expect that it will make us happy by some mysterious agency, instead of looking to it as the central, life-giving principle, and as the great refiner and purifier of the soul.

I. Am I asked how religion is the impelling power towards perfection, and how, in strengthening it, we fortify every noble principle? I will give a few answers drawn, in the first instance, from our moral nature.

1. Religion gives infinite worth to conscience. Religion does not create conscience. For whether I am a religious man or not, I shall, as a man, still have some sense of duty, and of the distinctions between good and evil. But this moral principle lacks life, when not quickened and sustained by confidence in a righteous God. Conscience is not equal of itself to the work of withstanding temptation, and raising us to our true dignity. The passions are too strong. Do not all feel this to be true? Persuade a man that no higher authority in the universe than his own conscience enjoins on him self-restraint, cut him off from any higher lawgiver and judge than his own reason, and probably he will become enslaved to some lower principle. The conscience was never intended to govern alone. It was made to derive dominion from a conscious union with a supreme being. And this supreme being is revealed to us by religion. Religion is faith in an infinite Creator, who delights in and enjoins that rectitude which conscience commands us to seek. This conviction gives a divine sanction to duty. From religion I learn that my idea of right is not an individual, private, personal conviction, but that it is derived from the universal parent; that it is His inspiration; that it is not a lonely voice in my own soul, but the word of the infinite will. Now I see that goodness is not merely a law of my own mind, but the supreme law of the universe, that all intelligent beings are subject to it, that all creation conspires to fulfil it. Without this faith in a holy God, duty would be but a whisper in my breast. With him it comes in a voice louder than all thunders. Without a consciousness of God, I might hope to win happiness in spite of the violation of the law of rectitude. Now I know that it would be more rational to seek happiness on the rack or in the furnace, than in wrong-doing. All Nature now becomes to me the preacher of righteousness; for the heavens and the earth, the sunshine and storms, in their very order, reveal an almighty power, who is pledged to the support of virtue and to the suppression of sin. Without a God, there would be no other inspector of my motives, thoughts, desires, and purposes than my own soul; and I might succeed in disguising from myself, and hiding from others, inward impurity and deformity. But now a light more piercing than a thousand suns, and veiled by no cloud nor night, shines full upon me; and I feel that my most secret purposes lie bare before infinite purity. Who does not recognize the authority added to conscience, the sanction given to duty, by this confidence in an almighty lawgiver and an ever-present judge, whose laws and supreme delight are the moral perfection of His children.

2. In another view, religion is the great spring of moral improvement. This confidence in God alone gives the hope of reaching perfection. Hope inspires energy But without trust in God I have no sufficient hope to excite and sustain persevering efforts after excellence. True, there are other aids of virtue besides religion, — the approbation and rebukes of conscience, the esteem and honor of fellow-beings, the present recompenses of uprightness and charity. But that watchful discipline over the inmost thoughts and motives, that aspiration after disinterestedness and inward purity, that scorn of suffering in the way of well-doing, that preference of the soul's health and progress to outward interests, that conflict with absorbing self-love, — all of which are so essential to eminence and permanence of rectitude, — come not from ourselves. They demand continual, fresh supplies of divine inspiration. So tremendous is the power of passion, so subtle is temptation, so contagious is the influence of example, that a man, conscious of no higher power than his own, and expecting no improvement but such as he can compass by his unaided will, might well despair of resisting the combined powers of evil. An infinite motive is needed to quicken us in this never-ending war with selfishness and the world. And where is such a motive to be found, if we believe in no everlasting friend of goodness, and in no future life where our present spiritual growth will be crowned with perfection?

Take away the prophetic hopes of religion, and my nature is full of discouraging contradictions. I see and approve the good, and resolve on amendment and progress. I have conceptions of excellence, which I burn to make real in character and deed. But

the weight of mortality depresses the spirit to the dust; resistless currents are hurrying down my nature to indulgence; there is a tendency to excess in every passion and impulse; and sensuality and sloth perpetually thwart the upward efforts of the moral nature. Is there in the universe no power of good to overcome evil higher than I am conscious of in my own breast? How then can I ever realize that ideal of excellence which shines before me? Then can I attain at best but to a low virtue. When I consider, too, — as without religious faith I must, — that even this low virtue will soon pass from me, that I have no power to preserve it beyond the grave, that every high aspiration, benevolent sympathy, and upright energy is to perish with the body, what motive remains sufficient to quicken me in becoming better? Hope is the gift of religion. Religion teaches not only that there is an infinite lawgiver, but an infinite inspirer of virtue. It teaches us that God delights to perfect his intelligent offspring; that he has made us for the very end of imparting to us his own spirit; and that there are no bounds to this communication of his life. It teaches us that we are subjected to temptations, both within and without, as a trial to awaken effort, to remind us of our need of aid, and to prepare us for a higher mode of spiritual being. It teaches us that the Ever-Living has infinite love for each human soul, and that present virtue is but the germ of an ever-growing goodness. According to religion no effort can be lost. What we gain here we shall carry with us hereafter. Death will be a *birth* into a new life. Sprung from an eternal parent, surely as God lives we are to live for ever. Our connection with the eternal One gives us a hold on all future ages. In him there is a power to uphold and carry us forward through a boundless universe, and without end. Believing in the All-Good, I feel that the perfection of my own spirit is no dream; that it may become a reality; that this spirit may actually be pure, powerful, bright, and blessed as an angel's; that, if faithful to the laws of the religious life, I shall conquer not only death, but what is so much more terrible than death, the power of moral evil! Believing in a Heavenly Father, I can set no bound to my hope of what man is to become under the purifying influence of Jesus Christ and his religion. I anticipate that here on earth, perhaps at no distant day, when Christianity shall be purified from its corruptions, that human character will rise to greater dignity and beauty than we can now conceive. And when I look forward to the future world, to a succession of ages without end, I am overwhelmed with a sense of impotence to conjecture to what heights of power, love, happiness, a human being, loyal to God and to duty, is destined to attain. The most glowing language in which genius and piety have sought to shadow forth the felicities of man's future being seems but tame and inexpressive. Man, improving for ever under the influences of the infinite and immortal God, is assured of a destiny as incomprehensible now as is God's own being.

3. I can offer but one other consideration to show that religion is the great spring of elevation in character. It offers to us, for our veneration and love and perpetual intercourse, a Being whose character comprehends all venerable and lovely attributes; who reveals to us within himself, without spot or limit, that very perfection of goodness after which our moral nature impels us to aspire. We all know the aid which the mind acquires from communion with a human being of noble qualities; how, in admiring him, it exalts itself; how his presence, voice, countenance, influence, lift it above its ordinary tone. To contemplate and love excellence is to be inspired by it. Attachment to an excellent being is itself excellent, and conforms us to his image. Now religion places us in the presence of infinite purity. It raises the mind in meditation, gratitude, sympathy, and filial awe to the Father of the universe. It recognizes everywhere in creation the traces and radiant signatures of the greatest and best mind. It teaches us to feel that a higher than man's agency, a grander than man's presence, for ever surrounds us. I know nothing but this conscious relationship with an existence more exalted than our own that can truly elevate us. We suffer, and often deeply, by our intercourse with fellow beings. Perpetually we are tempted to fall under the influence of lower feel-

ings, till we become insensible to the reality and worth of our highest spiritual nature. But by feeling the presence and the perfection of our spiritual Father, the consciousness of our own spiritual being brightens within us. Sentiments of love and veneration towards this invisible source of all spiritual good subdue the depressing influences of our material organization. Religion, where it becomes a principle of life, works a greater transformation in our existence, than would be wrought were a new eye given to us, by which we should behold ourselves surrounded with a higher race of spiritual beings, and thus should be enabled to enter into intimate intercourse with them. In truth, all other friendships are powerless to exalt the character, or to give happiness, compared to this divine friendship, which is the very essence of the religious life.

II. The doctrine that religion can do us good, only by refining and perfecting our whole being, is of such great moment, that I proceed to illustrate it further. For I am satisfied that one cause of the limited sway of religion is the narrow conception formed of its function. That religion is a universal principle, — spreading its influence through the whole being, developing every power to a fulness which it could not otherwise attain, diffusing inspiration through the intellect, as well as the conscience and the will, taking under its purifying rule the appetites and passions as well as the affections, imparting fresh interest to common existence, exalting and expanding practical energy, refining and adorning social manners, adding cheerfulness as well as purity to friendly intercourse, and blessing us only by this universally enlivening agency, — this is a truth not yet understood as it should be. Hence to many, religion, instead of being thought of as comprehending whatever is good, wise, energetic, beautiful, great, and happy in human nature, is a word of doubtful import, — especially suggesting notions of restraint, repression, narrowness of thought, exclusive feeling, and habitual gloom.

I could not commend the religious life, did I not view it in the broad light in which I am now attempting to place it. For nothing can make us truly happy but our perfection. And the very idea of perfection is, that the *whole* nature of a being is unfolded in due proportion, so that the highest and worthiest powers will hold ascendency, and all others, by acting in their true spheres, will fulfil the end for which they were given. Such universal development constitutes, as we all know, the health and beauty of the body. A man in whom a few organs only should grow would be a monster. Even if this excess should occur in his noblest organs, as the head or the eye, we should still regard him as deformed. The body is a healthful and beautiful organization, only when the principle of life acts generously through all its parts, expanding all in a just degree, so that each contributes to the vigor and symmetry of the whole. Such an organization we call a perfect body. And so perfection of mind consists in well-proportioned activity and life, through *all* its faculties, affections, desires, powers, whereby they all grow up into one harmonious whole.

The prevalent error always has been, that men have confined their conceptions of religion too much to its *direct* agencies. They have supposed it to consist chiefly in immediate thoughts of God, in immediate addresses to him, and in fervors of emotion called forth by immediate contemplation of his glory. Now religion so viewed cannot insure our highest happiness. I know, indeed, that these spiritual acts are often the most delightful of which our nature is capable. The pious man, when able to concentrate every energy of mind and heart upon the infinite goodness of his Creator, and to enter by faith and hope into communion with the unseen and everlasting world, has a foretaste of joy unspeakable and full of glory. But I need not tell you that this elevation of thought and feeling is not designed to be the ordinary state of even the most improved human beings. We were plainly not designed for this constant intense action of our spirits towards our Creator. No effort on our part can long sustain it. And were it sustained for a protracted period, it would end in the exhaustion and derangement of our faculties. Besides, there are not a few who seem constitutionally incapacitated for such ardor of religious emotion. If religion insured our happiness, then, only

as giving us an immediate enjoyment of God, it would really contribute but little to our well-being, — the greater part of life being necessarily devoted to other duties and engagements, to intercourse with fellow-beings, to toils and relaxations, and to putting forth creative energy on the material world. We cannot live absorbed in the work of adoration. We cannot keep our minds perpetually bent upon one object. And the brighter that object the sooner are we dazzled and exhausted.

I am conscious that I was made for an endless variety of thoughts, interests, sympathies, and occupations. I have curiosity impelling me to seek the new and explore the mysterious; the reasoning faculty prompting me to infer the unknown from the known, and to rise from particulars to general truths; imagination for ever surpassing the bounds of the real and the present; the love of beauty enjoying all harmonies; social affections, putting on a thousand forms according to the relations and characters of those around me; the senses, through which countless images and symbols of the material world rush in and throng my mind; and finally animal appetites compelling me to put forth energy upon material objects. Now all these principles and tendencies of my nature are various capacities of enjoyment, and all demand their proper forms of good. Nothing can make me truly happy but a universal principle, that watches over, protects, calls forth, and gratifies in their due order all these various elements of my being. Such I hold to be the influence of religion; and it is through this function that it becomes our supreme good.

I insist the more on this, because religion has suffered from nothing so much as the false notion of its being an exclusive principle. Men in all ages have thought that they must sacrifice to religion some element of their nature. To cherish the religious principle, some have warred against their social affections, and have led solitary lives; some against their senses, and have abjured all pleasure in asceticism; some against reason, and have superstitiously feared to think; some against imagination, and have foolishly dreaded to read poetry or books of fiction; some against the political and patriotic principle, and have shrunk from public affairs, — all apprehending that if they were to give free range to their natural emotions, their religious life would be chilled or extinguished. Thus the notion of hostility, between religion and human nature, has in some form or other insinuated itself into believers of most different systems of faith. Now, in opposition to all such views, I would maintain that the true office of religion is to bring out the *whole nature* of man in harmonious activity, and that, by thus developing it after a divine order, to show how divine a work human nature is, and for what divine happiness it is destined.

To understand better this office and agency of religion, let us observe that our nature is composed of superior and inferior powers. All these religion takes under its care, the lowest as well as the highest. But it promotes our happiness in an especial manner by enlivening and perfecting the highest first. And to this influence of religion the necessary limits of this discourse compel me to confine attention. These higher powers of human nature are commonly ranged under two classes, the moral and the rational — the first called conscience, or the power of rectitude; the last called intellect, or the power of knowing truth. These being our highest powers, nothing can be plainer, as was argued under the former head of this discourse, than that our happiness depends upon their free and full development. The just view of religion, which I am anxious to present, is, that it is the great principle by which these distinguishing powers of humanity are quickened and enlarged, and that in this way it chiefly promotes our happiness. Under the former head, I have shown how religion perfects our moral faculties by unfolding the conscience. I pass now to the second class of our higher faculties, the rational, and would briefly show that it is the office of religion to perfect the intellect.

It is a painful reflection that as yet the intellect is a source of but little happiness to the majority of mankind. In the vast multitudes among all nations, it is doomed to inaction and lethargy. In the laboring classes of every land it is famished by want of education, oppressed by drudging toil and urgent necessities of the animal nature, and darkened by countless prejudices and

superstitions. And in all classes, however cultivated, intellect is too much the slave of the senses and of selfish passions, and is yet to be awakened to a consciousness of its real glory. To religion I look as the power by which this divine faculty is to be revealed and exalted to its true felicity. Am I asked how religion acts so beneficially upon the intellect, I answer in various ways, of which a few only can now be selected for illustration.

1. Religion then is the great inspirer of the intellect in the first place, by exhibiting its essential grandeur, and by teaching it to reverence itself. It is religion only that teaches us this reverence for the intellect. For it alone reveals to us the connection of the intellect with God, its derivation from his wisdom, its nearness to his reason, its capacity of everlasting reception of his light of truth. Separated from God, I can regard my intellect only as a power, which is to endure but a brief span, and which can advance but little beyond its present bounds. And when so viewed, I am oppressed by the consciousness of the impotence and insufficiency of human intelligence. There is not a single object of my thought in regard to which the unknown does not infinitely exceed what I am able to know. The moment I would penetrate beneath the surface, whether of material things or of spiritual beings, whether of the lifeless stone or of the thinking soul, I find a depth utterly unfathomable by my reason in this present stage of existence. And even within the narrow sphere of actual knowledge, errors constantly admonish me of my mental weakness. So that every act of my mind leads to most humbling and discouraging estimates of itself. I do not wonder that men of superior intelligence, but wanting in religious faith, have been led by a review of the extravagances and baffled efforts of the philosophic class, to treat with contempt all claims of human reason of attaining to truth. It is only as we apprehend our relationship to an all-wise God that we can understand ourselves, and become to ourselves objects of awe and solemn interest. The human mind, regarded as the offspring of the infinite mind, consciously partakes of the grandeur of its source. Let me know that an infinite intelligence pervades the universe, and I feel that intelligence without bounds may be possible also for myself. Let me further know that this infinite intelligence is the parent of my mind, has an interest in it, watches over it, and created it that it should unfold for ever, and partake more and more of His own truth, and how can I but regard my intellect with veneration? Then I look abroad upon this vast creation, which before had discouraged me, with joy and hope; for I see in its very vastness only a wider field for intellectual culture. I cease to be depressed by learning slowly, if I am to learn for ever. Nor am I any longer cast down by difficulties in gaining truth; for the energy and hardihood of thought, acquired by struggling with obstacles and by a laborious training, are the best preparation for an endless progress. Religion thus reveals the grandeur, and still more the sacredness, of human intellect. For it shows that reason is not figuratively but really a divine energy working in us. No other motive can have equal efficacy in teaching us to watch over and expand this heavenly gift. The power of this motive is but little known, because man's living relationship with God through the *vital influence* of religion has as yet been but faintly comprehended; and what has been called religion has too often tended to depress rather than to invigorate human reason.

2. In another way religion gives life to the intellect, and converts its action into a means of joy. It communicates new interest to all objects of thought. Religion begins by revealing to us the most interesting being in the universe, whose character is inexhaustible alike in its essential perfection and in its endless manifestations; and whose nearness to us, and constant influence upon us, arrest the mind with intense admiration, such as all other beings cannot inspire. Nor is this all. Religion reveals creation to us as *vitally* connected with this Being of beings, the work of his incessant power, the object of his constant care, comprehended within his boundless goodness, and moved and guided by his influent energy. Thus it throws a new light over all existences, and invests them with a portion of the interest with which God himself is regarded. Yes! All things within and around us, the earth, sea, and heavens, our fellow-

creatures and the material world, human nature and human history, — all rise into a brighter glory, disclose profounder meanings, and attract the mind with a new charm, when once they are associated in our thoughts with the infinite mind. The universe becomes an open book of divine wisdom. Nothing appears too small to become worthy of study, when we recognize that God has imprinted on it his thought, and left within it some symbol of his own perfection. All true science is essentially religious. It springs from the intuition of permanent and universal law in Nature. And its end is to trace out connections, dependencies, and harmonious laws throughout creation. It looks upon Nature as one vast system, as a complex whole, all parts of which are bound together and are co-working for the common good. Now these harmonies, connections, general laws, and common purposes are all the emanation and expression of a supreme and disposing mind. They are divine intelligence made visible. It is then the intelligence pervading Nature that science studies. Thus in all its discoveries it is virtually tracing out the method of divine reason, and, however unintentionally, it contributes to the glory of God's revealed truth. The tendencies of science are all towards God. And consequently it can never be prosecuted so triumphantly and so joyfully as when quickened and led by the living consciousness of communion with the infinite mind.

3. This leads us to another view, showing us the influence of the religious principle in perfecting the intellect. It favors that primary virtue of an intelligent being, fairness of mind, the honest disposition to receive light whencesoever it may come. This uprightness of judgment, impartiality in research, and superiority to prejudice contributes more to the discovery of truth, and to real wisdom, than the most splendid genius or the most laborious acquirement. This simple sincerity is worth more than all books, teachers, colleges, and literary apparatus. No matter with what power of intellect a man may be gifted, no matter how extensive may be his means of knowledge, if he want candor, openness to conviction, readiness to see and acknowledge error, and above all reverence for truth as sacred, his intellectual endowments will be used only to fortify himself in prejudice, to defend opinions which passion has recommended to his intellect, or to invent doctrines which will best serve to build up his fame. The wildest theories, most ruinous projects, and most pernicious principles have owed their origin to highly intellectual men. Now I know no influence like that of religion to form an upright mind. This influence it exerts, not only by inspiring us with that reverence for the intellect already spoken of, but also by awakening the conviction that the intellect is formed for continual progress toward truth; and that, consequently, to chain it down to its present imperfect views, is to rob it of its destiny. Still more, religion exerts this influence by making us feel that we are carrying on our most private inquiries, reasonings, judgments, in the presence of that God who is infinite light, and whose intelligence is truth. It is the secrecy with which the mind prosecutes its researches, weighs evidence, and makes objections, that tempts us to shut our eyes to the light. But a consciousness of the presence of God to the mind brings home to us our responsibility for our judgments as well as actions. The consciousness that his pure eye inspects us, compels us to inspect ourselves, and to guard jealously against every influence from abroad, or from our own passions, which may pervert the reason. Thus it makes luminous the intellect. Religion opens the mind to truth; and truth is the atmosphere wherein our rational nature becomes illumined and made fit to enter the world of perfect light.

4. This doctrine, that it is religion which chiefly quickens the intellect and makes it a blessing, might be illustrated by a variety of considerations which it was my hope to place before you, but on which time is wanting to enlarge. I intended, for instance, to show that the principle of universal love, which is embraced in true religion, and is indeed its essence, disposes the mind to the most enlarged thinking, and at the same time makes knowledge active and practical, thus converting it into wisdom, by directing it to the promotion of the highest good in the service of mankind.

5. Again, I particularly intended to show that religion is a source of light

to the intellect by opening to it the highest order of truths, and thus introducing it to a celestial happiness. On this topic it might not be easy to avoid the charge of mysticism. I believe, however, and I wished to prove, that the highest truths are not those which we learn from abroad. No outward teaching can bestow them. They are unfolded from within, by our very progress in the religious life. New ideas of perfection, new convictions of immortality, a new consciousness of God, a new perception of our spiritual nature, come to us as revelations, and open upon us with a splendor which belongs not to this world. Thus we gain the power to look with deeper penetration into human life, as well as into the universe. We read a wider significance in events. We attain to glimpses of the infinite mind and of a future world, which, though we may not be able to define them in human speech, we yet know to correspond to realities. Now this higher wisdom, whereby the intellect anticipates the bright visions which await it in another life, comes only from the growth and dominant influence of the religious principle, by which we become transformed more and more into the likeness of God. So true is it that religion makes intellect a blessing, and an infinite blessing.

In this discourse I have thus aimed to show how religion is our supreme good, by giving life and force to our highest powers, bringing them into the healthiest and most harmonious activity, and quickening us in the pursuit of perfection. Earnestly do I insist that religion blesses us by no mysterious agency in procuring the favor of an all-powerful being who will do everything for us without our co-operation, but by unfolding that pure, firm, disinterested, lofty character, and that large, just, and wise intelligence, — which conform us to the likeness of our divine Parent, and best fit us to enjoy fellowship with him, in his natural creation and in his spiritual world. Religion welcomes us to be perfect, as our Father in heaven is perfect.

IX.

JESUS CHRIST THE BROTHER, FRIEND, AND SAVIOUR.

LUKE ii. 10, 11, 12: "Behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people. For unto you is born this day a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord. And this shall be a sign unto you; Ye shall find the babe wrapped in swaddling clothes, lying in a manger."

CHRISTMAS has come once more, — the day devoted by the large majority of Christians to the commemoration of the nativity of the Saviour. In both hemispheres of our globe, and almost from pole to pole, the voice of thanksgiving to-day is lifted up, for the coming of Christ into the world. The appropriation of this day for a festival is not, indeed, a part of our religion. But it is natural, it is human, — when so many of our brethren are turning their hearts and thoughts to Bethlehem, — that we should repair thither with them to sympathize in their pious gratitude. Accordingly, this text has been chosen as the guide of our morning meditations.

Why then should we feel "great joy," as in thought we gather around this "babe" lying in the "manger"? The question may be answered in various forms. Two views are suggested by the text, to which I shall ask in turn your attention. First, we should rejoice, because we have a Saviour, who was *born;* and secondly, because his birth was marked by conditions of singular *humiliation*. After considering these two points, I will close this discourse with unfolding the sense in which, as it appears to me, this babe, born in the manger of Bethlehem, became and is a *Saviour*.

I. It is a ground of great joy, I think, that we have a Saviour who was *born* to us, — that is, a Saviour who appeared in *our own nature.* You know it is the doctrine of many Christians — a doctrine supported apparently by the letter of various texts — that Jesus existed before his human birth. Now, I say, that it is cause of gratitude and joy that he did not come to us in a pre-existent glory, that he did not descend from heaven in the array of an archangel. It is matter of joy that our deliverer was clothed with humanity. For this has brought him near us, and established a bond of sympathy which is inestimably precious.

Jesus, by his birth, was truly a *human being;* and in this we should rejoice. He was flesh of our flesh. He had our wants and desires, our hunger and thirst, our sensations of pleasure and pain, our natural passions. He was born of woman, was folded in a mother's arms, was nourished from a mother's breast; and he felt the gratitude, the tenderness of a son. He bore the relations of human life towards kindred, neighbors, and friends. He grew up amidst the labors of mortal men, ate the bread of his own earnings, and was acquainted by experience with the hardships to which the multitude of mankind are exposed. He was thus actually one of our race, a brother of the great human family. And we have reason to rejoice that such a deliverer was sent to us. I am not prepared to say that the benefit of such an appointment is, that it gives us a Saviour who can sympathize with us more strongly than one who had not been born. But it certainly does give us a Saviour whose sympathy we can better understand. And this is of vast moment. I am not prepared to say that a superangelic being, continuing such, might not have entered into all our wants and feelings as truly as one of our race. Our ideas of higher orders of beings are very much perverted by the habit of comparing them with the higher ranks of men on earth. We are apt to conceive of angels as separated from us immeasurably, as filled with the consciousness of their superiority, as looking down upon us with feelings not unlike those with which the aristocracy of this world regard the lower classes of men. The true doctrine, I believe, is, that just in proportion as a being rises in the scale of intelligence and virtue, he becomes knit by tenderer sympathy with inferior orders of being. In truth, he rises above the conception of different orders. He regards all beings, who possess thought, conscience, and the power of knowing God, as his brethren. He respects them as essentially his equals, in consequence of their capacity of indefinite improvement. He recognizes his own nature in the lowest human creature, and is most solicitous to raise the most fallen. Yes! My belief is, that the beings who sympathize most with human infirmity and sorrow, and who feel most deeply for human guilt, are the beings who are *above* us.

I do not say, then, that Jesus, if he was a superangelic being, needed to become a man, in order that he might feel with men. But it was necessary that he should do so, in order that men might trust in his sympathy, and might approach him in fraternal and friendly relations. A being immeasurably raised above us, wearing another form, a stranger to our wants, and clad in celestial splendors, had he come into the world, would have awed and dazzled, but would not have drawn men to free, familiar, and affectionate intercourse. Before such unwonted grandeur the human mind would have sunk, under the consciousness of inferiority. Its faculties would have been fettered, and its free agency checked. Such a heavenly stranger would have been unintelligible. The language of human affection, coming from his lips, could not have been literally interpreted. The multitude would not have understood how, within such a form, dwelt a brother's heart, and the sensibility of one "born of woman." It was an inestimable advantage, derived from the human birth of Jesus, from his being subjected to all human wants and trials, from his sustaining our natural relations, that his human emotions, his sympathies, his feeling of universal brotherhood, found free and constant scope for manifestation, and that the reality of this bond was felt.

I should say that the greater the redeemer, the stronger was the necessity of his veiling his greatness and of his appearing in the form of a man, and of the lowliest man. Nothing was so

needful as that the Saviour of men should be comprehended in his virtues and in his precepts. And for this end it was important that he should be divested of everything that might overpower the senses; and that men should be encouraged to approach him nearly, to watch and read his mind in his countenance, tones, and movements, and to make him the object of their deliberate scrutiny. To this end, I conceive, the miracles of Jesus were studiously performed in the most unostentatious way. He seemed anxious to veil his majesty under the love with which they were wrought. Stupendous works, which would have overwhelmed the human mind, would have prevented all comprehension of the true character of Jesus. Accordingly, whilst his miracles had an inherent grandeur, and were performed with a simple dignity, that proved his divine mission, they were so tempered with mildness and beneficence as to leave the spectator in the use of his faculties, and to reveal Jesus as the friend and brother as well as lord of the human race.

These views should teach us how much we owe to the human birth of Jesus. That placed him in the midst of us. That made him one of ourselves. We can now understand him. We can confide in his sympathy. I feel, indeed, as if, with my present views of the heavenly world, I should not shrink before an archangel. But these views I owe to Christianity. They were unknown when Jesus appeared. And perhaps I deceive myself. Perhaps with an archangel's form I could not associate the idea of *fraternal* sympathy. But with Jesus, who was born at Bethlehem, I can form this association. He wore our nature; and therefore I know that our nature is honored by him, and is precious to him. He was born of woman, thus becoming the brother of us all; and I therefore know that he feels a brother's love for all. I am, indeed, profoundly impressed with his greatness. I know no superior greatness save that of the infinite Father. But his human birth, and his participation of human nature, make that greatness endearing and encouraging, not overwhelming and exclusive. Great as he is, he was still born of a woman. That head was pillowed on a mother's breast. Those eyes shed tears over human sorrow. He had sensibility to pain, as we all have, and shrank with natural horror from an agonizing death. Thus he was one of us. He was a man. I see in him a brother and a friend. I feel the reality of that large, loving, *human* sympathy, which so gloriously distinguished his whole character and life. Let us rejoice then that Christ the Saviour was *born*.

II. In the next place, let us rejoice that the birth of Jesus was so *humble*. He was cradled in a manger! I repair to that lowly spot, and look on that infant born in poverty, with a complacency which no condition, however splendid, would give me. And I thus feel great joy, because the humble birth of Jesus was an introduction to the hardships and sufferings of his career. His manger was the foreshadow of his cross. And to the sufferings and the cross of Jesus, more than to all else, do we owe our knowledge of his spirit, mind, and character; of the peculiar strength, tenderness, disinterestedness and expansiveness of his sympathy and love.

To this view I ask your attention. I rejoice then in the clouds which gathered early, and continually thickened around the outward lot of Jesus, because the light within him broke through and changed them into resplendent glory. Our great privilege as Christians is that we know the mind and the character of Jesus, and these were brought out by the condition in which he was placed. How often great virtue is hidden, how often great power slumbers, for want of an appropriate sphere, for want of the trials, by which alone true greatness can be revealed. Had Jesus been born under a regal roof, rocked in the cradle of ease, and surrounded from birth with imposing pomp, he might have lavished gifts with a bountiful hand, but the omnipotence of his love would never have been known as it now is. He would have encountered no opposition; and therefore his chief victories — the victories of his calm courage, of his unconquerable philanthropy — could not have been won. How entirely he gave himself up to the work of love we should not have conceived. Jesus on a throne, followed at every step by obsequious multitudes,

hearing no sounds but shouts of praise, anticipated in every want, obeyed at the slightest intimation of his will, might have loved us as earnestly as did the poor and persecuted Jesus; but who could have looked into the depths of his soul? Who could have measured the energy of his goodness? Who would have comprehended that a mind of a *new order* had come to act on human affairs? When is it that I learn to know and feel the mind of Jesus? It is when I see him associating with the ignorant and lowly, and conforming himself to their lot, that he might more effectually bring great truths within the reach of their intelligence, and might enrich them with new virtues and hopes. It is when I see him beset with foes, spies, and slanderers, meeting, wherever he looks, the malignant eye, the dark frown, the whispered taunt, the insulting sneer, and yet giving out the treasures of divine truth, with unaltered constancy and meekness. It is when I see him betrayed into the hands of murderers, and recompensed for his blameless and beneficent life by death in its most humbling and dreaded form, and yet holding fast the cause of mankind which God had intrusted to him, and returning their curses with prayers for their forgiveness. At such seasons I approach the mind of Jesus. I understand him. And so much do I prize this knowledge, that I rejoice in the humble birth through which he was enabled thus to manifest himself.

To this comprehension of the mind and character of Jesus Christ I attach infinite importance. To me, it is the greatest good received from him. In so saying, I know that I differ from many Christians, who rejoice in Christ's birth chiefly because he came, as they think, to purchase, by his sufferings, the pardon of their sins. I rejoice in his birth, chiefly because he came to reveal, by his suffering, his celestial love, — to lay open to us his soul, and thus to regenerate the human soul. To regenerate and exalt human souls was Christ's ultimate end. And by what means could he more effectually have ministered to this end, than by manifesting, as he did, his own excellence, disinterestedness, and divine love? This seems to me more and more to be the great good which we derive from the birth of Jesus. His inmost spirit was thus laid open to us. Nothing has wrought so powerfully on the human soul as the mind and character of Jesus Christ. Among all means of civilization and improvement, I can find nothing to be compared in energy with this. The great impulse which is to carry forward the human race is the character of Jesus, understood ever more clearly, and ever more deeply felt. And consequently I rejoice in his human and humble birth, because by this his character was brought out. Thus was he revealed as the express image of divine perfection.

And here I cannot but admire and adore the wisdom of Providence. I see how, by means most unpromising to men's view, the greatest purposes of heaven may be accomplished. Who of us, on visiting the manger of Bethlehem, and beholding an infant amidst accommodations provided for animals, would not have seen in these circumstances the presage of an obscure lot? And yet this lowly birth was the portal to that glorious though brief career, through which the greatest mind established an imperishable sway over humanity. In that infant the passing spectator saw only the heir of poverty, and pitied his hard fate. And yet before that infant the brightest names of history have grown dim. The Cæsar, whose decree summoned the parents of Jesus to Bethlehem, is known to millions, only through the record of that infant's life. The sages and heroes of antiquity are receding from us, and history contracts the record of their deeds into a narrow and narrower page. But time has no power over the name and deeds and words of Jesus Christ. From the darkness of the past they shine forth with sunlike splendor. Such affection does his peculiar character inspire, that to thousands now living the intervening ages since his advent seem annihilated. They place themselves amidst the crowds who followed him; they hear his voice, they look on his benignant countenance; they cherish intimacy with him, almost as if he were yet on earth. No other fame can be compared with that of Jesus. He has a place in the human heart, that no one who ever lived has in any measure rivalled. No name is pronounced with a tone of such love and veneration. All

other laurels wither before his. His are kept ever fresh with tears of gratitude. And this peculiar glory Jesus owes to the humility in which he was born. For it was in his humble, poor, suffering, persecuted life, that he showed, and could alone have showed, the spirit which has enshrined his form in the heart of all ages.

You see, then, why I delight in the human and the humble birth of Jesus. It lays open to me his character, his mind, his spirit, his divine goodness. Others are more interested in studying Christianity under different aspects. Not a few attach supreme importance to the right decision of the question, "what rank Jesus holds in the universe, — whether he be God, archangel, or man?" Such inquiries it is nowise my wish to discourage; for all truth has its value. But for myself I ask to comprehend the character of Jesus. I ask to approach his pure spirit, to learn his thoughts, feelings, emotions, principles, purposes. I ask to comprehend more and more of that love, which was so calm, yet so intense, within his heart. I ask to comprehend that expanded philanthropy which embraced a world, — that tender philanthropy which, amidst this unbounded expansion, entered into the griefs and wants of the obscurest individual, — that disinterested philanthropy which could surrender and endure all things even for the evil and unthankful, — that spiritual philanthropy, which looked with constant and infinite concern on the soul of man, which felt for his sins far more than for his pains, which reverenced him as immortal, and thirsted to exalt him to immortal excellence. These are the *mysteries* of theology which I am most anxious to explore. To understand Christ's rank, I should esteem a privilege; yet I may know this, and be no better and happier for the truth. But to discern the beauty, loveliness, harmony, and grandeur of his mind, this is a knowledge which cannot but exert a creative and purifying power on every one who can attain to it.

I have spoken, with unusual strength, of the infinite importance of knowing the mind and spirit of Jesus; and I have so done, because it seems to me not sufficiently appreciated. To this knowledge I ascribe chiefly the efficacy of the religion which Jesus taught, and its happy influence upon society. And if this view can be established, you will agree with me in prizing his birth, chiefly as the means of making known to us his peculiar character.

I affirm, then, that the efficacy of the Christian religion lies chiefly in the character of Jesus. Christianity, separated from Jesus, wanting the light and comment of his character, would have done comparatively little for the world. Jesus, with his celestial love, is the life of his religion. The truths of Christianity, had they come to us as abstract principles, would have been comparatively impotent. I might have received from a common messenger of God the same precepts which fell from Jesus. But how different are these precepts in quickening power, when coming from those holy lips, from that warm and noble heart, from that friend who loved me so tenderly, and died that these laws of life might be written on my soul! The perfect charity that Jesus inculcates, if taught by a philosopher, would have been a beautiful speculation, and might have hovered before me as a bright vision. But could I have that faith in its reality which I now possess, as I see it living and embodied in Jesus? What an all-animating hope of realizing this virtue in my own person springs up, now that I see in Jesus an inexhaustible desire to infuse it into every human heart, and am taught that this inspiring influence was the very purpose of his life and death! Other sages have spoken to me of God. But from whom could I have learned the essence of divine perfection, as from him, who was in a peculiar sense the son, representative, and image of God, — who was especially an incarnation of the unbounded love of the Father? And from what other teacher could I have learned to approach the Supreme Being with that filial spirit, which forms the happiness of my fellowship with him? From other seers I might have heard of heaven; but when I behold in Jesus the *spirit* of heaven, dwelling actually upon earth, what a new comprehension have I of that better world! And when at last I see him returning, through a life and death of all-enduring devotedness, to those pure mansions of the blest, how much nearer are they brought to me! What a new power does futurity, thus associated

with Jesus, exert upon the mind! The spirit of Jesus is thus the true life-giving energy of his religion; and well we may rejoice in the human and humble birth, by which his peerless character was made to shine forth so gloriously before "all people," throughout all ages.

In these remarks I have not uttered speculations. There are many strong facts to show that the spirit of love in Jesus, which was brought out and manifested by his humble, suffering lot, has been a fresh spring of human improvement, and has given its chief efficacy to his religion. In truth, for many ages scarcely any element of the Christian religion was left, except the benevolent character of Jesus. All else was obscured; and the good influences of Christianity proceeded almost wholly from this source. After the irruption of the Northern Barbarians into the Roman Empire, the Christian religion suffered a mournful eclipse. The true character of God, as the Father, was in a great degree hidden to view. He was conceived of as a partial and vindictive sovereign, to be propitiated by outward rites. And a system of theology and of ceremonies, corresponding with this fundamental error, supplanted primitive Christianity. Still the character of Jesus was not lost. God appeared as a terrible tyrant. But Jesus on his cross still breathed mercy and peace. The central thought, connected with him, was that of infinite clemency, of boundless sympathy, of a charity that could not fail. The crucifix, before which the barbarian bowed, was the emblem and witness of *all-suffering love.* And it did appeal to the barbarian's rude heart. It kept alive a spark of humanity in his breast. Hence in the darkest ages hospitals were founded. Amidst the clash of arms, and the fierce vengeance of feudal barons, helpless misery was sacred. It was to the love of Christ, bleeding on his cross, that we owe the noblest institution of the Middle Ages, — chivalry. Chivalry, indeed, borrowed its courage from the spirit of the age, and the indomitable energy of the North. But its peculiar glory, its dedication to the cause of the weak, the wronged, the unprotected, — this noble element of humanity, — shone out from Christ. And through this chivalry became a blessing to the world. Thus the spirit of Christ, which his human and humble birth brought forth, has been working out man's redemption, in the darkest and most disastrous times of Christendom.

We shall see still more clearly the power of the spirit of Jesus, if we consider the great distinction between the modern and the ancient world. What constitutes the chief superiority of modern times? I know there are those who say we have no superiority. But how any man can read ancient history, and not perceive the immense advance of the human race, amazes me. We have not advanced indeed as we should and might have done. And in some qualities antiquity surpassed us. But there is one glorious element in the present condition of society that fills me with ever-new gratitude and hope. In the Christian world appears a *spirit of humanity,* utterly unknown in the ancient world. Man looks upon his fellow-man as he never looked before. New and sacred ties now bind all men together. There is at work a philanthropy, which not only descends with sympathy and aid to the lowest depths of social misery, but which looks beyond the bounds of the neighborhood, and of the nation, with warm concern for the interests of the whole family of man. This spirit is a promise to the world infinitely brighter than was given by the highest intellectual culture of antiquity. This principle is still weak, indeed, even in the most favored countries. In our own, it has not yet been strong enough to make us recognize in the negro and the Indian our brethren, with rights as sacred and souls as precious as our own. Still, this spirit of brotherhood, of friendship, of humanity, is at work throughout Christendom, and thence throughout the world. Whence came this spirit? It was cradled in the manger at Bethlehem. It traversed Palestine doing good, healing the sick, comforting the mourner, forgiving the wrong-doer, reconciling the sinful, heralding a reign of peace and love. And thence, through ages dark and desolate, it has descended to us. Shall we not rejoice, then, in the human and humble birth of our brother, friend, and Saviour? How through many centuries has he transformed millions into his own image, by the charm of his character and the

inspiring power of his life! How mighty is the sway of his spirit now! Continually we meet persons who have been drawn to Jesus by his divine goodness, and moulded into a kindred virtue. When I behold these exalted forms of human nature; when I recognize how, under the influence of his heavenly disinterestedness, the human soul subdues its self-love, cherishes tender, generous, refined, and expansive affections towards all fellow-beings, and rises in filial adoration to fellowship with the infinite Father, — I feel with peculiar gratitude how much we owe to the lowly birth of our Saviour. For in this nobility of soul, which he already confers, we have an earnest of that perfection which he has promised to all his followers. And this perfect life is true salvation.

III. Thus are we led to ask, in what sense the babe born in the manger at Bethlehem became and is a Saviour? The answer is sublime, as it is simple. Jesus Christ is the great emancipator. He came to set the spirit of man *free*. He came to give liberty to human nature, through the whole range of its affections, faculties, and energies, and throughout the whole scope of its being and destiny. Thus is he the Saviour. Time permits but a few illustrations of this grand theme.

1. Jesus came to free the intellect; to give man liberty of thought, and break the chains in which the reason had been held; to inspire an earnest love of truth, and to animate men in its pursuit, — unfettered by their own passions, prejudices, and interests, and by the customs, traditions, and authority of others. Christianity is the charter of intellectual liberty, authorizing and commanding every man to use freely his own faculties in discovering truth, and especially religious truth. This is a liberty that Christians have thus far too little prized, though it lies at the root of all other liberty, and is indispensable for the development of the human mind. When we regard the many forms of oppression yet prevalent in the world, we find none more mournful than the oppression of intellect. Everywhere we see men surrendering their free thought to the yoke of superstition, through sloth, fear, and self-interest, and hugging their prejudices of education and training as chains were never hugged before. Their minds have no free play. In most countries the man who should stray beyond the beaten path of belief would meet at his first step penalty and torture, suspicion and infamy, to drive him back. We know this to be true in the vast regions overshadowed by heathenism, Mahomedanism, and Roman Catholicism. Would that tyranny over the mind stopped there! Would that on entering Protestant countries we could feel ourselves breathing a free air! But the mind wears its chains, though lighter ones, even here.

But Jesus came to set thought free for a divine destiny. "Prove all things, hold fast that which is good," is the eternal precept of his religion. He asserted and proclaimed the rights of every rational being, and summoned human reason to its great function of deliberate inquiry into the "deep things of God." The human mind was made for truth, not for a few truths, but for unbounded acquisition of all truth. Its nature is as expansive as the air we breathe, as radiant as the light that penetrates and pervades the universe. It was made to go for ever forward. It delights in new and ever-wider views of God and his work, of Nature and itself; and under all the chains which it has been made to wear, it has still struggled and striven after boundless liberty, — so irrepressible is its innate energy. What progress it is to make under the increased freedom which it begins to enjoy, one hardly dares to conjecture. That it is to gain ever brighter light; that it will throw off the gloomy errors of theology, which have shut it in like dungeon walls for ages, and will embrace a Christianity incomparably purer and nobler than we now hold, I cannot doubt. That age of light will understand, as we cannot, what is the worth of the intellectual liberty which Christ came to bestow.

2. Jesus came not only to liberate the intellect, but to be the emancipator of the oppressed conscience; to break the power of the passions; to redeem and seat on the throne of human nature the moral power; to give new life and range to the law of duty; to present a glorious ideal of goodness and greatness, so that the mind may aspire after a lofty rectitude, such as worldly morality,

drawn from prudence and utility, and seeking chiefly security and comfort, never dreamed of.

We are all conscious, however partially, that in human nature there is a principle that delights in heroic virtue, that admires and reveres men illustrious for self-sacrificing devotedness, that feeds with joy on fictions wherein fellow-beings, amidst great trials and perils, are faithful to duty, and act with noble disinterestedness, at every cost. We all have experienced, in some degree, the workings of this superior nature, so as to rejoice with triumphant sympathy, when we read the memoirs of men and women, refined from self-love, pure in principle, consecrated to grand purposes, ascending by lives of ever-enlarging love to the blessedness of a heavenly world. Now this high power of heart and will, that prompts us to aspire after perfect excellence, Jesus came to set free. His aim was to enlarge and invigorate it, to exalt it to supremacy, and by his own character, example, and influence, to win and welcome it to that divine goodness which it impels us to pursue.

3. Again, Jesus came not only to emancipate the intellect and moral power, but to set free our imprisoned energy of love. Man was made for love; he lives by love; and the measure of his life is the largeness and liberty of his love. He is born into the arms and nourished on the breast of love. And in domestic life we often see developed an almost miraculous force of disinterested affection. But the human heart was not designed to be confined to home, however heavenly that home may be. Its emotions naturally flow outward, circle beyond circle, in ever-widening waves of sympathy, embracing in their compass a constantly enlarging sphere, and blending at length with the commingling currents and tides of love of the whole race. But there are antagonistic elements also in human nature, which tend to immure the individual within himself, and to make him the slave of his selfishness. Now it is the glorious characteristic of Christ's salvation, that it sets at liberty our love, breaks down the prison walls of self, and carries us freely forth into this goodly universe, — as the home of our Father and of his vast family; that it instructs us how to find objects for our largest affections in all God's children; that it encourages us to identify our private welfare with the advancing good of humanity; that it quickens us to interlink ourselves with all mankind of all classes and conditions, — by reverent admiration with the good, by reconciling mercy with the evil, by cheerful sympathy with the happy, by tender compassion with the suffering, by redeeming pity with the oppressed, by hope with all, — and thus to make our own lives entirely one with the life of our race. There is an exulting joy in this enlargement of personal being; and this limitless expansion of love was an essential aim of our Saviour.

4. But this is not all. Jesus came not only to liberate the intellect, the conscience, and the energy of love. He came to bring a yet nobler salvation, by delivering the soul from the enthralling sway of creation, and lifting it into communion with the Creator. No man knows human nature, till he discerns in it that central principle, which might well be called the love of the infinite. The profoundest, sublimest, grandest emotion in man is the longing for an unbounded good, the aspiration to be one with the All-Good. We grow weary of whatever is limited. For ever and everywhere we overpass all bounds. The infinite Creator quickens in the inmost essence of the soul this insatiable desire, for which he only is the sufficing object, which he alone by his own overflowing fulness can gratify. The diverse and multiplied forms of good in creation may for a time bewilder, oppress, and imprison this divine principle; but they cannot destroy it. For ever it awaits the deliverer. Now Jesus came to set this love of the perfect free. The true redemption opens when the soul, long captive to the visible, the tangible, the material, resumes its sovereignty, — and begins to ascend to its heavenly parent, by using the very creatures, which had enthralled it, as the ministers of its return to God. What liberty does that spirit gain, which, breaking away from all illusions of inferior good, gives itself freely up in veneration, confidence, and grateful joy to the infinite Father, in whose perfect character, purposes, and works it finds an everlasting range for its noblest faculties, an ever-unfolding object for its loftiest love.

5. There is time but to add in a word, finally, that Jesus came also to set free the indomitable principle of hope, which soars for ever forward, on unresting pinions, out of each human heart. To all the unexplored future opens vistas, where fairest prospects bloom and unfading joys bid welcome. But hope, if confined to this world, feels itself a prisoner. Its flight stops suddenly at the grave. And the impenetrable background, that arrests it, is an awful gloom. Now Jesus came to dispel that darkness, and to unveil before hope interminable regions of ever-brightening splendor. What a salvation, priceless beyond conception, is it, to be delivered from all fear of death; to be at liberty to expatiate through endless ages in expectant hope; to be assured that our highest attainments here are but the beginning of our everlasting progress; and that there is no height of intelligence, power, beneficence, and bliss to which we are not destined to ascend! Jesus came, he lived, he died, to give to us the universe, and the God of the universe, by bringing our spirits into harmony with both, — by breathing into us, so far as we are receptive, the spirit, wisdom, love, and holiness, the perfect joy and peace, of our Heavenly Father. Receive, honor, follow, love this blessed Saviour!' Carry into life his principles. Confide in his promises, till they transform you into the divine image, and give you in this world the pledge and foretaste of the world to come.

Compassionate Saviour! We welcome thee to our world. We welcome thee to our hearts. We bless thee for the divine goodness thou hast brought from heaven; for the souls thou hast warmed with love to man, and lifted up in love to God; for the efforts of divine philanthropy which thou hast inspired; and for that hope of a pure celestial life, through which thy disciples triumph over death. Benevolent Saviour! Inspirer of goodness! We offer thee this tribute of affectionate and reverential gratitude on earth; and we hope to know, to love, to resemble, and to approach thee more nearly and more worthily in heaven.

X.

THE ESSENCE OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

1 Tim. i. 11: "The glorious gospel of the blessed God."

These words express the excellence of the Christian religion. It is called the gospel, that is, good news. It is called the glorious gospel of the blessed God, to denote the magnificence of the truths and blessings which it reveals. In this discourse I propose to set before you what it is in Christianity that gives it the chief claim to this high praise. I wish to exhibit to you its essential character, and to show what constitutes it worthy of all acceptation.

I. I begin with asking, What is Christianity? In answer to this question, it is not necessary that I should repeat the whole New Testament. This book contains the religion; but every verse is not a separate disconnected truth, so that each must be recited to give you an understanding of Christianity. There is a unity in the religion of Jesus. And this may be summed up in narrow compass. Through the various precepts of the New Testament you can trace one spirit, of which they are all the forms. Its various doctrines may be reduced to a few great truths, perhaps to one single truth. Now, to understand Christianity, the true method is to extract this essence, as it were, of the various teachings of our Lord; to rise to this universal spirit which pervades all his commands; to seize on this great central truth, around which all others gather, and from which all derive their glory. To understand Christianity is not to view in suc-

cession every separate truth and precept, but to understand the relation of these various teachings to one another, and to the great end in which they all meet; — just as to understand the human body it is not enough to see the limbs singly and severed from each other, but to observe them in their combination, harmonious order, and joint symmetry, as pervaded by one life, and all co-working to fulfil one destiny.

I believe that Christianity has one great principle, which is *central*, around which all its truths gather, and which constitutes it the glorious gospel of the blessed God. I believe that no truth is so worthy of acceptation and so quickening as this. In proportion as we penetrate into it, and are penetrated by it, we comprehend our religion, and attain to a living faith. This great principle can be briefly expressed. It is the doctrine that "God purposes, in his unbounded fatherly love, to perfect the human soul; to purify it from all sin; to create it after his own image; to fill it with his own spirit; to unfold it for ever; to raise it to life and immortality in heaven, — that is, to communicate to it from himself a life of celestial power, virtue, and joy." The elevation of men above the imperfections, temptations, sins, sufferings, of the present state, to a diviner being, — this is the great purpose of God, revealed and accomplished by Jesus Christ; this it is that constitutes the religion of Jesus Christ, — glad tidings to all people: for it is a religion suited to fulfil the wants of every human being.

In the New Testament I learn that God regards the human soul with unutterable interest and love; that in an important sense it bears the impress of his own infinity, its powers being germs, which may expand without limit or end: that he loves it, even when fallen, and desires its restoration; that he has sent his Son to redeem and cleanse it from all iniquity; that he for ever seeks to communicate to it a divine virtue which shall spring up, by perennial bloom and fruitfulness, into everlasting life. In the New Testament I learn that what God wills is our perfection; by which I understand the freest exercise and perpetual development of our highest powers, — strength and brightness of intellect, unconquerable energy of moral principle, pure and fervent desire for truth, unbounded love of goodness and greatness, benevolence free from every selfish taint, the perpetual consciousness of God and of his immediate presence, co-operation and friendship with all enlightened and disinterested spirits, and radiant glory of divine will and beneficent influence, of which we have an emblem — a faint emblem only — in the sun that illuminates and warms so many worlds. Christianity reveals to me this moral perfection of man, as the great purpose of God.

When I look into man's nature, I see that moral perfection is his only true and enduring good; and consequently the promise of this must be the highest truth which any religion can contain. The loftiest endowment of our nature is the moral power, — the power of perceiving and practising virtue, of discerning and seeking goodness. Having this as our essential principle, we can have but one happiness as our end. There is a guide to felicity fixed by God in the very *centre* of our being, and no other can take its place. Whoever obeys faithfully this principle of duty has peace with himself and with all beings. Whoever silences or withstands this is at war with himself and with all. And no hostility can be compared with this. It is not brute matter with which he is at war. He makes the principle of right in his heart, and in all other beings, — that is, the highest principle in the universe, — his reprover and foe. He must reconcile this sovereign power, and must make it his friend, or despair of happiness. To such a being as this, there is no sufficient good but moral perfection. If God do not purpose to raise man to this; if man may not look for this to the mercy, power, and inspiration of the Almighty, — then he has nothing to hope for worthy the name of happiness. Christianity is God's best gift, in so far as it proffers to us this only felicity, and places it within our reach; as it reveals this to be the great end of our creation. When Christianity is thus viewed, I understand why its revelations are called "unsearchable riches," and why it is said to express "a love which passeth knowledge."

By this language I do not mean to claim for Christianity the exclusive honor of discovering to us God's pur-

pose of perfecting the human soul. The soul itself — in its powers and affections, in its unquenchable thirst and aspiration for unattained good — gives signs of a nature made for an interminable progress, such as cannot be now conceived. When, too, I contemplate the immensity and wonderful order of the material creation, and the beautiful structure of its minutest parts, I feel sure that mind, the yet nobler work of God, must be destined to a more enlarged and harmonious existence than I now experience or behold. Above all, conscience, in its secret monitions, its promises and forebodings, teaches that there is a futurity for men, where more is to be gained and more endured than is possible or imaginable on earth. But I need a more direct, immediate, explicit testimony to the purpose of God. And such a witness is Christianity. This religion is not a deduction of philosophy, resting on obscure truths, and intelligible but to a few. It is a solemn annunciation from heaven of human immortality, and of a diviner life than this. And it is sealed by miracles, that is, by divine interpositions, which are equally intelligible, striking, and affecting to all. I maintain that miracles are most appropriate proofs of a religion which announces the elevation of man to spiritual perfection. For what are miracles? They are the acts and manifestations of a spiritual power in the universe, superior to the powers and laws of matter. And on the existence of such a power, the triumph of our own spiritual nature over death and material influences must depend.

The miracles of Christianity, so far from shocking me, approve themselves at once to my intellect and my heart. They seem to me among the most reasonable as well as important events in human history. I prize them, not because they satisfy the passion for the wonderful, — though this principle is one of the noble indications of our nature. But I prize them as discovering, in a way which all can comprehend, that there is some real Being mightier than Nature; that there is a mind which *can*, if it will, suspend or reverse the regular operations of the material world; that, of consequence, the power of death is not supreme, and that the mind may ascend to a perfection which Nature cannot give. Christianity, in its miracles and doctrines, is the very charter and pledge which I need of this elevation of the human soul. And on this account I recognize it as the glorious gospel of the blessed God, or as a religion making sure to its sincere disciples the most magnificent good which even Omnipotence can bestow.

I wish, my hearers, that I had power to give you some new conviction of the greatness of this good. How much to be deplored is it, that to so many men the perfection of their nature never rises to view as a happiness which may be realized; that the consciousness of the capacity of reaching it, of being made for it, is well-nigh stifled. The doctrine of that higher state of their powers and affections, of that purer life which Christianity sets before them, is assented to by vast multitudes with no thorough persuasion. And yet without this persuasion we know nothing of the purpose of our being. A darkness, thicker than night, without a star, hangs over our minds. We know neither ourselves nor our fellow-men. We have no explanation of life, of our sufferings, or of our enjoyments. We want that truth which gives worth and grandeur to our whole existence; which alone inspires perfect trust in God; which alone teaches us respect for man; which is more than equal to the pleasure of all trial; and which can carry us forward against the strength of passion, temptation, and all forms of evil. How can this truth, without which we are so poor, be called into energetic life, and become a bright reality to us? It must become so, through our own resolute grasp, — by effort, by reflection, by prayer, by resistance of the body, the senses, and the outward world, by descending into our own minds, by listening to experience, as it daily teaches that there is no true good which has not its spring in the improvement of our highest nature.

II. The more I think of this central truth of Christianity, that is, of God's purpose to raise the soul to its perfection, — the more I feel the glory and excellence of this religion; the more I feel that, if it promised other goods, or promised happiness in other forms, it would cease to be glorious. No other heaven, than that which is found in our own perfection, would be a good worth

living for. This truth I have often insisted on; but it seems to me so transcendent in worth as to merit frequent and earnest inculcation. On the understanding of it, our estimate of Christianity must entirely rest. Lay it down then as a primary, fundamental truth, that to a moral being there is but one essential enduring good, — and that is, the health, power, and purity of his own soul. Hold this doctrine intelligently, and you hold the key that is gradually to unlock to you the mysteries of Nature and Providence, — of duty, temptation, and happiness, — of this life and the life to come.

This doctrine, that perfection of mind is our only happiness, by no means interferes with the great truth that God is our supreme good. God is indeed our eternal source of happiness. But how? Not by pouring profusely upon us gratifications which we may receive in a passive and inert condition, but by awakening our minds and hearts to action, that we may comprehend his character, and thus derive from him more and more of his own perfections. To enjoy God, we must bring him near to ourselves, by concentrating the strength of our intellect in thought and meditation upon his goodness and perfections; and still more must his perfections be received into ourselves by esteem, veneration, sympathy, and the adoption of his pure will as our own. I can enjoy God only so far as I receive the divine mind into my own. His wise and benevolent purposes must become mine own. I must inhale, if I may so speak, the spirit, that breathes through his works and his word. I must approve and choose rectitude, as he chooses it; that is, love and cleave to it for its own sake. It is only by this diffusion of himself through my spiritual nature, by the elevation which his perfect character imparts to my own, that God becomes to me the enduring and the highest good.

The desire which I have to impress this great truth — that perfection of the soul is the only spring of happiness, and consequently that Christianity in revealing this as God's purpose is a glorious religion — induces me to offer a proof or illustration, which I hope will not be thought too refined for a popular address. It is a plain fact, then, that to a being endued with mind, or to an intelligent spiritual being, the highest objects of enjoyment are other minds or other spiritual beings. I find pleasure in the knowledge and use of matter and of inferior animals. But they cannot satisfy me. I long for intercourse with beings who partake my own highest nature. And what is it in these spiritual beings which is fitted to give me the purest and most enduring delight? I answer, their moral excellence. Eclipse this excellence in the Supreme Being; put out the light of his wisdom, rectitude, and omnipotent goodness; rob fellow-beings of virtuous principle and the capacity of spiritual progress: and *what* would remain in heaven or on earth to attract and move us, to call forth attachment and trust, to inspire hope and joy? The glory of the universe would be quenched. This excellence of goodness is the one great object to be enjoyed, on earth or in heaven. There is nothing else which can give enduring gratification. And how, I would ask, is this to be enjoyed, but by a corresponding excellence in our own spirits? To want this is to want the *organ* by which to discern it in others. Who can fail to recognize, that by degrading his own character he cuts himself off from the enjoyment of pure and lofty souls; that the practice of vice must seal his eyes to the beauty of virtue; that in narrowing his intellect and heart he unfits himself for communion with great thoughts and noble purposes in others; and on the other hand, that in proportion as he makes progress towards perfection, he strengthens the holy and happy bonds which unite him with God and all excellent beings, and gains new power to enjoy their excellence?

Mind is the great object to be enjoyed; and this is true to a greater extent than we imagine. Even outward, material Nature derives its chief power of contributing to our happiness, by being a manifestation of mental or spiritual excellence. No one truly enjoys the creation, but he who sees it everywhere as radiant with *mind*, and as for ever showing forth the perfection of its author. We think, perhaps, that Nature has a beauty of its own, in which we can delight, without reference to any reality above it. But natural beauty is an image or emblem of harmonious qualities

of the mind. It is a type of spiritual beauty. And he, to whom the last is not known by consciousness, by the dawning of beauty in his own soul, can know and feel but little of the former. Thus the perfection of our own minds makes us the heirs of all good, whether in the outward or the spiritual worlds. Let us, then, look to no other happiness. Let us feel that Christianity in revealing this, as God's purpose towards us, meets all our wants, and is the most glorious of God's provisions for his human family.

In this discourse I am aiming to set before you what I believe to be the central vital principle of Christianity. I conceive that we understand our religion, only so far as this great principle becomes pre-eminent to our view, and is seen to pervade and bind together the whole system. I have said that all the doctrines and precepts of the gospel meet in this essential and all-comprehending truth. The purpose of God to raise the soul from the power of moral evil to perfection — this is the beginning and end of Christianity. To this all its teachings may be traced up; into this all may be resolved. Were there time, I might survey separately the particular doctrines of the gospel, and show that they all may be referred to this. I shall now offer, however, one brief illustration only; but it is an all-sufficing one.

The first great doctrine of Christianity is the parental character of God. To us there is "one God even the Father." Christianity has no truth to teach more encouraging and inspiring than this. But what do we mean when we call God our Father? Does this term imply nothing more than that he created us? He created the stone: is he therefore its Father? Do we mean that he gives us bodies and the pleasures of sensitive existence? These he gives to the bird and insect; but the Scriptures nowhere call him their parent. No! It is clear that this word expresses a spiritual relation. It declares God's connection with the human soul. God is the Father of those beings, and of those only, whom he has created in his own image, whom he has gifted with a spirit like his own, whom he has framed for the end that they may approach him in his highest attributes. To be a parent is to communicate a *kindred nature*, and to watch over, educate, and guide this nature to perfect development. God loves us as a Father, by loving supremely the soul in each of us, and by his intense concern to conform this soul to himself. When you call God "Father," do not think of him as a fond indulgent being, anxious only for your enjoyment here and hereafter. This would be to degrade our divine benefactor. Think of this Father as looking upon the spirit within you, with unutterable interest; as desiring for you no happiness but that of pure goodness; as purposing your perfection as his chief and crowning end in your creation. This is the only true view of God as our Father. And thus the doctrine of his parental character is one and the same with the great principle of communicating moral perfection, which I have so earnestly affirmed to be the essence and centre of Christianity.

III. My friends, the great purpose of God towards mankind, which I have this day set forth as the substance of Christianity, is one with which we cannot be too deeply impressed. We cannot too thoroughly understand and feel that the perfection of our nature, for which God made and redeemed us, is the highest good and the only true good. I consider the mind sound, wise, equal to its own happiness, only so far as it is possessed by this great truth. To expect happiness by any other process, than by co-operation with this purpose of God, is to insure disappointment, and to throw away our labor and our lives. All other purposes and all other means of felicity must come to naught. This great principle we cannot carry out too far. We may lay it down as universally and unerringly true, that nothing contributes to the enduring happiness of individuals, or of communities, but what contributes to this perfection of human nature. Individuals and communities are perpetually seeking good in other ways, but only to reach disastrous failure and shame.

At this period, we see a mighty movement of the civilized world. Thrones are tottering, and the firmest establishments of former ages seem about to be swept away by the torrent of revolution.* In this movement I rejoice, though not without trembling joy. But

* The winter of 1830–31.

I rejoice, only because I look at it in the light of the great truth which I have this day aimed to enforce; because I see, as I think, in the revolutionary spirit of our times, the promise of a freer and higher action of the human mind, — the pledge of a state of society more fit to perfect human beings. I regard the present state of the world in this moral light altogether. The despotisms, which are to be prostrated, seem to be evils, chiefly as they have enslaved men's faculties, as they have bowed and weighed down the soul. The liberty, after which men aspire, is to prove a good only so far as it shall give force and enlargement to the mind; only so far as it shall conspire with Christianity in advancing human nature. Men will gain little by escaping outward despotism, if the soul continues enthralled. Men must be subjected to some law; and unless the law in their own breast, the law of God, of duty, of perfection, be adopted by their free choice as the supreme rule, they will fall under the tyranny of selfish passion, which will bow their necks for an outward yoke.

I have hope in the present struggle of the world, because it seems to me more spiritual, more moral, in its origin and tendencies, than any which have preceded it. It differs much from the revolts of former times, when an oppressed populace or peasantry broke forth into frantic opposition to government, under the goading pressure of famine and misery. Men are now moved, not merely by physical wants and sufferings, but by ideas, by principles, by the conception of a better state of society, under which the rights of human nature will be recognized, and greater justice be done to the mind in all classes of the community. There is then an element – spiritual, moral, and tending towards perfection — in the present movement; and this is my great hope. When I see, however, the tremendous strength of unsubdued passions, which mix with and often overpower this conception of a better order of society; when I consider the success with which the selfish, crafty, and ambitious have turned to their own purposes the generous enthusiasm of the people; when I consider the darkness which hangs over the nations, the rashness with they have rushed into infidelity and irreligion, as the only refuge from priestcraft and superstition; and when I consider how hard it is for men, in seasons of tumult and feverish excitement, to listen to the mild voice of wisdom teaching that moral perfection alone constitutes glory and happiness, — I fear. I fear not for the final results; not for the *ultimate* triumphs of truth, right, virtue, piety; not for the gradual melioration of men's lot: but for those nearer results, those immediate effects, which the men of this generation are to witness and to feel.

In such a state of the world, it seems to me of singular importance that Christianity should be recognized and presented in its true character, as I have aimed to place it before you this day. The low views of our religion, which have prevailed too long, should give place to this highest one. They suited perhaps darker ages. But they have done their work, and should pass away. Christianity should now be disencumbered and set free from the unintelligible and irrational doctrines, and the uncouth and idolatrous forms and ceremonies, which terror, superstition, vanity, priestcraft, and ambition have labored to identify with it. It should come forth from the darkness and corruption of the past in its own celestial splendor, and in its divine simplicity. It should be comprehended as having but one purpose, — the perfection of human nature, the elevation of men into nobler beings. I would have it so luminously displayed, that men should distinctly see how it tends, by all its influences and teachings, to the true freedom of the State, and to the honor and everlasting progress of the individual. Let Christianity be thus taught and viewed, and it will act as a new power on human affairs. And unless thus viewed, I despair of its triumphs. The time has gone by in which any religion is to take a strong and enduring hold on the world, except by offering itself in the high character ascribed to Christianity in this discourse. Men will yield their faith to no system which does not bear the plain marks of being adapted to the highest principles and powers of human nature, and which does not open to it a career of *endless improvement*. They are outgrowing unintelligible notions. They understand that the glory of a religion is to be measured by the moral glory, power,

perfection, which it communicates to the mind. I know not, therefore, how a greater service can be rendered to Christianity, or how its power can be more extended, than by teaching it as a revelation of God's great purpose to perfect his human offspring, and as the great power or instrument by which this perfection is to be achieved.

My friends, I have been applying our subject to the actual state of the Christian and civilized world. Let me come nearer home. You have heard of God's purpose to purify and perfect the human soul, that he has sent his Son to redeem it from all evil, and to present it spotless before its Creator and Judge. Do you believe this? Have you faith in the human soul as formed for a higher life than it can now enjoy? Have you faith in your own souls, as capable of ascending to sinless purity? Has the perfection of your being risen before you as the one glorious good, for which existence was granted, for which its mingled joys and trials were measured out, for which the Father sent his Son from heaven? Do you believe that the blessedness of angels may be yours, and that to this bliss you are welcomed? You believe in God. But how? As the author of this outward universe? This is to pause at the threshold. Do you believe in him yet more as the author of an inner universe, whose beauty, grandeur, harmony, and exceeding excellence transcend immeasurably all that nature manifests of his infinite goodwill? You speak of his love. Do you feel that this love is too lofty, too limitless, to content itself with any good that falls short of elevating his children into companionship with himself? Have you learned to look through the body to the immortal spirit, and to feel that this is infinitely precious to the Father of spirits, and that it should be equally dear to you his child? This, and this alone, is Christian faith. Are we wanting in this faith in the destiny of the soul for perfection? Then we know Christianity only in the letter, and as a sound. Then the significance of the glorious gospel has never brightened on our view. Then the light of life has never risen within. Then our own souls are yet to be revealed to us. Then the all-illuminating truth, that gives unutterable interest to this infant stage of our existence, has never dawned on us. Then the eternal day, with its splendors of consolation, hope, peace, and exhaustless power, has not beamed on us in blessing. But this truth may shine out, if our minds turn towards it. This day may dawn, and the infinite love of our Father for us rise like the morning. Let us aspire towards this living confidence, that it is the will of God to unfold and exalt without end the spirit that intrusts itself to him in well-doing as to a faithful Creator. And may the "God of all grace, who hath called us unto his eternal glory by Christ Jesus, after that ye have suffered awhile, make you perfect, stablish, strengthen, settle you. To him be glory and dominion, for ever. Amen."

XI.

PERFECT LIFE THE END OF CHRISTIANITY.

MATTHEW vii. 21: "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven."

IN these words we have a light to guide us through the intricate paths and imprisoning walls, which perverse ingenuity has reared around the temple of God in man. Here we learn what is central in religion. Here is revealed the immortal good, that Jesus, in his life and death, proposed as his great end.

To do God's will,—duty, moral and religious integrity, rectitude in principle and practice, the love of the Father and of all his intelligent offspring in

truth and in deed, — this holds the supreme place of dignity, alike on earth and in heaven. Just in so far as we attain to this, we enter even now the kingdom of heaven. Would that this truth might emerge in full glory, out of the obscurity with which false systems of theology have enveloped it; that it might break through the clouds of mystery, which have so long shrouded it, and shine with sunlike splendor on our souls. Never can God's will be *done* with our whole energy, until we learn that there is nothing in time, nothing in eternity, to be compared with the perfect life.

I. By the will of God we understand generally his commands. In the text, Jesus intended particularly the *precepts* which he was just giving from the mount; for these words concentrate the spirit of that memorable discourse. The great truth, to which we are led by this passage, and by the whole New Testament, may be expressed in a few words. I affirm, and would maintain, that *excellence* of character — that the religious, social, self-controlling virtue, which is set forth in these precepts, and which pervades the whole teaching of Jesus — is the great object of Christianity, is the great blessing which Christ came to communicate. I affirm that the highest good which he effects is that which he works within. His influence on human character is his holiest influence. I insist on this truth, — because, simple as it appears to be, it is not sufficiently understood. The common doctrine is, that Christ came to confer other benefits, and especially to reconcile the offended Deity to his sinful creatures, to shield men from divine anger and from outward punishment. I believe, on the contrary, that his great end is to work a change within the mind, spirit, character of men, and that the glory of this change constitutes the glory of his office. Virtue, rectitude, purity, love to God, love to man, — in one word, goodness, — this is the great good which flows to us from Jesus Christ. This is the redemption he confers. This truth I would now illustrate.

1. That Christ's great purpose is to redeem men from sin to virtue, is the view I meet with perpetually in the Scriptures. I meet it everywhere; now in direct assertion, now by implication. I meet it in precept, promise, and parable. "His name shall be called Jesus," says the angel; "for he shall save his people from their sins," — that is, from vice and moral evil. "I came," says Jesus, "to call men to repentance." "God sent him to bless us," says Peter, "by turning us from our iniquities." "He gave himself for us," says Paul, "that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works." "He died for us, that we, dying to sin, may live unto righteousness." But it is unnecessary to multiply quotations. What is plainer from the whole New Testament, than that reformation, righteousness, the practice of good works, is the great purpose of our religion, and that whenever this is accomplished, the work of Christianity is done?

2. I pass from the Scriptures to that revelation which always concurs with Scripture, — to reason; and I affirm, that from the very nature of God and of his universe, Jesus Christ *can* communicate no greater good than this virtue, — this rectitude of which I have spoken. And I thus affirm, because this goodness is the highest good which Jesus himself possesses. We hear much controversy and contention respecting Jesus Christ. But I ask you: What was his great distinction? Was it not his spotless virtue? Place Jesus in what rank you will, is it not, after all, the *excellence* of his character — his disinterestedness, his devotion to great and good ends, his celestial mildness, his stainless purity — which you count the best of all his endowments? Arm him with power over the universe, but quench his charity, and do you not eclipse his glory? Ascribe to him infinite wisdom, but pervert the rectitude of his will, and do you not even turn such omniscience into a curse alike to himself and to others? What, I ask, does Jesus own, so precious, so glorious, as that virtue which he teaches his disciples? What is it that endears Jesus Christ to his Father? You may learn it from the following passage: "Jesus said to his disciples, If ye keep my commandments, ye shall abide in my love, even as I have kept my Father's commandments, and abide in his love." I beg you to weigh these words. Jesus owed the peculiar love, with which he was regarded by God, —

he owed his office as the Messiah, and all the power with which he was invested, — to his obedience, to his moral and religious integrity, to his unfailing reverence for goodness. Why was it that he enjoyed such peculiar communion with God? He says: "The Father hath not left me alone, because I do always those things which please him." *This* was the bond of union between him and his Father. To this perfect rectitude of his will, his reason, and his life he owed not only his mission on earth, but his crown in heaven. Paul assures us, that in recompense of his obedience unto death, he is now enthroned above all power and dignity, both in this world and in the world to come. Thus in heaven, as on earth, Jesus has nothing so precious to bestow as goodness. We talk indeed in popular language of Christ as "sitting on a throne." But how worthless would be a throne, though made of heaven's richest treasures, compared with the godlike charity that reigns within him and constitutes his soul? His real throne is the empire that tried and triumphant virtue gives him in that pure realm. Men talk of the "brightness" which surrounds him, and of the "splendor of his form;" but this is only the beaming forth of his spirit. Mere outward radiance is dim when compared with his intellectual and moral perfection. The disputes of Christians about the rank of Christ have turned their minds away from the simple truth taught throughout in the New Testament, that his unfaltering rectitude, his undeviating obedience, his divine philanthropy, his perfect accordance with the will of his Father, was, and is, and ever will be, his supreme glory and his richest joy; and consequently that he can give nothing more blessed. In bringing us, by his religion, to *do* the will of his Father, he brings us into his own state of happiness and heaven, — brings us to do that, in doing which his own blessedness consists, — brings us into his own kingdom, and shares with us his own throne. For his kingdom is but another name for righteousness, and his throne is the sway that virtue always wields.

3. I urge this topic, because it seems to me that no error is more common among all sects than the expectation from Christ of some greater good than virtue and holiness, — than a right spirit towards God and man. But this includes all good. This is to the mind what health is to the body, giving it the enjoyment of all else, bringing it into harmony with God and the creation, giving it peace within itself. In an important sense, the spring of all happiness is in the mind. True, all happiness is the gift of God. But he gives it through our own spiritual development, gives it as a fruit and recompense of growing purity. No happiness will bloom for us hereafter which has not its germs in our own rectified minds, which does not spring from an inward root of wisdom and of love. Future happiness is not to be a passive good, coming to us from outward sources, a delight which we shall inhale as we now breathe a balmy atmosphere, without a thought or care of our own. Happiness is not to be a stream of pleasure flowing in upon us, whilst we resign ourselves to indolent repose. The happiness of heaven is activity. It is power. It is clear and bright thought, the love of truth, and the love of right. It is strengthening friendship and efficient charity. It is consecration of every energy to God, the perception of beauty in all his works, the offering up of gratitude and praise for ever-new and multiplying proofs of his goodness. It is the outflow of our sympathies and attachments, and the communication of nobler blessings to our fellow-creatures. By the happiness of heaven I understand the mind, rising, through acts of piety and virtue, to an enlarged, sublime, creative power of thought, such as is faintly shadowed forth by the mightiest efforts of genius upon earth, and to a pure love, of which we have dim presages in the most heroic and self-sacrificing deeds of heroism recorded in history. The happiness of heaven is moral and religious principle, diffused through and perfecting all our faculties, affections, and energies; and consequently nothing greater than this principle of goodness can be communicated to us by Jesus Christ through everlasting ages. His highest office consists in thus leading us to do the will of our Father in heaven. In conforming our minds to the supreme mind, he gives us the happiness of heaven; nor can it be given in any other way.

From these remarks you learn that I consider righteous action, the doing of God's will, as the *beginning and end* of Christianity. I regard the precepts of Jesus — which he gave on the mount, and which he illustrated so gloriously in his life — as the essential element of his religion, and to which all other parts are but subservient. Obey these, and the purpose of his religion is fulfilled in you. Regard these as your rule of life, and you build your house upon a rock. Live them out in deed, and you have entered the kingdom of heaven, — you even now enter it. Christ's precepts then — declaring God's will, or perfect virtue — are what chiefly concern us. To secure obedience to his precepts is the great aim of all the doctrines, promises, and other teachings of Christ. And to exalt these above the precepts is to prefer the *means* to the end.

II. 1. It may be said, in reply to these views, that whilst I am inclined to lay the whole stress on obedience and on perfect virtue, the New Testament lays the greatest stress on faith. "To be saved, we must believe," men say. "Virtue, purity, sanctity, are not enough. Faith in Christ is the possession which is most to be prized." I might reply to this, that Paul taught a different doctrine, in that memorable passage, where, in comparing faith, hope, and charity, he said, the "greatest of these is charity." I waive, however, that reply. I acknowledge the importance of faith. But still I maintain the *supremacy* of virtuous obedience. For what is faith, and what is its use? To believe in Christ is to receive and cherish those great truths, from which a pure life flows, — by which the mind is strengthened to withstand evil, to overcome inward and outward foes, and to press forward to perfection. The value of faith lies in its power over the character, in the force of holy purpose, in the enlargement of philanthropy, in the union of the mind to God, to which it is fitted to exalt us. In other words, faith is a *means*, and obedience is the *end*. What is it to believe in Christ? I answer, it is to believe that he and his religion came from God, and to follow out in practice this conviction. It is to recognize a divine excellence and authority in his precepts, and resolutely to adopt them as our rule of life. It is to see a divine purity in his character, and resolutely to make it our model. It is to be assured that under his guidance we shall attain to perfection, and to forsake all other guides for this inestimable good. It is to believe in the promises which he has made to all forms of holiness; and under this conviction to cultivate all. It is to believe that the pure in heart shall see God; and under this conviction to cleanse the thoughts, imagination, and desires. It is to believe that the merciful shall find mercy, and the forgiving be forgiven; and through this confidence to cherish a placable and affectionate virtue. It is to believe the promise, that if we ask we shall receive; and under this persuasion to seek earnestly God's Holy Spirit. In a word, faith is to believe that if we hear and do the words which Jesus spake, we shall be like the man who built his house upon the rock; and in this *confidence* to obey. I know nothing plainer than the true use of faith. It is enjoined wholly for its practical influences, simply to aid and strengthen us to resist sin, and to encourage us to frame ourselves after that perfection of character which shines forth in the precepts and example of Jesus.

2. Again, it is a common opinion, that love to Christ has some special efficacy, that by this some higher end is accomplished in securing salvation than by a general obedience of his laws. Far be it from me to chill, in the slightest degree, the affection with which Christ is regarded. I feel that he has not yet received from men the love which he deserves. Deeply should I rejoice to set forth with a new power his claims to our reverent esteem and joyful gratitude. But let not this regard to Christ be misunderstood. Especially let it not be separated in our thoughts from obedience to his precepts, or be exalted in our esteem above general rectitude. The truth is, the love of Christ is but another name for the love of virtue. It is not, as some seem to think, a kind of theological emotion — a mysterious fervor — distinct from moral integrity, from philanthropy, and from our duties to God and our neighbor. We err grievously if we imagine that our salvation is promoted by occasional ardor towards

Christ, which subsists apart by itself, in the heart — which does not blend with our ordinary feelings and our daily lives. The character of Christ *is* perfect virtue. And consequently attachment to Christ, as I have just said, is but another name for attachment to virtue.

In this consists the excellence of a love of Jesus, that it is a love of the purest, loveliest, sublimest manifestation of moral excellence, and is our surest guide to the attainment of it. To love Jesus Christ is to love him in whom human virtue was revealed in its perfection, and who came that he might communicate to us what was most perfect in his own mind. It is to love disinterestedness, self-sacrifice, and an unbounded charity. It is to love a will wholly purified from selfishness, and entirely consecrated to the will and loving purposes of God. It is to love calmness, constancy, fortitude, and magnanimity. It is to love a spirit raised above the world, its frowns, its flatteries, its opinions, its prejudices, its most dreaded pains. It is to love him who gave himself for us, that he might rescue us from all sin, and present us spotless to God. Who does not see then that the love of Christ is one and the same, with a consecration to what is good and great, with the desire of perfection, with entire devotedness to doing God's will?

3. I am aware that the importance which I have now attached to the precepts of Christianity must shock the common prejudice, — that the distinguishing excellence of the gospel lies in its peculiar doctrines. The doctrines of Christianity I should be the last to undervalue. But I maintain that these doctrines all bear directly on its precepts, and are all designed to teach the supreme worth of Christian virtue. In this all their significance consists. Let me descend to a few particulars.

I am told by some Christians that the doctrine of immortality is the grand discovery of Christianity, and gives it its chief value. But, I ask, why is immortality revealed? And I answer, it is revealed wholly as a motive to obedience. The future state, which Jesus Christ brought to light, is a state of equitable retribution, where those who do good will rise to glory and honor and peace, and those who do evil to shame, tribulation, and anguish. To believe in immortality is to believe in the everlasting triumph and growth of virtue, and under this conviction to choose it as our supreme good.

Again, some Christians will tell me that the doctrine of divine forgiveness is the great glory of Christianity. But, I ask, to whom is divine forgiveness promised? To *all* indiscriminately? Did Christ publish from his cross absolute, unconditional pardon? Who does not know that throughout the whole teaching of the New Testament repentance and remission of sins are always combined, and that the last is invariably used as a motive for the first? Who is forgiven in Christianity? The Prodigal? Yes! But not whilst wasting his substance in riotous living; but when, heart-broken, conscience-struck, he returns to his Father's house. Our Father's pardon was promised by Jesus to such as forsake sin, and obey his will; and this obedience is the end for which divine forgiveness is preached.

Again, some Christians may tell me that the doctrine of salvation is the great doctrine of Christianity, — more important than all its precepts, and of more worth than all its incitements to virtue. Salvation is a sublime doctrine. But what does it mean? According to the Scriptures, salvation is to be rescued from moral evil, from error and sin, from the diseases of the mind, and to be restored to inward truth, piety, and virtue. Consequently, salvation and Christian obedience are one and the same. Nor, indeed, can salvation be anything else. I know but one salvation for a sick man, and that is to give him *health*. So I know but one salvation for a bad man, and that is to make him truly, thoroughly, conscientiously *good*, to break the chains of his evil habits, to raise him to the dignity and peace of a true religious life. An intelligent and moral being is saved and blessed just so far as he chooses freely — fully — what is good, great, and god-like; as he adopts for his rule the will of God. I therefore repeat it. Salvation and virtue are but different aspects of the same supreme good. But now I go one step further, and reach the very citadel of controversy.

4. There are Christians who will tell me there is one principle of the gos-

pel which constitutes its very essence, to which I have not even alluded, and which is of more importance to the human race than all Christ's precepts combined. This is redemption by the blood of the cross. This atonement, we are told, is the grand distinction of the gospel, and all other parts of Christianity hold but a subordinate place "The cross! the cross! is the centre of our religion," they say, "round which the precepts and the promises revolve, and from which all borrow light and life." To "trust in the cross" has a more immediate and important influence on our salvation than to carry out in life, however perfectly, all precepts of the Sermon on the Mount.

To this I reply that I prize the cross and blood of Christ as highly as any Christian can. In view of that cross I desire ever to live; and of that blood, in the *spiritual sense*, I desire ever to drink. I hope, as truly as any Christian ever did or could, to be saved by the cross of Christ. But what do I mean by such language? Do I expect that the *wood* to which Christ was nailed is to save me? Do I expect that the *material* blood which trickled from his wounds is to save me? Or do I expect this boon from his bodily agonies? No! By the cross and blood of Christ I mean nothing outward, nothing material. I mean the spirit, the character, the love of Jesus, which his death made manifest, and which are pre-eminently fitted to bind me to him, and to make me a partaker of his virtues. I mean his religion, which was sealed by his blood, and the spirit of which shone forth most gloriously from his cross. I mean the great principles for which he died, and which have for their sole end to purify human nature.

According to these views, the blood and cross of Christ are the means of Christian virtue. How then can they be exalted above that virtue? I am astonished and appalled by the gross manner in which "Christ's blood" is often spoken of, as if his outward wounds and bodily sufferings could contribute to our salvation; as if aught else than his spirit, his truth, could redeem us. On other occasions we use the very words which we thus apply to Christ, and use them rationally. How is it that in religion we so readily part with our *common sense?* For example, we often say that our liberty was purchased, and our country was saved, "by the *blood* of patriots." And what do we mean? — that the material blood which gushed from their bodies, that their wounds, that their agonies, saved their country? No! We mean that we owe our freedom to men who loved their country more than life, and gladly shed their blood in its defence. By their blood we mean their patriotism, their devotion to freedom, approved in death. We mean their generous heroism, of which death was the crown. We mean the principles for which they died, the spirit which shone forth in their self-sacrifice, and which this sacrifice of their lives spread abroad and strengthened in the community. So by Christ's blood I understand his spirit, his entire devotion to the cause of human virtue and to the will of God. By his cross I mean his celestial love, I mean the great principles of piety and righteousness, in asserting which he died. To be redeemed by his blood is to be redeemed by his goodness. In other words, it is to be purified from all sin, and restored to all virtue, by the principles, the religion, the character, the all-conquering love of Jesus Christ. According to these views, moral purity, Christian virtue, spiritual perfection, is the supreme good to be bestowed by the blood and cross of Christ. Oh that a voice of power could send this simple yet most sublime truth to the utmost bounds of Christendom! It is a truth mournfully and disastrously obscured. According to common views, the death of Christ, instead of being the great *quickener* of heroic virtue, is made a substitute for it; and many hope to be happy through Christ's dying agony, much more than through the participation of his self-sacrificing life. I doubt whether any error has done so much to rob Christianity of its purifying and ennobling power, as these false views of atonement. The cross of Jesus — when supposed to bless us by some mysterious agency of reconciling God to us, and not by transforming our characters into the spirit and image of our Saviour — becomes our peril, and may prove our ruin. Of one reality I am sure, and I speak it with entire confidence. I cannot receive from the cross of Christ any good so great as

that sublime spirit of self-sacrifice, of love to God, and of unbounded charity, which the cross so gloriously manifested. And they who seek not this, but seek, as they imagine, some mystical and mysterious good, from Christ's death, are mournfully blinded to the chief end of Christianity. I speak thus strongly, not in arrogance, not in uncharitableness, but because a great truth, felt deeply, cannot utter itself feebly and tamely; because no language less emphatic would be just to the strongest convictions of my conscience, my reason, and my heart.

III. My friends, I have stated in this discourse the great good which Jesus Christ came to spread through the earth, — the highest benefit which he can confer. I know nothing of equal worth with moral excellence; with an enlightened, powerful, disinterested, and holy mind; with a love to God which changes us into his likeness. I know nothing so important to us as the perfection of our own spirits. Perfect goodness is the supreme good, — may I not say *the only good?* We often hear, indeed, of the rewards of virtue, as if they were something separate from virtue, and virtue was but the means. But I am sure that virtue itself is worth more than all outward rewards; its truest recompense is found in *itself*, in its own growing vigor, in its own native peace, in the harmony which it establishes between our souls and God, in the sympathy and friendship by which it identifies us with the universe. So we hear of the punishments of sin as if they were the greatest evils to be dreaded. But sin, I am sure, is *itself* more terrible than all its consequences, more terrible than any hell; and its chief misery is bound up in its own hateful nature. Of course, the only redemption of a human being is the recovery of his spirit from moral evil, from whatever stains and debases it, to the purity, philanthropy, piety, and perfectness of a child of God, such as was manifested in the beloved Son.

To do the will of our heavenly Father — to form ourselves after the purest ideal of goodness, which nature, conscience, revelation present as a pattern — is the great work of earthly existence. This practical use of the gospel is the only saving faith in Jesus Christ. For we know him, and believe in him, only in so far as we recognize, love, and imitate the perfection of his character and life. To prefer universal rectitude, the boundless love of God and fellow-beings, the perfect life, before all other good, is the only true wisdom, is the only real worship. We know nothing of a future world, unless we hear proceeding from it a voice of benediction, that warns and welcomes us to enter now into that purity, integrity, charity, holiness, peace, and joy, which are the bliss of heaven.

XII.

THE CHURCH UNIVERSAL.

EPHESIANS iv. 4: "There is one body, and one spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling."

THIS passage declares the living unity that will bind all Christians together, in proportion as they are filled with the spirit of their religion, and are joined vitally to their common Head. They constitute one body. Christians are not distinct, separate, independent followers of Christ, each walking in a lonely path, living by an undisclosed faith, locking up in the breast an unparticipated love. Christ came not merely to teach a doctrine, but to establish a church, to form a religious society, to organize a spiritual community. His religion was revealed to be a common possession, a common joy, a common ground of gratitude and praise, of sacrifice and work, for the

whole human race. His religion was intended to be a world-wide cause, in which innumerable multitudes should be leagued; which should be advanced by their united prayers, aspirations, toils, and sufferings; which one age should transmit to another; which should enlist men of a devout and disinterested spirit through all nations and times. Christ is not the leader of solitary individuals. The titles given to him in the New Testament imply the most close and endearing connections among those whom he calls his "friends." Christ is the head, and Christians are his body, — living members one of another. He is the corner-stone, and they are a temple, — built on him as a foundation, gaining strength and proportion from the fit junction of its various materials and parts. He is the shepherd, and they are the flock. Christianity is thus pre-eminently a social religion, — disposing its disciples to joint services, awakening the feeling of brotherhood, demanding concerted efforts for its development and diffusion, and in a word combining all believers into organic unity in spirit and in deed.

I. It might be anticipated that a religion coming from man's Creator, whose essence is love, should be a social one. For man, by his very nature, is pre-eminently a social being.

All the great developments of humanity are fulfilled through society. Society surrounds us at our entrance into life, and its influences embrace us till the parting hour. The arms of fellow-beings receive us at birth, and enfold us at death. The first and last sounds we hear are human voices. Thus social ties entwine themselves about our whole existence from the cradle to the grave. The happiness experienced in loving and being loved, the enhanced joy which blessings derive from participation, the resources which infancy and age, infirmity and disease. find in the affectionate sympathy, sustenance, and strength of the home circle, the pleasures of friendly discourse and the solaces of fraternal confidence, the astonishing enterprises achieved by the union of thoughts and energies in communities and nations, the light of literature, art, science, law, religion, transmitted and brightened by transmission from mind to mind, and from age to age, — countless benefits indeed, which there is no time to enumerate, — attest the benignant purposes of our Heavenly Father in making us social.

The influence of society upon the character of its constituent members can hardly be overstated. At times it even absorbs man's free agency. Individuals are moulded by the community, in which they live, almost passively and unconsciously. What a striking example we have of the power of society over individual persons in the unfailing transmission of national characteristics from generation to generation! In what ineradicable lines of feature and form, of temperament and tendency, is this influence graven! What multiplied traces in physiognomy, and in intellectual and moral traits, does every man bear of the people among whom he has chanced to be born! Souls pour themselves imperceptibly, but copiously, into other souls. So swift, subtle, and strong is this spiritual commerce between person and person, that a look or a tone is enough to reveal mind to mind, and to change the whole current of one another's thoughts and emotions. Feelings, which sleep within us in solitude, awaken into intense energy, when manifested powerfully by those around us. And a multitude, by acting upon one another, are wrought into fervors either of generous enthusiasm or of indignant passion, to which our nature under ordinary circumstances is wholly unequal.

Again, there is a principle of expansion in the soul, an ardent thirst for great objects and wide spheres of affection and action, which, in all lands and times, manifests itself in magnanimous patriotism. How this generous love of country overcomes the contracting influences of our present selfish stage of civilization! Every day we see men of no uncommon capacity or elevation of character devoted to the interests of the community in which they live, proud in its glory, exulting in its triumphs, humbled in its humiliations, wedded to its fortunes, sacrificing all private good for its advancement, clinging to it in peril, hazarding life in its defence. Reproach cast upon their nation stings them more keenly than personal insult. Its most distinguished lawgivers, heroes, and men of genius, though belonging to former ages, and consequently unknown,

they exalt almost into divinities, and honor as if they were their own immediate ancestors.

But even this devoted love of country is too narrow an emotion for the human soul. Man longs to live in the life of humanity. Who does not know how even ordinary men are interested in fellow-creatures and events, far beyond the boundaries of their particular community; how their sympathies, aspirations, and hopes extend to and embrace whatever man is doing and suffering over the face of the whole earth? How do they become parties to conflicts of another hemisphere, confederates in heart with distant nations in their struggles and sacrifices, and glad witnesses of the progress of freedom and civilization throughout the world! How the daily newspapers are devoured by thousands and millions of readers, not for selfish ends of gain, or to discover channels through which they may pursue profitable enterprises, but simply from sympathy with men of every kindred and name, and anxiety to learn the fortunes and fate of human nature throughout the vast movements of mankind! This same interest in the whole human race gives popularity to books of travel, whereby many, who have trodden no soil but their natal one, in spirit circumnavigate the globe, and establish friendly and fraternal acquaintance with the inhabitants alike of the tropics and the poles.

We have been speaking thus far of common men. But when we rise to contemplate superior minds, we find them peculiarly prompted to widen their sympathies indefinitely, and to form close alliance with their remotest brethren of the human race. Literary and scientific men, scattered abroad through all nations, delight to multiply bonds of scholarly union; learn eagerly one another's languages; liberally interchange thoughts and discoveries; form societies of exploration, observation, and historical and critical inquiry, to which the most distant regions contribute members; and rejoice in the progress of knowledge as a common cause. And through this citizenship of learned men of all countries in one great republic of reason, science is now enlarging its conquests with a rapidity unexampled in former times. In like manner benevolent men, especially those who are consecrated to the same philanthropic objects, delight to hear of the progress of reforms in different nations; rejoice that the grand schemes of benevolence to which they are devoted enlist friends and helpers far and wide; and exult in the success of its most distant advocates as truly as in their own.

Above all is this conscious communion in the life of man universal profoundly felt in the sphere of religion. So susceptible is our social nature, that the simple thought, that there are multitudes around the globe who unite in a common religious faith, hope, and charity, is all animating, like an inspiration. The devout man worships with new zeal, when he feels that innumerable kindred souls are made one with his, in the love of the "one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in all;" that this communion is not confined to our narrow world, but expands throughout all worlds, into a glorious temple, wherein God dwells; that in his hymns of praise he is echoing the anthems of angelic choirs; that in his aspirations he is in unison with the emotions and joys of God's countless spiritual family throughout the universe; and that he is even now a living member of an immortal organization, which is to grow ever more perfect, when the distinctions of nations, and even of humanity, will be dissolved in the love and joy of the holy and blessed societies of heaven.

II. And now let us consider more nearly the extent of this unity in the church universal, — how far it reaches, how many it embraces, — in order that we may gain a correspondent largeness and elevation of views and affections, of hopes and principles of action.

There is one body and one spirit. Christ has one church, not many churches. All Christians are comprehended in one community. However scattered, separated, and divided, in their fellowship with one head, in their participation of one faith and spirit, they are attracted by a combining principle, which, though counteracted now, can never be destroyed; and which will ultimately manifest itself in blending all believers, visibly and indissolubly, into one. From the very nature of the Christian religion, — as a religion of love, — all who embrace it must be gathered into

one society. Christian union cannot but be coextensive with the Christian religion, and diffused with it wherever it is spread. Such is the general doctrine of the text.

1. Now if all Christians constitute one community only, then it is implied, not merely that Christians of the different denominations which are scattered through the world are nearly connected with one another here below, but that Christians on earth and Christians in heaven are livingly bound in fellowship. Being equally united to Christ, these two classes are necessarily comprehended in that one body, which is quickened by the one spirit of adoption that animates the whole vast family of the children of God. Consequently they sustain most intimate relations with one another, instantly and everywhere.

It is common to speak of these two classes under the names of the *church militant* and the *church triumphant*. But these words merely denote the respective circumstances amidst which different members of the same community are for a season placed. The church militant and the church triumphant are one church; and the time is approaching in which these distinctions shall vanish away, and when all Christ's followers, crowned with the same triumph, shall be gathered into the same visible communion, around their common, exalted Head. This doctrine is announced in a passage of singular magnificence and elevation, both of thought and language, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where the writer says: "Ye are come unto Mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and church of the first-born whose names are written in heaven, and to God the judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect." In other words, by unity of soul with Christ's church we are admitted into a real communion of saints, tender and confidential, which will gain strength and largeness as we and they advance towards celestial excellence.

2. If we consider, first, the position of Christians in heaven, — who through life were devoutly interested in the growth of holiness and love among Christ's followers, — it is utterly incredible that they should cast off at death this form of benevolence, as if it were worth no more than the perishable body. For what is the heaven, into which they have entered, but the perfection of charity, the unbroken harmony of all good affections? Although we may well suppose that ties of a mere earthly nature will fall from the purified spirit, yet attachments founded in piety and goodness cannot but gather vigor as souls mature in the perfect life. This doctrine of the enduring sympathy, felt by Christians in heaven for Christians on earth, should be placed beyond doubt, if we believe that Christ's disciples ascend at death into immediate personal intercourse with him. You remember how Paul says, that "to be absent from the body is to be present with the Lord." Christians are not present with our Saviour merely as we are with one another; for in the future state the access of mind to mind must undoubtedly be nearer than on earth. They have a communion with his spirit, such as the closest friendship does not allow among imperfect men. Friendship is the affection that predominates in the mind of Jesus. Friendship is his very soul. We are assured that, in his present glorified state, the same magnanimous love which upheld him in the agonies of crucifixion flows out continually towards his followers on earth, and is manifested in perpetual efforts for their progress and their final and complete redemption. Christians in heaven look with new clearness of spiritual vision into the depth of this love of Christ "which passeth knowledge," until they too become "filled with the fulness of God." And can we imagine, that embosomed within this divine compassion, which is always descending from heaven to earth, and living in the midst of the warm and attractive beams of this all-embracing charity, they can shake off concern for the church below? Through closer adherence to the Head, can they become severed from the members, who are so dear and near to him as to be called "flesh of his flesh"?

I doubt not that Christians who enter the spiritual world, and attain to freedom from the alloy of selfishness which tarnished their charity on earth, glow with a love of which we in our mortal state cannot distinctly conceive. We

may gain a glimpse of it from the image given, when it is said that "they shall shine as the sun," that radiant minister of the Most High, who dwells in light. Who indeed can suppose that good men at death will grow cold to the church, in the bosom of which they were themselves nurtured and bred for the heavenly community; that the martyrs who loved it more than life, and rose to heaven through flames endured in its defence, should part with that zeal for its welfare to which they owe their crowns of glory? The fire of persecution could not consume, but only refined and exalted, this divine zeal. I am persuaded that it is a great, however common an error, to conceive of the departed as so absorbed in their new mode of being as to forget their former one. To suppose them forgetful of the world, where they began to live, is to make that life worthless, and to blot out a volume of invaluable experience. To think of them as regarding this world with indifference, when it was the scene of their Master's life, and still bears the impress of his footsteps; when it is associated so intimately with the manifestation of his character, and is the object of his perpetual care, is to make them dead to his glorious design of good. Undoubtedly they think of our world with very different feelings from those which it once excited. To them its splendors have paled amidst the brightness of their new abode. The competitions and strifes of men for a day's pre-eminence seem to them childish, as well as sinful. This world's grand interest to them is as the birthplace of immortal minds, as the school where they are trained for heaven. But as such it is infinitely precious, and they regard it with intense concern.

In these views we discover a peculiarity, and a supremely honorable one, of the relationship formed by Christianity among its disciples. It is a perpetual and ever-growing relationship. The toils and sufferings for a nation — which has its date and is hastening to its appointed term; which is soon to be joined, in its decline and fall, with past and almost forgotten empires — may fade from the mind of the patriot. Death may break the bond which joined him to it, and put an end not only to his efforts for its welfare, but to his sympathies in its fate. But not so can it be with the Christian. Laborer and sufferer for the church universal as he has been on earth, his energies are consecrated to an immortal cause; to the interests of a community which will outlive sun and stars, and which, being of heavenly origin, tends towards and will be perfected in heaven. Death cannot take him out of this church, nor in the least degree loosen his connections with it. On the contrary, he goes to join the triumphant, purified, blessed portion of this community, among whom his affections for his militant brethren here, instead of being extinguished, will gain new fervor.

In regard to the methods in which Christians in the spiritual world manifest their affections towards Christians on earth, in regard to the services and assistances they render, I shall not attempt to speak. The doctrine that they come to mortals as ministers of mercy, that in this mission they do the work of angels whom they resemble, — though reason in no way opposes it, and the heart welcomes it, — must be held, with a degree of uncertainty, as forming no part of revelation. But there is one office by which the risen and glorified hold an active, beneficent, connection with the church on earth, of which we cannot doubt. With Christ's example before them, who is ever interceding for man, and with the privilege of nearer access to God than they could enjoy in the body, can we question that in their petitions they remember their tempted brethren, who are fighting that fight of which by experience they know the toil and pain? Having prayed for the church till their last breath, can we imagine that in their present exalted state, where intercession must be more effectual because springing from a purer heart, they should not mingle with their worship this high duty? Why should we think that prayer is confined to earth, or that its power of appeal can be weakened in heaven? Are Christians there denied the privilege, which is granted here, of invoking God's blessing on friends and brethren? For one, I doubt not that among the joyful praises of angels is heard a voice, less rapturous, but more tender, of affectionate intercession. Perhaps we shall hereafter find that no incense rises more acceptably before God's throne than the prayers of saints for their afflicted and endan-

gered brethren in this state of probation. Thus have I given one illustration of the living ties between Christians in heaven and Christians on earth.

3. In the next place, how does the Christian on earth contribute his part to this union? I answer, by recollection and by hope, — by looking back to the lives and characters of departed saints while they were inhabitants of this world, and by anticipating joyfully their society in the world to come. The Christian, imbued with the spirit of his religion, maintains communion by grateful remembrance with those who have gone before him, and especially with the more illustrious, whose holy services and sacrifices for the Church have crowned them with haloes of honor. He does not regard his religion merely as a blessing of the present moment, but studies with profoundest interest its past history. He remembers that it has come down to him through a long procession of ages, and that it has been transmitted through the professions, sufferings, prayers, and virtues of millions, who have lived and died for it before his birth. He delights to think of his religion under the similitude, which Jesus gave, of a seed sown upon earth centuries ago, and to trace its growth, — nourished as it has been with the tears and sweat, the blood and anxious care, of the holiest persons in the records of the past. To the true Christian no history is so affecting as that of the church universal. His soul unites with the pure and pious who have clung to it in danger; who have fought beneath the banner of the cross with spiritual weapons; who have conquered the powers of evil by self-sacrifice, suffering, and death. The Apostle, bearing Christian truth through rude and barbarous nations to the ends of the earth, armed with the spirit of all-enduring and all-conquering love, rises before him, — high above conspicuous heroes and legislators, — as the most majestic and commanding form of human nature in the dim regions of antiquity. He feels his personal debt to the faith and loyalty of these tried followers of Christ, and blesses them for those labors of which he daily reaps the fruits. Thus, by memory, we have connection as truly with the saints risen in glory, as we have with those yet dwelling here. Though dead, they still speak to us. And happy is it for us when we open our minds to the influences of the departed, and form intimacies with the great and good who have preceded us into the world of peace!

The risen and glorified thus speak to us from distant regions and remote ages. But they speak also from nearer times and more familiar scenes. Indeed, there is no place in our own communities and homes which is not consecrated by their blessed images. How we delight to remember their excellences; the irsuperiority to this world's gifts; their uncorrupted simplicity; the moderation with which they enjoyed, the liberality with which they imparted; the conscientiousness with which they regarded themselves as the stewards of divine munificence! The periods of their history to which affection most gladly recurs are those in which they manifested strength of principle that never faltered, and fulness of love that never failed: when their countenances glowed with lofty disinterestedness and unconquerable trust in God. What an assured conviction do we feel of the perpetuity and immortality of such noble forms of goodness! What a certainty cheers us that these friends have ascended to a brighter world, when the serene spirit of that world had dawned upon their faces even in their earthly state! But when the good leave us, it is not only to the more signal portions of their history that memory returns. We rejoice indeed to recall acts which deserved and won general admiration. But how delightful is it also to remember gentle, quiet, ceaseless virtues, which found their sphere in the seclusion of home, and spread a softened light through the privacy of domestic life; which perhaps no eye but our own witnessed, revealing to us a depth of piety and love such as no public conduct could display! How soothing are the recollections of the constancy of affection, that made sacrifices without knowing that they were such; which stifled its own griefs that it might not add to those of others; which bore the infirmities of friends as though it never saw them! How blessed is the remembrance of the unpretending devoutness that made no outward profession, but mingled itself calmly and quietly with the whole tenor of thought

and action, and shone forth steadily in resignation, persevering duty, and unostentatious love!

The influence of the good and holy on the present world is thus not limited to their living in it. When are they so lovely, so winning, so powerful to guide and quicken, as after death has withdrawn them from us? Then we feel that the seal is set upon what was made perfect in their souls. No more can they be sullied by contact with the earth. They take their place like stars in a region of purity and peace. They come to our thoughts clad in the light of celestial sanctity and sweetness. Shall we not follow them in thought to their high dwelling-place, and learn from them even diviner wisdom than they taught on earth?

Let us believe, too, that they carry with them all their recollections of the loved whom they have left behind. This earth, where they began the development of their moral being, — where they first heard the voice of conscience, felt their first love, fought their first conflicts, won their first triumphs, — must ever be endeared to them by most affecting associations. The friends who blessed them, and the friends whom they blessed, can never be banished from their minds. True, for a season they have parted from us; but they cannot forget us. The hearts which have felt for us so long, feel for us yet, more tranquilly indeed, but more profoundly. They love us still. We are objects of a holier interest than ever. And that interest is strengthened, in proportion as we grow in resemblance to the ascended and glorified, and fitter for their companionship.

But the Christian not only maintains a connection with his brethren in heaven by grateful recollections of their virtues Still more closely is he bound to them by hope. He does not remember them as embalmed in history, to be known only through the records of tradition. They still *live*, and are members of the same organic body with himself. Already he feels a brotherhood with them. He is bound to them by more than distant admiration, even by close and cordial friendship. Eagerly he anticipates a future existence, because he shall meet there the venerable dead, with whose spirits, still animating their biographies, histories, and works, he now communes. He rejoices to think of soon hearing, seeing, and holding familiar intercourse with inspired prophets and holy poets, with philanthropists and sages, with scholars and artists, with great-hearted heroes of common life, whose characters and deeds have nourished in him pure purposes and lofty aspirations; and he is elevated towards their sublime height by these soaring expectations. The space that sunders him from them is daily growing narrower; and his present faint conceptions of them will soon change into clear, full, intimate, personal acquaintance. Steadfast in faith, he trusts that they will receive and gladly incorporate him into their society. Nor does he thus trust without good grounds. Is there joy among the angels over a sinner who by repentance begins the Christian race, and can we doubt that the arrival in heaven of a spirit, which has finished its warfare and gained the immortal crown, is blissful intelligence and an event of transporting joy to its benevolent communities? This is indeed a glorious and glorifying hope, that we shall be greeted with welcome by the revered and illustrious, the humble and gentle, who have gone before us into the world of light. But let us not fear to yield to this high hope. For the first among many brethren will count his work unfinished until his prayer shall be fulfilled, that all who love and believe in him shall be one with him, and with one another, as he and his Father are one, and that where he is they shall be also.

While speaking thus of the union between Christians on earth and Christians in heaven by hope, let me avow that my own impressions on this subject were much strengthened by visiting Catholic lands. I am aware that this admission may breed suspicion of the soundness of my views. But we ought not to doubt that among the corruptions of the Catholic Church there are rich relics of primitive truth. The zeal of the Reformation, too impetuous and unsparing, rejected many principles and usages which deserve our respect and imitation. The Catholic Church, it is well known, is distinguished by the ardent veneration with which it cherishes the memory and seeks the friendship

of departed saints. And notwithstanding the superstitions grafted upon this branch of their religion, they have done wisely in striving to multiply these germs from the tree of life, by perpetuating the examples of holy men and women, to whom Christianity was so largely indebted in its spring-time. I entered these countries with much of that indifference which has grown up among Protestants, through dread of Catholic abuses. But when, by the help of statuary and painting, my attention was awakened, and my mind brought to act on Christ's faithful followers in the early ages of the Church; when I beheld the celestial loveliness of his mother Mary; and especially when I contemplated the martyr in his last hour, and saw, mysteriously mingled with the agonies of excruciating death, bright beams of immortal joy, indomitable trust, calm constancy, heroic courage, and meek forgiving charity, — I felt the claim of these primitive disciples to our grateful love, as never before. I felt that, by death so endured, they had sent forth an influence to quicken all future times, and that they had become what they now are, everlastingly members of that community of the blessed to which I too aspire to belong. I rejoiced in being one with them by devotion to the same Head, and though now far separated in time, I longed one day to thank them for their loyalty to that glorious gospel which has brightened all my hopes.

III. My friends, I should not have insisted so long upon this communion between Christians in heaven and Christians on earth, did I not think this truth an eminently practical one. To many no lessons seem practical, except the minute inculcations of common duties. But, in fact, the most practical views in religion are those which awaken the loftiest sentiments and touch the noblest springs of action. And the subject now discussed is peculiarly fitted to give life and energy to our convictions of the spiritual world, and to lift our minds above the sordid mood into which they are so prone to sink. The attraction of heaven lies in the beings who reside there. And whilst the thought of the presence of God is enough to inflame intense desire, yet we are greatly aided by conceiving of our Father's house as the mansion of all the excellent whose lives have sanctified the earth. In proportion as in thought we commune with this "assembly and church of the first-born," we learn to revere our own spiritual capacities, which can alone fit us for such high society.

Unhappily, speculations of this nature seem to many not only wanting in practical utility, but as unreal fictions of the fancy. Whatever goes beyond our present experience passes with such for visionary and romantic. The spiritual world is to them a void. And the idea of higher orders of beings, though so plainly revealed in Scripture, and attested by all traditions, gains from them merely a half-sceptical assent. But if revelation be worthy of any credit, the intercourse between heaven and earth is most close and constant. Jesus Christ, risen and glorified, — who once lived here below, — now *lives* on high, not as an unconcerned spectator, but as a mighty agent for the good of the whole human race. Angels, commissioned by his boundless love, he sends forth to minister to all heirs of salvation. Near him are Christians, who, departed from this world in faith, now sympathize and co-work with him in promoting the growth of his ever-expanding community. And to the mind that can shake off the clogs of earth, and freely exercise its spiritual powers, these views will appear to be as sober and rational as they are joyful and exalting.

How unparalleled in dignity is the church universal, as we have now contemplated it! In extent it surpasses all other communities, gathering in its wide embrace spirits made perfect around the throne of God, holy men in heaven, and the children of the Father throughout all nations. And as to duration, not only has it withstood the shocks of ages, — outlasting empires and states amidst which it has been planted, and still flourishing with perennial growth while they decay, — but it is appointed to survive the present order of the natural world, and to be transformed from glory to glory in regions of the universe beyond all adverse change. How cheering is this confidence that we are even now citizens of a kingdom that can never be moved, members of a community that is organized by a principle of imperishable life!

When, by an act of faith and hope, we transport ourselves into the world where human nature is redeemed from every sin and woe, and there behold the good, the just, the wise, the lovely, trained in all regions and ages, — a multitude which no man can number, — exalted to new life, new powers, new friendships, new prospects of the immense creation, and new ministries of love in co-operation with higher beings and with God, — then does the awful grandeur of immortality open before us; then do we feel, with devout gratitude, that this birthplace and school for spirits is worthy of its divine Author, and of its sublime consummation.

"Compassed about by this great cloud of witnesses," let us with firm and cheerful trust endure all trials, discharge all duties, accept all sacrifices, fulfil the law of universal and impartial love, and adopt as our own that cause of truth, righteousness, humanity, liberty, and holiness, which, being the cause of the All-Good, cannot but triumph over all powers of evil! Let us rise into blest assurance that everywhere and for ever we are enfolded, penetrated, guarded, guided, kept by the power of the Father and Friend who can never forsake us; and that all spirits who have begun to seek, know, love, and serve the all-perfect One on earth shall be reunited in a celestial home, and be welcomed together into the freedom of the universe, and the perpetual light of his presence!

INDEX.

NOTE. — From the nature of Channing's writings, a comprehensive index to such topics as God, Jesus, Man, Religion, Christianity, would necessitate references to nearly every paragraph in the volume. Only the most important allusions have therefore been included under these general heads, many places being noted in other divisions. The compiler wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to the very full index in the quarto English edition, published by Routledge & Sons. — J. H. W.

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